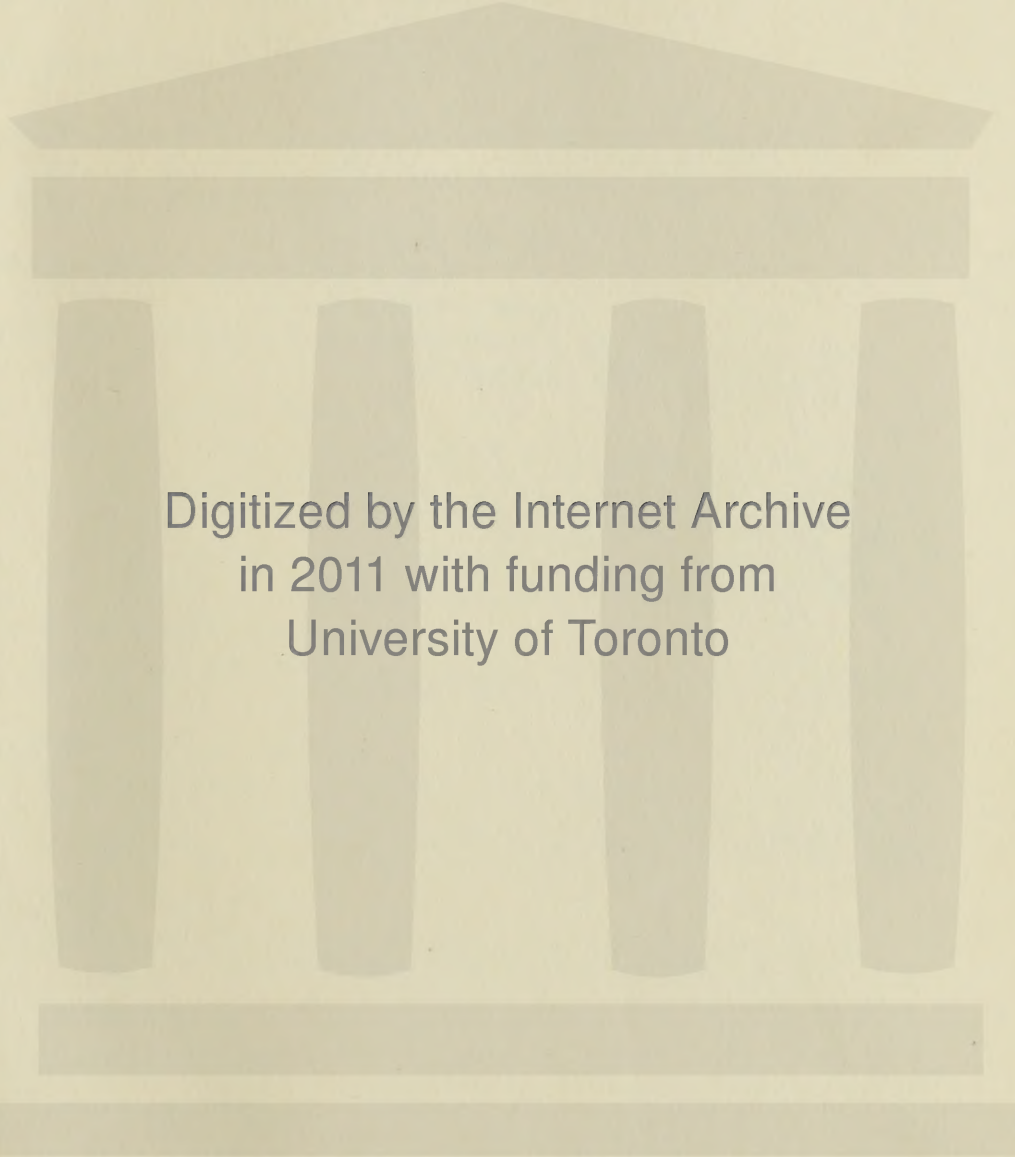




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INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. IV.

JANUARY, 1877.

NO. I.

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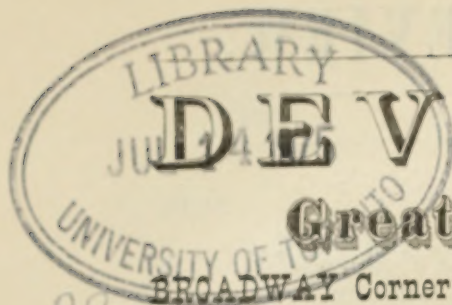
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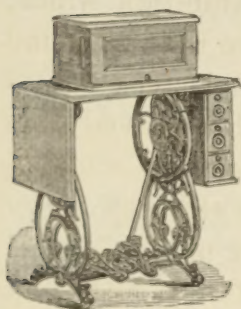
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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1877.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF OLYMPIA IN THE MUSEUM AT BERLIN.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the many displays of works of human art which riveted the attention of the public last summer, upon both sides of the Atlantic, there was opened in Berlin on the 27th of August, in the rotunda of the old Museum, an exhibition which, in its exterior, is small and unpretending. Here there is to be found no gleam of marble nor glow of color; only a row of plaster-casts—a small number of figures which, all in fragments, have been saved from the wreck of the old world,—a few isolated architectural remains, and several inscribed tablets. What is there here which can arrest the eye, or make an impression on the attention of the public, already sated with enjoyment? And yet the hall is ever full of attentive, thoughtful, observant beholders. Even the Emperor employed the first leisure hour after his return to Berlin in visiting this exhibition in company with the Empress and the Crown Prince; he felt that it possessed a historical significance of a peculiar sort, as an earnest of the results of the first great undertaking of the German Empire, in behalf of the investigation of the domain of Classical Antiquity. Of this undertaking, which the entire people has followed at every step with the liveliest interest, the plaster torsos, the architectural fragments, and the inscriptions now on exhibition are the first fruits.

The first impression which the beholder of the figures, grouped in a circle around the Victory, receives, is one of astonishment at the wealth of the soil of Olympia. How was it possible in seven months—three of them devoted to labors of preparation—to bring forth so

many colossal monuments, not to mention the multitude of smaller fragments, the reproduction of which has not been possible?

A plan of the region of the excavations, drawn on a large scale, not only gives a vivid idea of the temple area, but represents with accuracy the place of discovery of each object found; while photographic views afford a picture of the entire landscape surrounding the site of the ancient remains. We can even see from these photographs, how the earthquake¹ hurled the columns to the earth toward the north and toward the south, so that the fragments of the columns lie in rows with the capital at the head of each!

One of the most valuable results of the excavation is that it has shown us *how* the monuments were placed, and has furnished us with an example of the way in which the ancients succeeded in combining, within a limited and crowded area, the most economical use of the space with a dignified and befitting arrangement. Therefore, in the present exhibition, the entire base on which the Victory of Paionios stood, has been reproduced after the most careful measurements, and the statue has been placed upon it so that it may be contemplated as it stands in the middle of the rotunda, either from the floor, or from the gallery running round the base of the dome; while for the convenience of those who desire a nearer view, a second pedestal of moderate height has been constructed which brings the spectator on a level with the statue. This is the first time that we have found the work of a Master in Greek Art in its original site, and have been able to set it up with the spell of its original beauty unbroken and still bearing the inscription of its maker, and our contemplation of it will suggest a number of most interesting observations. At the outset, the triangular form of the pedestal with its sharp corners and its abrupt rise, in successive steps, make a novel impression. In modern times we have been accustomed to elaborately ornamented pedestals, and are surprised at the impression of bareness and plainness which we here receive. But we have precisely here an instructive example of the fact that the ancients were careful not to distract the attention and to withdraw the eye from the chief object by pretentious decoration of the accessories.

The figure was placed so high with a purpose. It rose above the walls of the temple-court, and was visible from without, the elevation thus corresponding to the conception of the figure as descending

¹ The overthrow of the colossal columns of the temple of Zeus at Olympia was the result of an earthquake.

through the air from the heights of Olympus. The triangular form of the pedestal, too, has its explanation in the conception of the statue. For the colossal female figure is represented in full motion: the right foot touches with its extremity the base; while the left leg, of which only a fragment of the thigh is preserved, was thrust forward. Sweeping forward she cuts the air, even as a ship furrows the water with its sharp keel, while behind, her garment, swollen by the wind, bellies wide out below the wings, which spread out above on either side. The general form then of the figure is triangular, and the base is appropriately raised upon a triangle.

It follows that the Niké¹ so stood that the point of the foot was directed toward the apex of the pedestal, and that the side which bore the inscription was not the front but the profile-side, the view from the side being not only the most advantageous one, but also that intended by the sculptor. The Niké is the pearl of the exhibition. The eye turns from the other objects ever back again to her; as to her beauty there is but one opinion, and while artists and archæologists can not cease discussing the correct restoration and attitude, every lover of the beautiful delights in this figure so warm with life. Rarely does it happen that a statue, headless and armless, and with only one leg, makes upon all so powerful an impression, and so touches the feelings. Every one feels, even in beholding the plaster reproduction, that here there has been realized that victory over lifeless matter, over the dead material, that bestowal of a soul upon what was mere stone, which characterize the artist of the first rank. That which would hardly be conceivable in bronze, has here been executed in stone, viz: a floating figure still poised in the air. The region of the air is signified by an eagle which spreads out his wings underneath her foot. With the exception of one wing, the entire figure was hewn out of a single stone. Its mighty pinions, on fragments of which we can still distinctly trace the feathers, were lifted high aloft. Around the middle of the body passed a narrow girdle of gilded bronze. Below this girdle the garment swelled out in a great curve. The garment and the wings gave to the figure a counterpoise backward, thus counterbalancing the tendency in the opposite direction of the forward inclining attitude. The figure thus gains, such is its equipoise, notwithstanding its rapid movement, a statuesque calm. The garment as well as the naked portions are treated with perfect mastery. One seems to feel the motion, to detect the rushing of the wind. She comes from aloft, as appears from the curves of the gar-

¹ Victory.

ment, concave from below ; she brings to the Hellenes assembled in Olympia the tidings of Victory. Her virgin figure rising high in the air declares to all the people that the fairest of all things for which an Hellenic heart could yearn is theirs. She is the joy of the victor, she comes straight from Zeus, from the lord of Olympus, and hence bears the name of the Olympic Victory.¹

Besides this statue, which in beauty is as yet and perhaps will remain the queen, other sculptures are also exposed, which, like the Niké, stood as votive offerings in the Altis. First comes the solemn figure of a matronlike goddess standing motionless and clothed in a long garment falling to her feet in perpendicular folds. This, on account of its resemblance to the famous Vesta Giustiniani, has received for the present the name of Vesta. Her position was near the wall of the Altis ; the execution was in the serious style of a temple-statue. The height of the torso is 1.80 M. ; the right arm was wrought from a separate piece of marble, and inserted at the shoulder. She may have belonged to the same group of votive offerings with a male torso, which has been set up by her side.

This torso, with a breadth of shoulder of .93 M., is a naked trunk of the highest beauty and energy, and shows the ideal treatment which characterizes the sculptured representations of gods. The head was sharply inclined to the left ; upon the left arm lies a fragment of a garment. There are also two torsos of clothed statues, raised in honor of particular individuals, and belonging to the Roman period.

The other statues, we believe, may be properly assigned to the temple itself, and we have placed them for this reason in a semi-circular group of which we can at least identify the figures at either end. This identification is an important step towards the restoration of the west pediment. It is the result of studies made at Berlin ; for it is naturally easier to experiment with the reproductions in plaster, than with the original fragments in marble. Having once succeeded in establishing that two fragments of a male figure certainly belonged together, there was gradually formed the figure, complete even to the extremities, of a river god which, stretched out at easy length and supported on its left arm, must have turned its head toward the center of the pediment. This filled out the left corner of the pediment, and since, on comparison with the reclining torso in the right corner, it is clearly seen to be the older and the more dignified, there can be no question that it represents the river Alpheios. Hence there is revealed with certainty the following result : Pausanias, in his de-

¹ Νίκη Ὀλύμπιος.

scription of the pediment uses the words right and left from the standpoint of the beholder, as I had already assumed in my essay on Olympia.¹

In these two corner-figures of the pediment we discover an unmistakable analogy with those of the west pediment of the Parthenon, and we see that the Athenian river gods served as models for these; thus an important fact for the history of Greek art is clearly established. For whereas doubts have recently been expressed, and by eminent scholars, as to whether Paionios could properly be regarded as a pupil of Pheidias, the close relation of the two to each other can no longer be regarded as a question.

Paionios has represented the Alpheios, as Pheidias had done the Kephissos, with the feet in the corner of the pediment, the head toward the center; yet he has not shown himself a simple imitator. He has represented the Alpheios stretched out more at his ease, because more space was at his command, and the pediment of the temple of Olympia offers us this great advantage that we can compare the two river-gods each with the other, and recognize at once their similarity and their difference. We identify the Kladeos as the younger, from his lying upon his belly stretched out in a less dignified attitude, while supported by his arms he gazes on the scene which is in progress in the center. Both figures are so disposed that the lower side of the body is turned toward the beholder; both are elaborated with greater care than most of the other sculptures; and they form collectively an important addition to the ancient representations which we possess of river-gods, and which we have known hitherto chiefly from coins of the Roman epoch.

The relative situations which the two figures occupy in the pediment, correspond to the geographical position of the two streams: for the Alpheios borders the temple area on the south, while the Kladeos comes from the north. Since the identification of the two river-gods, the figure which had been successively christened as the Kladeos and the Alpheios has again become nameless. It is the figure of an old man in a sitting posture. He supported his left arm upon his bent knee, and leaned his cheek thoughtfully upon his hand. Where this figure belonged is now utterly uncertain, and it is even maintained, not without ground, that it had no place within the temple pediment. It seems impossible to locate it in the series of figures described by Pausanias. It is neither a hero, nor an attendant busied

¹ Olympia, ein Vortrag im Wissenschaftlichen Vereine zu Berlin gehalten, von Ernst Curtius. Berlin: 1852.

with the horses of Pelops. The treatment too of the flesh, which is fat and spongy, betrays less skill than appears in the handling of the anatomy. The head, also, though expressive, has an effeminate character; and shows as little of the ideal stamp as the body; it even betrays a decidedly individual expression. The thick mustache forms a rope-like mass and depended evidently for its effect on color; the locks of hair on the contrary, betray, by the minute care of their execution, a studied archaism.

In the west pediment are two figures not as yet identified, both male figures, and both belonging to the suite of Pelops,—for both belong to the left side of the pediment, that which is turned toward the Alpheios. One is a youth in a crouching posture, who supports himself on his right arm, while the other is occupied with the toes of his foot, the very picture of thoughtless idleness, and represented with the greatest truth to nature. Probably he sat beneath the horse, and served to fill out the unoccupied space. The figure is well preserved even to the head, and likewise the chariot driver, a man in a kneeling posture—his legs wrapped in a garment. The left thigh was in a perpendicular position; of the extended arm, the hand which held the reins is preserved.

If we add to these two figures a third much mutilated, representing a man in sitting posture, which forms the link between them and the Alpheios; and then the standing figure of the hero, who, with haughty ease and self-possession leans his arm upon his side, we shall actually be able to establish, after a fashion, a connection between the figures of the left or southern side of the east pediment, from the river-god in the corner to the figure of Zeus in the center. We must however, supply in thought the horses, for their weighty bodies have suffered most in the fall of the temple, so that only the most insignificant fragments have thus far come to light. This standing figure, just referred to, distinguished alike by manly pride and noble physique, can scarcely be other than Pelops. Only he could have stood on the right hand of Zeus, and next him Hippodameia, who, as his future wife, was given a place by his side. Thus the issue of the fabled contest was prophetically indicated: and hence Pelops stood on that side of the pediment in which the Alpheios lay, for the Alpheios was the chief river of the land which had been assigned to him by the gods as his domain.

We may await with confidence success in peopling more completely the thus far untenanted spaces of the east pediment, for no reason can exist why the figures of that side, on which we have

as yet only discovered the Alpheios, should have been wholly destroyed.

Finally, we consider two fragments of the metopes, which were originally placed on the narrow side of the temple within the outer row of columns. The first is a very unpretending fragment, of which nothing more is preserved than the great jar, in which Eurystheus has hidden himself; and the foot of Herakles, who holds the boar above his head. It is interesting to see that this scene which we knew from archaic painted vases, was also represented in temple sculpture. The other metope is, on account of its admirable preservation, the choicest object in the entire collection; it is the most important specimen of that period of sculpture which culminated before the time of Pheidias; it shows us, moreover, a mythical series of events which has never yet come before our eyes in an antique relief.

Herakles has come to King Atlas to win the apples of the Hesperides. Atlas has promised to bring them if Herakles would bear, in his absence, the burden of the heavens. He is just returning, the apples in his hand, while he who had assumed his duty, with bowed head, sustains on a cushion the heavy load. Herakles is lovingly assisted by an Hesperide, who stands behind him, and with her left hand would help him bear the burden, while in her right hand, which hangs by her side, she holds a twig. The scene is one of wondrous grace, although in it the limitations of the older school of art are easily discernible. The figures stand quietly side by side in parallel lines, without that dramatic *rapprochement* which should unite them in one group. The naked forms, however, are admirably executed; the heads are noble and dignified; the characters well expressed in the countenances. One sees Herakles wearying under his burden, Atlas advancing in royal dignity, and the maiden, in modest grace, lending her aid—the last a picture of the most charming *naïveté*. This relief becomes from this time a most important object for the history of Classic Art, for it affords the opportunity of studying, from a well-preserved sculpture, the art of the Peloponnesus as it was in the generation next preceding Pheidias. We may mention, finally, as a sample of a later period of art in Olympia, the torso of a well-executed clothed statue. This was the portrait statue of a Roman, and the head, as was common in the Roman period, was removable.

On a table by themselves are the plaster casts of the more important stones containing inscriptions, with small fragments of ancient sculptures and a few bronze figures. The inscriptions thus

far discovered have a peculiar interest. First, the dedication of the *Niké* of *Paionios* as the tithe of the spoils "from the enemies." The name of the enemies is not mentioned, and hence it has been believed, as *Pausanias* was told, that those *Lakedæmonians* were meant who were taken captive at *Sphakteria*. Beneath the dedication stands the name of *Paionios*, who is mentioned again in the second line as the master who had carried off the prize as the sculptor of the pediment.

The four lines of this inscription offer so much that is new that scholars will find in them ground for discussion for years. Was the last mentioned line, one may ask, *Paionios's* naive self-praise, or was it rather a later addition by some of his pupils, desirous to increase the fame of their master? A second stone gives us the name of the sculptor *Argeiadas*, the son of *Ageladas*, an *Argive* artist. He then must have worked in company with *Pheidias*, *Polykleitos*, and *Myron* in the studio of his famous father. Thus the pedigrees of the Greek sculptors become more complete.

A round base bears the verses with which the *Lakedæmonians*, at the beginning of the third *Messenian* war, dedicated a colossal statue of *Zeus* to the god. *Pausanias* read these same verses 1,700 years ago, and we may now revise and correct his copy (or the copy of his copyists) after the original.

Another inscription, without a letter wanting, pictures to us, in two distiches, the life of an *Arkadian*, *Praxiteles* by name, who had won money and honor in the service of the tyrants of *Sicily*, and now, in his native land, rears to the goddess of victory a memorial of his grateful recognition. Finally, there has been preserved, as if by a wonder, in perfect condition, a bronze tablet, 0.53 M. long, and 0.23 M. broad, ornamented with a gable end and two pilasters. In the pediment stand the arms of the island of *Tenedos*, below follows, in forty lines, the inscription.

This concerns *Damokrates*, a citizen of *Tenedos*, the son of *Agetos*, who, for his services to *Olympia*, was rewarded with certain privileges. This inscription dates from the time of *Alexander*; but is written in the dialect of *Elis*. We have before us then an illustration, and one altogether new, of the persistence with which the *Hellenes* held to their native dialects, and possess a document, invaluable for linguists, in the dialect of *Elis*.

In conclusion, let a word be spoken as to the results as regards the history of architecture. The clearing of the temple area has revealed that the ground plan of the temple admits of restoration with perfect

certainty. The location of each of the columns is distinctly recognizable, not only in the outside rows, but also within the temple.

Three steps, each .50 M. high, conduct to the Pronaos or eastern vestibule. The floor of this vestibule was covered with an ancient mosaic, laid on in two successive layers—below a Greek mosaic of concrete, above a Roman mosaic composed of fragments of colored marble. The Naos, or temple proper, was divided by two rows of columns into three aisles. Between the columns, the traces of the stone screens can be recognized which united them together, two and two. At the end of the cella the place can be distinctly identified where the colossal statue of Zeus stood. This had its place in no special chapel or shrine, but simply a little in front of the rear wall of the cella, and on this wall the pilasters corresponding to the pillars are still visible. The interior rows of columns supported a gallery, and the stairs which led aloft to this, were not, as had been supposed, at the end of the cella near the statue, but at its beginning, to the right and left of the entrance, on the partition wall separating the Pronaos from the cella. An interesting inquiry arises as we approach the east front. There exists here a structure which forms a terrace before the middle of the temple at the height of the second step. On this terrace there can be recognized the traces of an oblong base approached by steps. This was perhaps an altar. Further investigations will show whether this irregular construction, extending further to the south than to the north, was really an altar-terrace, and whether it was contemporaneous with the temple in its erection.

This is a very important question for an intelligent judgment of other similar structures. According to the theory of Carl Bötticher, which has found general acceptance, the temple of Zeus, like the Parthenon, belonged to that class of sacred buildings which were not intended for altar-worship, but only for the celebration of festivals and the safe custody of treasure. In the case of Olympia, we know that the worship of Zeus there, was no idol worship. Hence the great altar, the holiest spot in all Olympia, did not stand before the temple. There was no need, as was necessary in idol-worship, that the gaze of the worshiper in the act of sacrifice should fall upon the holy statue. The altar had a position and a signification wholly independent, for it belonged to the invisible god. It is, however, entirely possible, that in later times an altar terrace may have been erected before the temple, with the view of rendering to the colossus erected by Pheidias a yet higher honor. In any case, it is a matter of great importance to investigate more thoroughly this construction, in order

to learn at what period the terrace before the east façade was built, when it was enlarged, and what purpose it served.

The operations appointed to begin at the end of September will be of a three-fold nature. First,¹ the ditch before the east side of the temple will be widened until it touches the wall surrounding the Altis, in order to bring to light whatever works of art lie hidden in the earth on the east side of the temple.

Then a clearing will be made on the west end of the temple, in search of the remains of the west pediment, which Alkamenes adorned with his representation of the Lapithai, and the combat of the Centaurs. Closely connected with this excavation is the demolition of a wall .40 M. in thickness, and wholly composed of ancient fragments, which extends toward the south from the south-west angle of the temple. Next, the north side of the temple will be approached, and at the point immediately opposite the Sanctuary of Pelops, where, according to Pausanias's description, there was an especially rich display of statues.

Last of all, it is the purpose to extend a ditch from the west side of the temple, through the spot occupied by the Byzantine chapel, to the river Kladeos. We may safely assume that this chapel occupies the site of an ancient shrine, and its demolition will certainly yield us information respecting the medieval history of this locality, while it will also disclose the western confines of the temple, and involve the advantage of affording a passage by which the workmen can carry the earth toward the Kladeos, instead of being restricted, as they have been hitherto, to the Alpheios side, thus affording them at once greater freedom of space, and preventing them from standing in each other's way.

Such, in essentials, is the programme for the second period of labor, which is to begin on the 23d of September. We do not need to sink a shaft here and there, nor to experiment, in order to obtain success, but we shall be able to pursue the undertaking which has been begun, methodically to its close. We can also push it more rapidly, for there is no doubt that the German Parliament will supply the means for carrying forward an enterprise which was begun amid the hearty sympathy of the entire German people. The Greek government has promised to complete, before autumn, the road-way from Pyrgos to Olympia. This will enable us much more easily to

¹ See the map of the Plain of Olympia accompanying Prof. Curtius's article in the *International Review* for November, 1875.

employ horses and carts, by the aid of which we hope to hasten the work.

As to the style and artistic value of the individual fragments thus far discovered, opinions may indeed differ, but no one can doubt the signal significance of the excavation with respect to history, epigraphics, linguistic study, architecture, and the archæology of art; and if in a period of seven months, of which nearly the half was occupied in arranging the plan of operations, training the laborers, and other preliminary matters, so much has been gained as is now on exhibition in the rotunda of the museum at Berlin, we may certainly anticipate the results of the second campaign with cheerful confidence.



THE DANGERS OF MANHOOD.

YOUTH! whose ingenuous spirit, just and kind,
Looks from that gentle eye, that open brow,
Wilt thou be ever thus in heart and mind,
As guileless and as merciful as now?
Behold this streamlet, whose sweet waters wind
Among green knolls unbroken by the plough,
Where wild flowers woo the bee, and wild birds find
Safe nests and secret in the cedar bough.
This stream must reach the sea and then no more
Its purity and peaceful mood will keep,
But change to bitter brine and madly roar
Among the breakers there and toss and leap,
And dash the helpless bark against the shore,
And whelm the drowning seamen in the deep.

THE PARIS SALON OF 1876.

I.

IT is an idea often entertained by men of the world, historians, philosophers, and artists, that a republican form of government is little adapted to the development of the fine arts; and in spite of the differences which separate modern from ancient republics, the champions of this idea allege as a decisive proof that the great centuries both of Athens and Florence only began when liberty expired in the golden chains of Pericles and the Medici.

In France, perhaps more than anywhere else, this theory finds credit; the past of the nation having always been monarchical, the transformations which took place in the history of national art are designated by the names of kings: the time of Francis the First, Henry II., Louis XIV. Now that the Empire has disappeared, the problem of the art destiny of France is once more discussed with some degree of anxiety. Did Napoleon III. extinguish in his fall, along with the splendor of the Court and the fêtes at the Hotel de Ville and Tuileries, the real lustre which the fine arts shed upon his reign? No. His painters, sculptors, and architects did not follow him into exile, and did not die with him. Moreover, for some time past the great variety of attempts had created an inextricable confusion in art. The mind was embarrassed by the countless individual efforts in all directions, among the known and the unknown, the remembrances of the past, the wants of the present, the aspirations towards the future. To-day the strife seems to have been a passionate and ardent preparation for a new kind of art, nearly realized, and by which France under a republic appears destined to gain fresh credit.

The critics have been unanimous in declaring that the Salon of 1876 was one of the best in recent years. Not only did it contain some masterpieces, with other excellent works, but it was possible to discover, under numerous currents, a sort of calm depth and unity produced by the reconciliation of doctrines which, hitherto, had divided the school. We never saw previously so much respect for

truth combined with so much love of nature ; such a desire to impart nobleness to the subject by the choice of effect ; such thoughtfulness about color : all the ripe qualities harmonizing in the production of an art master of itself, of a substantial and skillful execution. And, if the result appears to allow fewer distinct individualities, if the summits of art seem lowered, it is because the general average is so much higher than it used to be.

After the terrible disasters of the war of 1870, France takes her revenge by the pacific success of this remarkable exhibition. The great historian Mommsen may have been too ready, after Sedan, to announce the intellectual and artistic catastrophe of France. The present French government, aware of the suspicions of artists and dilettanti, does everything in its power to inspire confidence. With an overburdened budget, it has rebuilt what was burnt in Paris by the communists ; it decorates our monuments, commissions paintings, buys statues, and wishes to increase by 80,000 francs the sum devoted to purchase the works of sculptors. And as regards the exhibition of 1878, nothing is to be spared to make it a marvel surpassing its predecessors and difficult to excel in future. If these efforts were attended with success, if, as may be hoped, a new and brilliant period were to open to French art, if this art prepared by a monarchy were to bloom during a republic, would not such an event give the lie to the doctrine which maintains that art can only be developed under servitude ?

II.

It is a fact generally acknowledged that the Parisians put in their houses, furniture, and dress, a degree of exquisite research, a charming refinement, which have won for them the ruling of fashion ; but the royalty of fashion in France has to submit to a higher power, as mysterious as the Fates of antiquity ; fashion must submit to taste.

Evidently the French people, so witty and restless, with such a bent for arguing, somewhat *blasé*, and very sarcastic, are fond of criticising art ; but does it follow that they are artists ? . . . They undoubtedly take the greatest interest in art, as was proved by their thronging the vast galleries in the Palais de l'Industrie, day after day, to the very last hour allowed them. In spite of the all but unendurable heat, they would see the pictures, water-colors, statues, and engravings, and every one judged, admired, and criticised with a degree of interest perhaps more noisy than enlightened, but at any rate genuine.

General attention was often attracted by works of inferior quality, before which connoisseurs passed indifferent and unheeding. If the number of spectators before a picture were an indication of its merits, Mr. Firmin-Girard's would certainly have been the masterpiece of the Salon. It was not given to everybody to come near it, and for those unprovided with an extra dose of patience, it was often hopeless to make the attempt. The painter represented a well-known flower-market in Paris, with ladies, flower girls, children and boys; but all these varieties of the human flora look poor enough when compared to the pyrotechnics of nose-gays. Each flower was painted to the last degree of perfection, with its real color and the exact number of its petals, and would have been invaluable in a book of botany; each figure had been carefully studied from the model, down to the most insignificant detail in the dress; it would have been a marvel in a tailor's or dress-maker's shop-window. There is in this canvas a degree of truth as admirable as it is out of place, and the effect produced is that of a mosaic. The absence of atmosphere allows of no reflection, and of no perceptible distance or separation between figures and objects. This kind of painting, without distances, very clever and thinly laid on the surface was likely to please a superficial and easily interested people, fond of careless and curious speculations, but quite as easily repelled by what is profound.

M. Leo Hermann was also very lucky in the choice of his subject, and a small crowd was constantly amused by the frank and communicative gayety of his picture. Two priests have been dining together; they are at dessert, the time is come for confidential talk, for stories. The last told must have been exquisite in its way, for the listener is convulsed with wild irresistible laughter. He can not resist it any more, he abandons himself to the delicious agonies of uncontrollable mirth. The other looks on with indescribable mischievousness; like a first rate fencer, he calculates the effect of his pass; it struck home, and the accuracy of it is clearly depicted in the amused countenance of the story-teller.

There were few water-colors in the Salon. One of them, however, by M. Gustave Moreau will give us the opportunity of speaking about this strange painter, a dreamer living in a separate world, a visionary laboring to record his visions. His reputation began with a truly archaic picture, in which the eyes of *Œdipus* fixed and scrutinized those of the Sphinx with thrilling intensity. Those who did not see it will never realize how all the soul, all the life, may be condensed into a look. Although it was clearly a search after the *naïf*, it was the

work of an over-refined intelligence. The first step indicated the future evolution of the painter. His hatred of the common-place has thrown him into phantasmagoria. The great success of his *Œdipus* has inspired him forever with the love of enigmas. At first his creations belonged to this world, and were only remarkable for some curious peculiarities of style; now his actors live altogether in an imaginary state far from the remotest limits of ideal art.

One of his oil-pictures exhibited this year, represents Herodias dancing to obtain the head of John the Baptist; his water-color is the bloody epilogue of the sacred drama. The executioner has come back; he holds in his hand his naked, blood-stained sword, while the martyr's head appears to Herodias in a flaming glory. Such a subject might have tempted Rembrandt, and it is easy to imagine how he would first have placed his figures firmly upon the ground. Salomé would have been only a vulgar woman, the swordsman an Amsterdam porter; but the glory shedding a miraculous light around the head of St. John would have illumined the scene as with supernatural rays. The avenging flames after dazzling and blinding Salomé, would have expired in heavy and terrible shadows at the extremities of the picture. Rembrandt would have excited terror, M. Moreau excites only curiosity and surprise. Nobody in the picture lives, neither Herodias nor the executioner. Are the palace and the luxury of its architecture, the splendors of jeweled costumes, lighted by sun or moon? . . . The color sparkles and glitters, the light plays and scatters thousands of little prisms as on the backs of certain insects, or on the wings of some tropical birds. The execution passes from heavy loadings to the lightest rubbings in; the reds turn to yellows, the blues to greens. The artist appears to have purposely determined to disturb our eyes and our mind. It is impossible to convey an adequate perception of this varying and glittering painting, so much labored and yet dead. It might perhaps be imagined by supposing that a painter, instead of taking his studies from nature, had dressed up some lay-figures according to his chosen subject, and placed them appropriately on the stage of a theatre whose scenery he had himself prepared, and that he had painted the whole under a contradictory light of variegated fire-works.

The antagonistic doctrines, which so long divided the French school, seem to be reconciled. The partisans of drawing no longer seek for their models in that world of Plato, more philosophic than plastic, where pure beauty consists in contours undefiled by human flesh and color; however idealized their attempt may be, they never

go beyond the limits in which forms preserve their color and solidity. On the other hand, the colorists have sought more carefully the truth and charm of line, and try now to reach the domain of elevated ideas, from which their rivals had the pretension to exclude them. Nowadays no painter pursues the isolated study of color or design ; those who draw or paint badly are those who can not draw or paint better : it is no longer a system but a proof of artistic impotence.

It is no mystery that M. Gerôme is not a colorist, and yet in a subject taken from the East, and representing some women bathing, there is in the middle of the bath-room a small kiosk, whose architecture, marbles, and tiles produce a harmony of color which is both charming and true. We see that he has sought after color passionately, and very frequently we are tempted to say to him : " That's it ! that's right ! " And if suddenly his coloring becomes impure and false, we still know that the artist has done his best, and it may be said, to paraphrase Byron's line about Wisdom, that he loves Color better than Color loves him.

III.

All painters of high endowment agree on this point : that the aim of painting is not so much the exact rendering of the outward aspect of things as the power to express what may be hidden within them. Still, a certain number of artists attempt only the faithful imitation of natural objects, based upon nothing more than a delicate perception of the eye, and dexterity of handling. France has recently lost, in F. Millet, one of the last and greatest of these pantheists. M. Hanoteau is one of those who maintain the tradition in its purity and uphold the worship of nature. All his pictures are painted not far from his house, in the open air. His large landscape of this year, *l'Eau qui rit*, is touching in its sincerity. It is admirably firm and vigorous, and yet we experience a sort of regret to see the artist sacrificing himself so entirely to nature ; we seek him in his work, and when we are unable to find him, it is as if there were a certain shallowness in the picture. It is much that he should have seen nature so well, but it would be infinitely more interesting to know how he loved her ; his hand has been obedient, dexterous, and faithful, but did his heart beat ?

The individuality of the Greek sculptors was in the same manner effaced by the immutability of consecrated types, and the imperious desire which makes us seek the artist in his works, is one of the most remarkable differences between the antique and the modern spirit.

Such painters as M. Hanoteau are exceptions in the contemporary school of painting. How different from him is another landscapist, M. Pelouse! He exhibited this year a picture in which nature had been closely studied, but had also undergone a transformation! The mind had thought before its model, and the hand gave the translation. Every visitor stopped before M. Pelouse's landscape.

On the horizon, a wood thinned by the woodcutters, stripped of its leaves in autumn; the light decreases and sinister shadows fall here and there, while the depths begin to burn under the fiery purple of the setting sun. In front, among the fallen leaves and dried ferns, a miserable woodcutter is peeling an oak, indifferent to the splendors of that nature which scorches him in summer, starves him in winter, and in all seasons chastises him. It would be worth while to stop for a moment his rude work, and to ask whether his blows do not sound more melancholy in this deep silence, and if he does not feel saddened in treading the fallen leaves, or moved by the magnificent solemnity of the sunset. It is probable that such a scene would produce in him none of these effects, and that he would even remain completely insensible to the painful contrast of a sky opening all its treasures before his poverty, as if to insult his sufferings: the great irony so deeply felt, so splendidly rendered, by the painter.

M. Pelouse's picture marks the transformation of the school which now takes nature for a basis, and tries at the same time to ennoble it by style. This reconciliation of style with nature has taken place about in the same manner as that of color and design: "High Art" has come nearer to nature while the naturalists were studying style. It is a fact that there are now fewer categories than formerly, even the frontiers which used to separate so completely figure painting from landscape and still life do not appear to be very efficacious; artists easily pass from one kind of subject to another. So M. Vollon, well known for his masterly treatment of fish and the harmonies of color which he produces with kettles and copper pans has painted an excellent picture, called *Une Pêcheuse*.

This robust young woman walking along the beach, beaten by the wind, expresses well in her rude grace, the energy, anger and smiles of the sea. Every limb is exposed to the wind; the arms, legs and even the face are weather-beaten, but the healthy fresh tints, visible through the ignoble holes of the ragged dress, are as resplendent as jewels in a half opened casket. M. Vollon, in this circumstance, did not hesitate to go out of his way to take a subject which tempted him.

A brilliant and elegant painter, a picturesque and distinguished writer, as well as a refined mind in love with beautiful forms, beautiful colors and beautiful style, M. E. Fromentin, has given some excellent reasons for this eclecticism of our artists, in a book recently published, and which nearly opened for him the doors of the Academy.¹

“L’histoire confine au genre qui lui-même confine au paysage, et même à la nature morte. Beaucoup de frontières ont disparu. Que de rapprochements le pittoresque n’a-t-il pas opéré? Moins de raideur d’un côté, plus d’audace de l’autre, des modes nouvelles, des toiles moins vastes, le besoin de plaire et de se plaire, la vie de la campagne qui ouvre bien des yeux, tout cela a mêlé les genres, transformé les méthodes. On ne saurait dire à quel point le grand jour des champs entrant dans les ateliers les plus austères y a produit de conversions et de confusion.”

Yes, it is in the open air, before the greatness of nature and in a common admiration for the Creator admired in his works, that artists have forgotten their old quarrels, and have been reconciled, and now if a philosophical definition of the French school were wanted, it might be said, either that it is a tender naturalism unwilling to gain truth at the cost of sentiment and style; or a spiritualism unwilling to have style at the sacrifice of character and truth.

After observing how the difficulty has been got over in landscape, it is interesting to know how it was solved for history. In the picture by M. J. P. Laurens, the scene is simple and dramatic. After the death of the Empress Isabella, Francis Borgia was charged by Charles V. to bring back the body to Granada. The ceremony is over; the coffin has been opened for Francis Borgia to identify the corpse of his sovereign. “Alas! alas! she lies there, the beauty so much admired, adored and envied; so full of power but yesterday!” It is possible to imagine how M. Ingres would have treated the same subject; what science he would have applied to it, in what noble lines he would have expressed it, and in what false coloring it would have been washed and weakened. It may also be surmised how the color of M. Delacroix would have participated in the drama; by what sinister lightnings the corpse would have been illuminated; in what lugubrious shadows the bystanders would have been wrapped. As to M. J. P. Laurens, he knows that nature, in general, remains insensible to our sufferings, and accordingly, he has sought his effect in a more familiar sentiment, more frequently felt, perhaps more ordinary, but surely more poignant.

¹ Les Maîtres d’Autrefois, by E. Fromentin. We much regret that this distinguished artist and writer died in the month of August, 1876.

M. J. P. Laurens has given us the scene as most likely it took place, under the quiet light of a chapel in the cathedral, among the common surroundings of existence which sometimes penetrate the deepest sorrows with the sharpness of steel. Francis Borgia is standing bare-headed, near the open coffin; he is dressed in black; silent, and contemplates the dead Empress with a look full of inexpressible pain. Isabella is splendidly attired; the dead face, more green than white, offers the sad spectacle of human nothingness on this magnificent pillow, on a bed of gold, silk, and velvet. All austerity is on the side of the living, all mundane splendor with the dead; it is solely by this contrast that the artist has dramatized his subject, that he has ennobled it and filled it with an intense emotion without any sacrifice of truth.

IV.

Any one who had not followed the history of French art for the last ten years, would certainly be disconcerted in finding such a quantity of new names and recent reputations. All those who had filled the first half of this century with the fame of their works and the noise of their strife are dead; the last representatives of that epoch, Barye and Corot, are gone, closely followed by Pils, Millet, and Carpeaux. Others were represented in the Salon by works of inferior quality, in which they are not always easily recognizable. Baudry, Cabanel, Français, Daubigny, exhibited pictures sufficiently respectable for others, but unworthy of their talent and reputation.

It is, therefore, a new generation which claims our notice, and not only have the names changed, but taste also. In the Salon there were fewer animal, historical, and military paintings, and more landscapes and genre pictures than in previous years. Venice continued to exercise upon painters the fascination of her somewhat faded charms, but the battalion of Orientalists was strangely diminished. M. Fromentin himself, generally so poetical and brilliant, no longer seemed to see the East on the bright side; his shadows were heavy and cold, and his Nile had the solidity of earth. M. Paul Leroi, aware of M. Fromentin's talents, both as a painter and writer, suggests that he may have mistaken his brush for his pen, and dipped it into his inkstand.

It has always been my belief that the distant travels of painters corresponded to the disease of an epoch both dull and *blasée*; if the painters come back, so much the better, it is a sign of cure. They have lately discovered that there exist in France, about

them, a thousand subjects daily seen but unappreciated, which only required artistic treatment to become works of art. It is in this spirit that M. Luigi Loir has painted one of the most ordinary places in Paris, *la Porte des Ternes*, with a dexterity of handling, a knowledge of color, and a degree of sentiment which make it an excellent picture. Where is the Parisian who does not immediately recognize the grey sky, the crossing-sweepers, the cabs, the loungers, and who does not fancy that he can smell the characteristic odor, called "l'odeur de Paris?"

Battle painters have also undergone a transformation; they hide the battle itself, and only show some episode of it; in war they care only to see what is really noble or sad: the love of country, pity, duty, etc. The Franco-German war has most certainly something to do with this result; many artists fought then, and Henri Régnault was killed; thence arose grave thoughts, still more deepened by the pains of wounded patriotism. To-day, Germany, in her pictures, exults over her cannons, while France gives the moral and philosophical impression; but the luminous smoke of past victories, together with fits of national pride, had to vanish before we could see the swollen eyes, the mothers' mourning, the newly-dug graves. The history of French art before and after the war would be an interesting undertaking. Considered in its most immediate results, it has certainly disencumbered our exhibitions of the enormous battle-pieces which used to cover their walls, to the increase of imperial glory. The common people were extremely fond of that kind of painting, in which they found movement, action, and the wildest passions let loose, in an atmosphere of smoke and blood. In the picture exhibited this year by M. Protais, the battle is not on the canvas, but rages all around it. A few soldiers guard the flag; they closely surround it, and are ready to die in its defense. The most manly resolution is depicted in their countenances; the eyes sparkle, the nostrils quiver, the muscles are contracted—still, they are calm. But this heroic immobility is full of pent-up ardor and intrepidity. Even the low key in which the picture has been pitched heightens its value, and turns into a quality an habitual defect of the artist, who is more dreamy than noisy. The obscure devotion of these soldiers is only paid by the austere and intimate satisfaction resulting from the fulfillment of duty. This dull atmosphere surrounds them as they will fall, quietly, without éclat, unknown, sublime. Our admiration embraces them together—as they will be buried.

M. Detaille has also taken good care not to represent a battle.

A cavalry skirmish has been fought in a village where a battalion of *chasseurs-à-pied* comes to reconnoitre the place. The vanguard is already in the principal street of the village; further back the main body issues by three different openings. Some dead men and horses, a few wounded soldiers, are clear indications of severe fighting. The officer questions a peasant: "Ou est l'ennemi?" All eyes ardently follow the gesture which is an answer.

The scene is full of ingenious details which make it as clear as could a written explanation. Emotion, terror, impatience, are finely analyzed by an acted commentary. Two boys trembling with fear, but more curious than frightened, glide along the walls; a soldier turns his head back to look at a dead uhlan, with the practical philosophy of a man who has seen worse things. A few impatient soldiers arm their guns, their officer controls them with a sign, while behind him a new recruit bends immoderately forward, opening his big round eyes in expectation. The public appreciates this kind of art, so ingenious and intelligible that it may be read like a book. The cultivated appreciate its delicate rendering of sentiments; artists admire the firmness and frankness of the brush, and the superior knowledge required to put in their proper place the different plans of perspective on a blank road, in a misty atmosphere, without any striking contrast of light and shade, and merely by the quality of local color. There were a great many difficulties purposely brought together in this picture by M. Detaille, and he has conquered them completely.

V.

The absence of shade, the pre-occupation of modeling objects in full light, is one of the great problems which now occupy the French school. It is merely a reaction against the dark painters formerly so much admired and imitated. Rembrandt, Tintoret, Velasquez, had accustomed the eyes to the obscurity of their subterranean world, illumined by occasional lightning. Our painters, now that they study nature seriously, have fallen in love with sunlight; they are dazzled by its brilliancy, by its thousand reflections, and when they go out of its splendid presence, their eyes are still so full of it that shadow seems to them nothing but mere blackness.

There is no better proof of the coëxistence of conventionalism with art than the revolutions brought about by generations alternately appreciating light pictures and dark ones. These revolutions in taste ought to be a warning to critics who judge by inflexible and

invariable laws, and to whom masterpieces may be opposed as a refutation of their rules.

It may be said that Henri Régnault has had the greatest influence in this *light* revolution of painting. Light was the dream and torment of all his life. Who knows what might have been the end of the feverish, mad strife which he kept up so long against it, scandalizing some, frightening others, admired by many? The Prussian ball which struck him on the forehead made the curtain fall when interest was at its highest, when the ebullition of youth was being appeased by the maturity of the mind and the firmness of the hand. French patriotism has lifted him from where he fell; and for the sake of his glorious death, has held him famous before his time; it has called "master" the young hero who, in spite of some splendid paintings bearing signs of early maturity, was still an adventurous and brilliant scout, without any recognized rank in the army of art. In several of his pictures he had not shrunk from choosing the full light of day, without any of the massive shadows which give life and relief by opposition. In the portrait of *la Comtesse de Barck*, in *Salomé*, in the *Execution au Maroc*, it is a battle of lights, and modeling is obtained exclusively by gradation of local color. Such is the problem, contestible as to prudence, and of extraordinary difficulty in practice, that so many painters try to solve after him; and they will attempt it until the tired public reminds them somewhat tartly that it prefers complete pictures to exhibitions of technical skill.

Some artists have caught from Henri Régnault his ardent love of color, his capricious execution, and his exaggerated passion for theatrical gettings up, the result of his travels in Spain and Morocco. His wisest imitators, without renouncing the help afforded by great masses of shadow, have contrived to lighten the general tonality of their pictures, and they have succeeded, with a more elaborate study of color, and by what has so happily been called the relationship of tone (*la parenté du ton*), through all the incidents of light and shade. In that respect, Henri Régnault's influence has, indirectly, been salutary; the French school has acquired great frankness, together with extreme certainty of handling, by being compelled to express itself without reticence; we have never seen the qualities which may be acquired, that is, those of eye and hand, carried further.

Critics have recognized in M. Benjamin Constant the visible inspiration of his master, and in M. Clairin, his friend and disciple. M. Clairin has exhibited a picture which is described, to our great

surprise, as a portrait. This painter can not bear conventionalities, and does not submit to them; his success this year was due, in a great measure, to the surprise and curiosity which he had excited with Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt's portrait.

Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt is a charming actress, by nature elegant, ardent, and original; she puts in all her parts her feverish and startling grace, her sad smiles, and poetical sorrows; her voice like a golden bell, rings out the cadence of French verses. It is only just that her talent, her managers, and the public, should have made her rich, but it was a strange idea to appear in the Salon with her furniture as she appears with her wreaths after the play. In the midst of this artistic furniture, carefully arranged like a family before a photographer, Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt is stretched on a sofa, in an immensely long white dress, around which the red velvet, alternately lighted and subdued, sparkles in a series of little explosions not unlike platoon fire. Is it a woman or an apparition? Two large and strange eyes fixed on vacant space are the only definite feature in an ideal face, scarcely modeled. The body is lost in the long and narrow dress whose thin outline betrays in the original a certain poverty of form. "Où il n'y a rien le diable lui-même perd ses droits!" exclaimed the witty and ever charming caricaturist Cham, before this portrait.

The worst of it is that such portraits are becoming the fashion. M. Parrot has also exhibited a lady lying down, and we have another in the act of descending the stairs. It appears that now women are not endowed with the degree of strength or patience required to sit to their painters, they find it more comfortable to lie down; and if it really becomes the fashion, what critic will possess sufficient influence to stop the current? It is at any rate a matter for surprise to find that Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt who shows such good taste as an actress should be wanting in tact as a woman. How did she come to choose for her presence in a public and official salon, in *the* Salon, a posture allowed only in the most private family circle? It has always been the privilege of pretty, spoilt women to indulge in their fancies; this is an excuse for M. Clairin; but artists have also a right *not* to paint their portraits.

Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt was not sufficiently satisfied with having one portrait in the Salon, but offered herself to our admiring gaze in different attitudes, standing and lying down, full face, and in profile; she has even sent an important marble group: *Après la tempête*. Happy woman! she is an actress, a sculptor, a model at the same

time. A newspaper well known for its wit and satire, *le Figaro*, has expressed its wonder at Mlle. Sarah Bernhardt's many achievements. That she should find time to carve in a year a marble group that many artists, less occupied, could not have done in less than twice the same space of time, and that besides spending her nights at the theatre, her days in rehearsals and in sittings to painters, is really marvelous, but who does not know the mysterious power of beauty? The young actress has victoriously proved in a letter that the famous group had been entirely carved by her own hand. We must hasten to say that it is not its sole merit.

VI.

The works of M. de Nittis are full of interest for whoever cares to ascertain what may be the consequences of a principle carried to its extreme limit with the strictness of a philosophical abstraction. His little pictures are shining and glassy, and the objects represented in them as bathed in light, lose their most natural and most necessary shadows. *La route de Castellamare*, painted according to this method, may excite our wonder but not our admiration. The composition is very simple. In a plain, flat as a mirror, and scorched by the sun, a dusty road stretches into the far distance. On the foreground are some peasants and stone-breakers, whose metallic flesh-tints shine like melted bronze. They seem to be talking together, in reality they are only useful for throwing back the flat distance in order to get the horizon in its proper place. It is a truthful representation—but is it a picture? The art of painting is not adapted to the rendering of all subjects in a degree equally happy. M. de Nittis is a kind of Paganini who is over-fond of interpreting the great masters on one string only. He may thus obtain a certain number of admirers, but the real dilettanti will scarcely be thankful to him for having deprived an art of some of its means of expression, and for throwing away in overcoming difficulties of his own creation, an amount of talent and time which would be better applied to the study of sentiment, character and effect.

M. de Nittis is only thirty years old, and he has already got admirers, imitators and followers; his talent has been tried in different kinds of art and in several countries: Italy, France, England. Besides his excessively light pictures, he paints the elegance, the hidden seduction, the ignored poetry of modern every-day life. His picture *La Place des Pyramides à Paris*, which he painted in a cab (to secure for himself the privacy of the studio in the midst of a crowded pub-

lic thoroughfare), belongs to his second manner. But although he lives in Paris, M. de Nittis is an Italian by birth, and sighs after the Neapolitan *campagna*, where he wandered in liberty and dreamed the first dreams of his youth. He is called back by a sort of mysterious and invincible power, to the painting of the dusty white roads which seem to inflame his imagination after having burned his feet. By depriving himself of the help of shade, he is not unlike a man who, having cut down his first trees, would find some compensation for the want of fruit in the fire which he got from the trunks. Most likely posterity will consider M. de Nittis like an adventurous comet, thrown accidentally within the orbit of known constellations, and then gone without leaving any sign of its passage.

After M. de Nittis, who is a lover of light, we shall speak of M. Munkacsy, who is a lover of darkness; in so doing we shall imitate nature, who so judiciously, always places shade near light. M. Munkacsy used to have passion for shade, without chiaroscuro and without reflections, but this year he may be congratulated on having lightened the habitual shadows of his backgrounds. The gentleman dressed in grey and seated on the corner of a table with the ease and familiarity of home-life, in a studio full of precious furniture and rare *bibclots*, is the painter himself, M. Munkacsy. There is a landscape on the easel and the artist was at work upon it when a sudden difficulty arose. He called in his wife, and now she sits before it, grave as a judge; her pretty and serious profile detached with infinite softness from the austere background. Both are looking attentively. Her blue dress sheds over the disorder of the studio a ray of luminous grace. By the size of the canvas, and the robust quality of handling, M. Munkacsy's picture was one of the masterpieces in the Salon. It was impossible not to admire both the solidity and transparency of its shadows, the brightness of its lights, the subdued harmonies of its background. The color laid thick without exaggeration shone discreetly and received from some artists the epithet of *extrêmement savoureuse*; high praise in the fashionable art-language of the present day. The spectator distinguishes from a distance, among all the other pictures this warm, rich, seductive piece of painting. As he approaches, the interest increases, but the picture compels attention from far and near. The grey coat of the painter, the blue dress of his wife are executed with such masterly handling in brushwork that a few strokes indicate the direction and character of the folds. The well-selected varieties of hues are marvels of clever observation, especially with regard to the incidence of light. It is possible that

this work may owe the calm, which is its principal attraction, to this simplification of method; something, too, may be due to the air of domestic happiness which pervades it. At all events, M. Munkacsy has not at all times been so fortunate in the choice of his tints and transference of his shadows.

VII.

The number of classical pictures has been steadily decreasing for some years past, and the public do not seem to regret them much. The official jury is, nevertheless under a sort of moral obligation to show favor to the representatives of a dying art which is still considered by many, rightly or wrongly, as the highest manifestation of æsthetics. A medal was given to M. Sylvestre in very much the same spirit as a wreath is laid upon a tomb.

Le Prix du Salon is a new prize, instituted by a decree of May 16, 1874; it is awarded by the jury to a painter under thirty-two years of age, who must afterwards live in Rome during three years, and who receives an annual pension of four thousand francs.

M. Sylvestre had exhibited last year a *Mort de Sénèque*, which attracted a great deal of attention and criticism. The picture which this year has won for him the *Prix du Salon* represents Locusta trying in the presence of Nero the poison intended for Britannicus. I am not one of those who reproach M. Sylvestre for having the poison tried upon a slave, when Suetonius says that the first victims were a he-goat and a pig. Art, whose mission it is to resuscitate the great characteristics of history, ought to have a certain amount of liberty in the treatment of details. I grant also that M. Sylvestre may be excused for having made Nero look older than he really was (eighteen at the death of Britannicus), in order to represent the typical Nero of statues and medals. In a corner of the picture an empty cup has been thrown down; the slave is writhing on the marble floor in the last convulsion of death; on the other side Locusta and Nero are tragically seated, side by side. The experiment has been made, and Locusta, with her elbow supported on the emperor's knee, silently seeks to read in his eyes if he is satisfied. M. Bergerat, in *l'Officiel*, criticised the familiarity of the attitude; he, no doubt, forgot that Nero was a bad author, a bad actor, a Bohemian who at night, under a disguise, frequented places of ill-fame; "between artists" he might allow such familiarities. I only reproach M. Sylvestre with having painted Nero's hair black when it was fair (*sufflavo capillo*), and to have strained the dramatic character of the composition to some-

thing theatrical and almost horrible in the desperate convulsion of the slave. M. Sylvestre might also have chosen for this slave a type of some nationality : a Spaniard, a German, the Gaulish gladiator of the Capitol, or one of the Dacian prisoners, whose irregular and expressive features have been so frequently reproduced by antique sculptors after the victories of Trajan.

The drama is acted in one of the halls of the emperor's palace, whose ruins still tower above Rome from the height of the Palatine hill ; these dark vaults are full of undivulged mysteries, and we shudder at the thought of their secrets. After visiting what remains of these splendors, it is easier to understand the marbles, columns, and mosaics which enrich the sinister laboratory of Nero. It is to be regretted that the execution is dry and sooty, and that there is so much black in the shadows. An eminent critic, well-known for his brilliant contributions to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, M. Paul Mantz, fears, with some reason, that this manner of painting, which recalls the practice of the Bolognese school, may share its fate : the complete disappearance of half-tints and transparency in a dead and almost uniform blackness. There is, too, something fantastical, unsuited to the gravity of historical painting, in this way of obtaining strength, not by quality of tone, but by intensity of shade. These outbreaks of false energy, which are neither sustained by the solidity of the work beneath, nor by the quality of the light, upset the equilibrium of the whole picture. It is at once obtrusive and dull, agitated and yet cold, staring yet feebly lighted. To the credit of the artist let us acknowledge that the figures, and especially that of the slave, are the best things in the picture ; as to the architecture, marbles, and floors, they are painted with a degree of scrupulous timidity which destroys all atmosphere and reminds one of mosaic. To M. Sylvestre might justly be applied the witty criticism made by E. Delacroix about one of M. Ingres' pictures : "Il y a un pavé de mosaïques d'une exactitude à désespérer un professeur de perspective. Du premier plan au dernier, il y a peint mille petits losanges d'une exactitude rigoureuse quant à la fuite des lignes. Ça reluit comme un miroir, on s'y regarderait pour se faire la barbe. Avec tant soit peu de vraie couleur, son pavé fuirait et n'aurait pas besoin de ce millier de petites lignes."

In a book recently published in Germany, a Prussian author has been sufficiently impartial to acknowledge that, taking everything into account, there were some good things in Paris which even Berlin might imitate. Among other matters, he compares the extreme

mildness of French criticism, the light and brilliant weapons which rather adorn than arm it, the pretty flower-throwing slings of our Parisian Davids to the terrible and gigantic clubs of the modern Goliaths from beyond the Rhine. One is struck by the justness of the observation, in noticing how the French press, although pointing out the defects in M. Sylvestre's picture, has readily recognized its qualities and promises.

VIII.

It is with universal admiration, enthusiasm and pride that public opinion has hailed *La Charité* by M. Paul Dubois as the masterpiece of the exhibition of sculpture, and the honor of contemporary French art.

I know not whether works of genius possess a mysterious radiancy which makes one aware of their presence; but as soon as we went among the statues, we were drawn by an inexplicable attraction towards this admirable Charity, who by a movement of most loving tenderness, presses in her arms the two children laid on her lap.

M. Paul Dubois has won two medals in the same exhibition: as painter a first medal for a picture charming in its familiarity and exquisite in modeling; the portraits of his two children; as sculptor *la médaille d'honneur* for a work of absolute beauty, unanimously recognized as such alike by artists, amateurs, and the general public; a work in the presence of which we feel the thrill said by Diderot to indicate masterpieces. Antique art has never produced anything more tender, and we think with M. About that the art of the Renaissance has never been calmer, nobler, more beautifully chaste.

M. Cherbuliez, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, says that a Berlin critic, having remarked the superiority of French sculptors, the elevation of their ideas and style, had made this observation: "In France, painters and sculptors do not seem to belong to the same nation." The reason for this superiority may be found in the fact that sculptors do not depend upon the public for the sale of their works; the State only purchases them occasionally. Poverty, like antique Fate, weighs upon them, and sometimes even upon the most celebrated. When they are poor, failure brings to them certain distress, while success does not always lead them to fortune. A sculptor requires more than talent, he requires firmness of character and abnegation.

A commission, whose President was M. Guillaume of the Institute,

has awarded the prize of Florence¹ to M. Albert Lefeuvre. *L'Adolescence* is a sort of troubled, unripe work, but original and impressive. The young sculptor will be enabled to go and study art at its source, in its powerful *naïveté*, on the land where it first grew and became great, while his official friends will contemplate the same art, transplanted to Rome, in its definite and supreme form.

If this important question were to be decided by this year's experience of the Salon, "l'Art" would be right, for it is evidently Florence rather than Rome which may claim M. Paul Dubois; not that he is necessarily an archaic artist or the imitator of a school, but because the natural turn of his mind and the force of his genius lead him there, and if he must remind us of some masters, it will be of the early French painters at the end of the fifteenth century who, brought into contact with the Italian Renaissance, modified their national art without sacrificing its simplicity.

It is the second time that M. Paul Dubois has won the medal of honor, and few works have been made more generally known by plaster and bronze reductions than his *Chanteur Florentin*, to which he first owed this signal distinction.

M. Paul Dubois is fifty-two years old; he is an excellent painter and sculptor, a good musician and a lawyer;² very learned, very industrious, extremely modest, universally esteemed and loved, he has known how to secure for himself, in the midst of a noisy city, and with an extensive reputation, a calm and studious retreat. His time is divided between his art and his family. One of the ancients said of an orator that he was an honest man who had a capacity for speaking, and Paul Dubois tempts us to apply a similar definition to himself. He is an honest man who is able to carve a statue; and so noble is his laborious career that it may be considered the highest example of an artist's life among living and working contemporaries.

When it was first proposed to raise by subscription a monument to the French general Lamoricière, and after deciding that it would be placed as a companion to the famous monument of François II., duc de Bretagne, in the cathedral of Nantes, all eyes were immediately turned towards M. Paul Dubois. We do not know the whole composition; we only know that the angles will be occupied by four symbolical statues, seated. We saw but two of these statues in the Salon, and only in plaster. They are both admirable, although different in their style of beauty; they were both created by the same

¹ Founded by the new art journal *L'Art*.

² His legal studies were carried so far that he took the degree of *Docteur en droit*.

genius, and it would be rash to try to establish degrees of excellence between them; they must be united in our admiration as they were united in the recompense awarded by the jury. What may be said with truth is, that the *Génie militaire* is more concentrated, more manly, while *la Charité* comes from a more tender inspiration, and possesses the power of communicating emotion; perhaps it is the reason which made it more generally popular. Courage must be calm and grave, Charity is itself moved, and stirs the heart of others.

La Charité is about life-size; she is seated, with two babes on her lap. The feet are close together, and the knees are somewhat apart, so as to form for the children in the depression of the dress a soft and warm nest, encircled by the lovely curve of the arms in the tenderest embrace. One of the babes sucks greedily; the other is already satisfied, and sleeps, smiling. Who could describe the love in the mother's eyes; her attitude enraptured and yet calm, anxious and yet sedate?

On all sides the lines are pure, and the harmony of the movements seems to have been ruled by divine music, as the Greeks said. She is young but slightly faded, robust but already fatigued; she is handsome, but hers is the rustic beauty tried by work and sun. She is a woman of the people, poor, and the more moving on that account. Charity must exhaust herself by giving away her milk, her blood, her life. On her head a handkerchief, on her limbs a peasant's dress, half unfastened; simple to a degree, marvelously beautiful. The details are those of common life, and yet the most skillful are abashed by the nobleness and grandeur of the effect. The wonder is increased by the art displayed in the hiding of all visible effort, and critical analysis fails to detect the causes of that hidden grace which wins upon us subtly and surely.

A few ample and necessary folds suffice to explain the attitude, while the uniformity of the dress contrasts happily with the life visible in the breast, neck, arms, and naked feet; in the exquisite chubby roundness of the two babes, particularly the one who has sucked himself to sleep, and whose fat little limbs are slightly rolled up, and his curly head thrown back.

Such is this work, ineffably simple, conceived and executed with an extreme power of concentrated will, and carried straight to the point aimed at by the artist. There is not a useless feature in it, not one dint of the chisel which is not convergent to the idea he meant to express. He wished to glorify the plebeian woman, and he has shown her not only in her most august function, that of

maternity, but in a sort of ennobled maternity, for I suppose that one of the babes is an orphan.

To understand the mastery of the artist, it is necessary to appreciate the suppleness with which the statue is made to fit the monument and to suit the architectural lines; even the feet, so firmly placed on the plinth, the body so well adapted to the angle without jutting out, contribute to the impression of deep peace, of sweet and sad sentiment produced by the sight of human miseries pitied and consoled. Others have shaken from their feet the heaviness of our common soil, and in their flight have come nearer to the inaccessible; but matter has never been made to speak in terms more human.

It is from the same source of earthly inspiration, but ennobled by high sentiments, that M. Paul Dubois has drawn the *Courage militaire*. The young and somewhat disdainful soldier, whose head is turned aside, and whose proud look is fixed on the crowd, is one of those whom the law brings by thousands, every year, under our flags. By what subtle transformation has the artist drawn this superb type from a vulgar conscript? Great artists alone would be able to explain it, were it not even for them the mysterious power called "grace" in religion, and in the arts a "gift." I think, however, that there is a great deal of emotion in this statue, apparently so calm; and perhaps the magic of the artist may partly consist in the warmth and generosity of his heart.

One of the hands rests upon a sword, the other firmly set on the knee and slightly clenched, reveals a secret impatience; he is neither haughty nor aggressive, but he waits and hopes. I have already spoken of the influence of the late war upon French art, and it seems to me that the artist's thoughts were of his invaded and mutilated country, of Paris bombarded, of the never-to-be-forgotten sorrows of that terrible epoch, when he made this soldier so young and already so grave. Unconsciously perhaps, he realized the personification of the young army upon which the past weighs so painfully, but for which the future is open. He has saddened his soldier with his own regrets, and animated him with his own hopes.

The body is slender, and nervous with the mixture of force and agility that the ancients gave to their representations of Mercury; but the muscles, the tendons, all the characteristics of active life, are more conspicuous, as is generally the case in plebeian races where the constant activity of labor hardens the external markings of the muscles. For head-dress, a helmet with a chimæra; a simple leathern *justaucorps*, admirably sculptural, completes this heroic costume,

which leaves bare the neck, arms, and legs. This arrangement of costume is so picturesque, so well adapted to the subject, that one does not think of regretting that the artist should have sacrificed to fancy in a work so expressly modern.

IX.

Modern architects seem disdainful of the present, careless about the future, but they understand how to turn the past to the best account. The Salon was extremely poor in architectural projects, but M. Albert Thomas had exhibited a remarkable restoration of the *Temple of Apollo at Didyme* (Asia Minor), where the excavations were undertaken at the cost of MM. E. and G. de Rothschild.¹

If architecture does not attract much attention from the public, it is not the same with etching, since, thanks to the intelligent initiation of some English and French critics, this forgotten art has come again into fashion; they have pointed out that this powerful and versatile process can give an intensity of shade and an energy of light which it would be useless to seek in any other black-and-white art; and now it is extensively used to illustrate books and artistic reviews, and in the reproduction of pictures.

The French etchers are extremely skillful, but they have diverted etching from its natural liberty, originality, and spontaneity, qualities which had particularly charmed the eloquent voices who, in France as in England, had reëstablished its glory and brought about its renaissance. The dearest aim of that resurrection was to make the needle, what it used to be in the hands of Rembrandt, a marvelous pencil, embodying in thousands of copies all the inventions of the mind, all the dreams and fancies of imagination. But this expectation has not been realized: engravers have now taken up the etching-needle, and only see in it a kind of more supple and more personal burin. This explains how the best etchings in the Salon were all reproductions of pictures.

Once this regret expressed, it is impossible not to admire the extreme skill displayed by engravers in their rivalry with painting. Among so many excellent artists, M. Flameng certainly occupies the first rank. He has engraved Rembrandt's *Ronde de nuit* and *Les Syndics* with marked individuality, but at the same time with such intelligent respect for the originals that these etchings might

¹ We also noticed several of the careful restorations of historical monuments with which the ingenious talent and patience of our architects have made us familiar.

remain in future as the definite translation of the great painter of Amsterdam.

It would be unfair not to mention M. Waltner's interesting attempt in Régnault's portrait of the *Countess de Barck*. This plate, etched for "*L'Art*," and offered as a premium to its subscribers, is of extraordinary dimensions, and the success of the artist in such an undertaking is a matter of wonder to all who are aware how much the material difficulties of etching are multiplied by increase of size.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY IN NEW YORK.

NEW YORK has enjoyed the great privilege of hearing an exposition of that new philosophy which is to revolutionize all our ideas, not only of the material world but of our own social and religious relations, from the lips of one of its great apostles, and one whose powers of illustration and persuasion are of the highest order. This advantage has also, to a certain extent, been diffused over the whole continent by the report of the lectures in the *Tribune* and its extra. The event is certainly one of some significance and deserving of notice. But the report of the lectures is scarcely a subject for severe criticism. We can scarcely hold the lecturer responsible for the precise terms of his reporter, which, however accurate in their general effect, can not give all the nicer shades of meaning, any more than the wood-cut illustrations can be supposed to delineate the anatomical niceties of the structures which they represent;¹ nor can it be supposed that the space of three hours, less the preliminary explanations necessary to a popular audience, could enable any speaker to do justice to a theme so far-reaching and complicated. We shall, therefore, be obliged to refer rather to the general tenor of the argument of the lecturer than to the *ipsissima verba* of the report.

Narrow though the space allowed by three lectures confessedly is, a reader familiar with the subject is struck at first sight with what the lecturer left unsaid. He restricts himself to what may be called the historical evidence in favor of the evolution of animals; and even of this he omits the consideration of the earlier and later periods—the evolution of the first living beings from dead matter, and the culmination of the whole in the descent of men from apes. It is thus a history wanting its earlier stages and not brought down to date.

The first of these topics is dismissed with the remark that in, passing backward in time, we should, in accordance with the hypothesis

¹ The first lecture we now have, revised by the author, in the *Popular Science Monthly* for November, 1876.

of evolution, find animal life becoming "simpler and simpler, until finally we should arrive at that gelatinous mass which, so far as our present knowledge goes, is the common foundation of all life. The tendency of science is to justify the speculation that that also could be traced further back, perhaps to the general nebulous origin of matter," and of these two sentences the last is omitted in the revised report.¹ We need not here notice the inaccurate expression "gelatinous," applied to the earliest living protoplasm, nor the assumption implied in the expression, "common foundation of life." But is it true that the tendency of science or of our present knowledge is in the direction indicated? Is it not rather true that the recent tendency of science, as represented not by hypothetical generalities but by the hard facts of the most advanced investigations, has been to render any such origin of life more doubtful than before? The author of these lectures has, it is true, affirmed, in his celebrated essay on the "Physical Basis of Life," that living matter may originate in the spontaneous combination of the elements of carbonic acid, water and ammonia, in the same manner that water may originate from the combination of oxygen and hydrogen. But, since the publication of that essay, chemistry has utterly repudiated the analogy of the two cases. The combination of oxygen and hydrogen to form water takes place when a flame or an electric spark is applied to a mixture of the two gases; but no such method is known to be effectual in the production of even dead albumen, not to speak of living protoplasm. Chemists have produced by synthesis very many compounds, ordinarily classed as organic, but they have not yet succeeded with any of the organizable bodies of the albuminous series, and if they could, it would still remain uncertain whether the bodies so produced could spontaneously assume the phenomena of life. As yet, living albumen or protoplasm is known to be formed only by the agency of pre-existing protoplasm. Thus that clever comparison of vitality with an imagined "aquosity" in water, turns out to be a mere play upon words, bringing us no nearer to the origin of life than before. True, it has been introduced even into text-books of physics and physiology, and has been stated as a dogma by evolutionists; but like other unproved and perhaps unprovable dogmas, its adherents had better content themselves with quietly taking it for granted rather than bringing it forward into discussion. That "judicious silence" which has been con-

¹ *Popular Science Monthly*, November, 1876, p. 47.

sidered one of the first virtues of certain theological disputants is perhaps of value also to evolutionists.

But if chemistry does not favor the doctrine of the spontaneous origin of life from dead matter, neither does physiology. The hypothesis of spontaneous generation, always more than doubtful, has lately received what seems to be its death-blow from the beautiful experiments of Tyndall, preceded and followed as they have been by the admirable microscopical researches of Dallinger and Drysdale on the life-histories of the monads. These new facts render it more certain than ever that we know of no way in which the humblest forms of life can originate except in previous germs, and they more than ever illustrate the continuous unchanged reproduction of these forms, according to their species. Some new light will require to be cast upon this subject before it can be truly affirmed that the progress of science tends to render at all probable the origination of life from that which does not possess it.

In like manner, the ape-origin and automatic nature of man, so boldly affirmed by Darwin and Haeckel, and by Huxley himself in his lectures to working-men and in his address at Belfast, does not appear in any explicit form in the New York lectures. The descent of man, and his somewhat self-contradictory position as a "conscious automaton," are, no doubt, necessary consequences of the belief in evolution, but may on this occasion have been wisely kept in the background. Huxley himself has elsewhere well said that a regard for truth should cause us to maintain whatever we have reason to believe as fact, irrespective of its logical consequences. Still, the common sense or stupidity of mankind insists that if the logical consequences be absurd or incredible, there must be something wrong with the supposed facts. Now we find that the evolution of man from lower animals carries with it some very serious consequences. Man is a mere automaton; all his notions of virtue, vice, responsibility, and immortality are mere delusions; life is merely a struggle for existence in which the weakest must go to the wall, and the strongest, after vexing themselves in vain, must be resolved into carbonic acid, water and ammonia. But this miserable automaton seems still to have enough of the divinity in him to object to his fate, and will persist in believing that he is made in the image and shadow of God, and is capable of some higher destiny than the brutes over whom he rules. Thus average humanity revolts against these doctrines, and despite one of the most vigorous propagandisms the world has ever seen, they have recoiled from mankind like

billows from a rock, so that one finds the descent of man from apes treated rather as a byword and a joke than received as one of the serious realities of science.

Further, Haeckel admits that the link to connect man with the apes is unknown. Mivart, another evolutionist, holds that the affinities of man are not with one existing ape but with many, and consequently the origin of the whole must be pushed very far back in geological time. Wallace, an authority second only to Darwin, on these grounds, as well as on account of the high cerebral development and progress in art of the earliest known men, maintains¹ that either the origin of men from apes must be carried back to a time when there is no geological probability of the existence either of men or apes, or we must suppose that our species originated in some rapid and mysterious way, and that "its origin is due to distinct and higher agencies" than those to which evolutionists attribute the origin of the lower animals. In these circumstances it may be affirmed that in so far as scientific and historical evidence is concerned, the hypothesis of evolution has altogether broken down in its attempt to account for the introduction of man.

These are substantial reasons why the great English biologist found it expedient in his New York lectures to divest evolution of its beginning and its end, and to direct attention only to a portion of its historical evidence. It is plain, however, that if we have doubts as to the possibility of living matter being produced spontaneously from that which has not life, and if we are skeptical as to the production of the last term in that continuous series which has led from monads to man, we can scarcely be orthodox evolutionists, even though we should be willing to profess our faith in the genealogy of the horse as set forth in these lectures. Still, even this modicum of faith is something gained; and if our horses can be made daily to trot out before us their descent from *Orohippus*, we may by and by be induced to admit a similar origin for their grooms and their riders.

Let us now consider the manner in which the lecturer deals with that portion of the subject to which he has thought proper to restrict himself, and which, for the reasons above stated, he had a good right to regard as the most clear and convincing in its evidence.

Taking his stand on the present uniformity of nature, which all reasonable men believe in, he refers to three hypotheses by which the origin of this order may be accounted for. These are (1) that the present order of nature is eternal; (2) that it arose at some definite portion of past time by creation or intervention from without; (3) that it proceeded by a natural process from an antecedent order, and this from a previous order, and so on. He says, in the revised report of the first lecture:

“Upon the first of these the assumption is that the order of nature which now obtains has always obtained; in other words, that the present course of nature, the present order of things, has existed from all eternity. The second hypothesis is that the present state of things has had only a limited duration, and that at some period in the past the state of things which we now know (substantially, though not, of course, in all its details), arose and came into existence without any precedent similar condition from which it could have naturally proceeded. The third hypothesis also assumes that the present order of nature has had but a limited duration, but it supposes that the present order of things proceeded by a natural process from an antecedent order, and that from another antecedent order, and so on; and that on this hypothesis the attempt to fix any limit at which we could assign the commencement of this series of changes is given up.”

As delivered in a popular lecture, the precise nature of these statements may have escaped the penetration of the audience, and they may have thought that three alternatives were really presented for their consideration. But as we quietly read the words, it becomes obvious that there is no such variety, and that we have offered to us merely a “Hobson’s choice” very thinly disguised. The first and second hypotheses are stated in terms contradictory to the obvious facts of the case as known to science, while the third is stated in terms of the actual facts. We know, in short, without any hypothesis, that the existing state of nature did proceed from an antecedent one, and so on, however we may explain the process. The whole case is thus prejudged in the statement of it, and the subsequent argument, in so far as the two first hypotheses are concerned, consists merely in knocking down men of straw previously set up for the purpose. This will become evident as we proceed.

It is doubtful if the first of these alternatives has been actually held by any scientific man in modern times. Huxley seems to suppose that Hutton and even Lyell may have held this doctrine. But the celebrated dictum that geology shows no trace of a beginning and no prospect of an end, does not imply the eternity of the universe, but only that the facts of geology do not carry us within

sight of either the beginning or the end. No modern geologist, however uniformitarian, could hold to the eternity of the present order of nature, in face of the obvious progress implied in the sequence of the formations. The only form in which it could be held is in that of the eternal recurrence of a series of cycles, so vast that the whole known history of the earth can be but one of them. But this would be merely the theory of evolution in another form—namely, that the present order proceeded from another antecedent, and this from another, and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus this hypothesis, discarded as untenable by the lecturer, is, when placed in the only aspect in which any modern man of science could hold it, merely an extension of that held by the lecturer himself. So much the worse, perhaps, for the latter; but in any case the supposed choice is a delusion.

The second hypothesis is at this moment equally untenable by any man of science. No one even who takes his belief on this subject merely from the book of Genesis as interpreted by the best expositors of our time, holds to any such sudden origin of things. Though Milton is quoted as applying this theory to the introduction of animals, and as writing of the six days of creation as if they were merely natural days, this carries with it no more weight in the interpretation of Genesis than it does in the interpretation of the crust of the earth. It may be a clever feat to ignore altogether the testimony of revelation by stating the case as if John Milton had been the inventor of a cosmogony which we now know, from the researches of George Smith, was believed before the days of Abraham, and which even then was apparently not held to imply any sudden origin of things; but it has no serious value. Farther, it can be distinctly proved that Moses, as the editor of these ancient records, and our Lord, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and Augustine, as interpreters of them, held that the creative days were days of God and not of man; in other words, what Moses calls *olamim*, or ages, and the Apostolic writers *aiones*, æons or time-worlds. But the lecturer attempts to deny this interpretation, which he can not wholly ignore, by indulging in trifling misrepresentations of the terms of the record; as, for example, referring to the obsolete translation of the Mosaic *tanninim* into "whales," and representing the creation of land animals as postponed till the sixth day, whereas a child might see that some of these are stated to have been produced on the fifth.

Farther, supposing that the sixth day of Moses covers the time

from the introduction of mammals in the Eocene Tertiary up to the human period, and the fifth day the Palæozoic and Mesozoic periods of geology, which would undoubtedly be the nearest approach to correspondence, can any one maintain that in a record which includes the whole physical and geological history of the earth in six periods, the four preceding are too much for the changes which occurred from the time when the earth was "formless and void" up to the Primordial period? Certainly neither geologists nor physicists can agree with the lecturer in such an objection. In short, the Mosaic days, under any intelligent conception of them, and whatever value may be attached to them as history, constitute but another form of the proposition that "the present order of nature proceeded from an antecedent one," and so on. The difference is that Moses declines to carry these periods back indefinitely, but limits them to six, behind which stand the beginning and the Creator. Thus the second hypothesis, if correctly stated, may include all that can be true in the third.

What, then, is the special characteristic of this third hypothesis, in which it may be supposed to differ from the others? It is expressed in the words, "proceeded by a natural process," which imply that all things were developed from previous things, and this by powers inherent in themselves and their surroundings, as distinguished from any power or influence from without, which, in the view of the lecturer, would be non-natural, if not supernatural. Thus, while mocking his audience with the semblance of a choice of hypotheses without the reality, and endeavoring to avoid the odium of a conflict with religion by substituting Milton for Moses, the lecturer actually ties himself up, not merely to evolution or development in its general aspect, but to a monistic or materialistic form of it, rather than that which is theistic or even agnostic. He probably did not intend to take this position, for he has elsewhere repudiated materialism, and probably rather holds to the agnosticism of Spencer. Besides, in these lectures he evidently desires to avoid religious polemics and to treat the question merely in its scientific aspects. In attempting this, however, he has unwittingly committed himself to that form of evolution which theologically is most objectionable.

It is proper to observe here that the third hypothesis itself, as thus defined, fails to meet the essential conditions of the case, because it cannot reach to the origin of matter and force. Either there was no beginning of these whatever; or in other words, their

operation has been eternal, according to hypothesis first, or some extraneous and antecedent power must have instituted them, as in hypothesis second. Thus, if reference is made to the absolute origin of the present order, hypothesis third fails, and we must fall back on one of the others. If, on the other hand, the lecturer merely refers to the historical development of the present order, after its primary production, it may be denied that he has any right to limit us to these hypotheses. The universe may have been created by a divine power, acting through long ages according to a definite plan, and applying the forces of nature in such a way as to introduce the different constituents of the cosmos in many distinct methods, which may or may not be covered by the Spencerian or Darwinian theory of evolution. This might no doubt be regarded as one form of evolution. But it would be the evolution of the plans of the Infinite Mind in time and space. This is not the kind of evolution of which the lecturer wishes to inform us. He refers to that which consists in the spontaneous development of organisms from one another.

In the opening of the second lecture the auditors are complimented on their intelligence in being able to reject not only the absurd hypothesis of an eternal succession, but also that of creation, whether stated by John Milton, or advanced by any higher authority. They are now prepared to enter on the consideration of the only remaining hypothesis—that of evolution. It would seem in the circumstances to be superfluous to adduce any evidence of a theory thus shown to be the only possible one; but in deference to our weakness of faith, the lecturer condescends to devote two of the lectures to the apparently unnecessary task of developing its evidence. If we are to credit the reporter, he arranges this evidence in a somewhat novel manner—namely, as, first, “indifferent;” secondly, “favorable;” and, thirdly, “demonstrative.” One is at first sight disposed to pass over the two first kinds of evidence, as on a par with that of the attorney who, after giving a variety of reasons for the non-appearance of a witness, finally affirmed that he was dead. But on examining them minutely, we find a substantial reason for their appearance—namely, that they are really formidable objections to evolution, disguised as witnesses in its favor, in order that in this capacity they may be examined *pro forma*, and dismissed as untrustworthy.

The first is the remarkable fact, almost incredible in its vastness and inscrutable in its import, that certain forms of life have con-

tinued to propagate themselves unchanged throughout nearly the whole lapse of geological time, and have survived changes of physical conditions so complete that one can scarcely imagine how any creatures could endure them. That land snails still live that lived before Niagara began to cut its channel, is a small matter. Marine creatures survive that flourished in Cretaceous seas, which flowed hundreds of fathoms deep, not only over the spots where the great capitals of Europe now stand, but over Alpine summits and Himalayan table-lands. Land plants continue unchanged through all the mutations that have occurred since the Eocene Tertiary began. Nay, more, certain humble types of life seem to have continued without very material change since the Primordial age itself. Through countless generations and through periods in which whole continents were carried away and rebuilt, these creatures have apparently continued to propagate themselves, without material improvement or deterioration. Still farther, when we trace these plants and animals back to their origin as far as known to us, we see no indication of their having been derived from any preceding species. They came in just as they continue to this day. Are these exceptional cases? In one sense they are; for it can be shown that many species, once their contemporaries, have died out and disappeared, leaving these long-lived species and genera to come down like octogenarians, outliving their generation, into a new and different condition of things. But otherwise they are not exceptional, and new discoveries may enable us to trace other forms of life farther back than we now know them. All this the lecturer admits, and admirably illustrates; but how is it to be harmonized with evolution? In a very simple way. The geological record is so imperfect that the apparently abrupt introduction of these types may merely arise from the accident that their ancestors happen to be unknown to us. Admitting the possibility of this, it removes only half of the difficulty; for it does not explain why, after we have traced species back for vast periods of time, and over every possible kind of physical revolution, they should at some antecedent period begin to change if we could only trace them farther. Reasonable men do not usually hold that by tracing two parallel lines sufficiently far, we should at last find them to meet in a point; but evolutionists seem to believe that this is in the highest degree probable, and would be found to be the case but for the inconvenient tendency of such lines to end abruptly. This plea of the "imperfection of the record," so often put in by evolutionists, is, however, one that has a double bearing; for if

farther information might enable us to approximate some of our parallel lines of unchanged species, it is equally possible that it might enable us to trace them still farther back, without such approximation, or to trace back other series not now known to extend so far. To class such facts as these as "negative or indifferent evidence," and to say that they constitute "no obstacle in the way of our belief in the doctrine," is certainly drawing largely on our credulity. We may add that the history of the life in former geological periods furnishes other lines of evidence of this somewhat damaging character, well known to naturalists and geologists, but to which the lecturer had not time to advert.

The second kind of evidence, that which is "favorable," but not conclusive, is derived from the fact that existing animals and plants do not, as would seem probable on the theory of evolution, constitute continuous series passing into each other, but resolve themselves into groups separated by intervals more or less wide, and which can not be bridged over. This apparent difficulty is, however, met by the consideration that when we go back into geological time, and take in the fossil animals and plants, these gaps are to a great extent filled up, and the system of nature becomes much more complete—wonderfully so, indeed, when the much-lamented imperfection of the record is considered. In truth, palæontologists have good reason to congratulate themselves that the number of gaps now remaining is so small, and to suggest, though with becoming diffidence and humility, that their record may not be quite so imperfect as generally supposed. As examples we are referred in these lectures to the wonderful filling up of the group of ungulates by the discoveries of Cuvier and others in the Paris Tertiaries, and the bridging over of the interval between birds and reptiles by the toothed birds of the Cretaceous and Eocene, and by the remarkable Dinosaurs of the Mesozoic age. The lecturer holds that these facts are so far favorable to evolution that they show at least that it may possibly have taken place, and that they might be expected to occur if that hypothesis were correct. He admits that they are not conclusive, for a very substantial reason—namely, that the series afforded by these discoveries is not one consecutive in time. The creatures which should have been the ancestors of others occur at the same time with them, or, perhaps, in formations very much older or newer, and hence the evidence fails to prove genealogical descent. This would truly seem to be a fatal defect; but that it is so becomes even more obvious when we consider that

in the present world we have all grades of animals from men to monads, and of plants from the most complex exogens to algæ of a single cell. Consequently if the fossil species belong to the same system of nature, they must of necessity come in as intermediate forms, and fill up the vacant spaces. Farther, if we find these connecting links scattered widely apart in space and time, or existing together when, according to the theory, they should have been consecutive, the inference is that our theory must be wrong or defective. The conclusion may rather be that they form parts of a great plan pervading the whole earth and its whole history, and whose separate portions may be related by some higher law than that of mere descent with modification.

But we now come to the "demonstrative" evidence which is to set all our doubts at rest. This consists in the discovery in successive formations of series of species, so related to each other structurally that it may be inferred that they constitute a regular genealogical succession. The hearers of the lectures might, however, at this point, suspect that, inasmuch as so many extinct species come under the two previous heads of imperfect evidence, few may be left for this final and conclusive one. Care is therefore taken to inform them that there are many such cases, and that their number has recently been accumulating rapidly. But one only of these is dwelt upon, that of the genealogy of the horse; and it is worthy of remark that this is the illustration which has for some years been paraded on both sides of the Atlantic as the one great conclusive evidence of evolution derivable from fossils. It is given with more than usual completeness in these lectures, and, as it is made the crucial test of the hypothesis, it deserves our careful consideration.

The facts we may take as stated by the lecturer, and may, as illustrative of their nature, confine ourselves to the American examples furnished by Prof. Marsh from the Tertiaries of the West. No species of American horse existed at the time of the discovery of this continent. Our present American horses are, therefore, not actual descendants of the original American stock, but of another series which was developed in Europe, while the horses of this continent had become altogether extinct, though the conditions were quite favorable to the European horse when introduced by man. The lecturer does not remark on the curious significance of this fact in relation to the validity of his demonstration, but it suggests some grave doubts to which we may refer in the sequel. We find, however, in the more recent deposits of America, probably more than

one species of horse closely allied to that of the eastern continent. In deposits a little older, those of Pliocene age, are found the remains of *Pliohippus*, an animal closely resembling the modern horse, but presenting some deviations. Limiting ourselves to the fore-foot, the *Pliohippus* walked upon one toe, like the horse, but the two splint bones which answer to two other toes are better developed. Next in order of seniority, we have the *Protohippus*, in which the splint bones become veritable toes, though still comparatively small. In the next older Tertiary period, the Miocene, the series is continued by *Miohippus* and *Mesohippus*, in which the side toes approach to equality with the central one, and a rudiment of a fourth is developed. Lastly, in the *Orohippus*, of the Eocene or oldest Tertiary, there are three well-developed toes and a small fourth one, and the hind foot has also three toes. Similar gradations appear in other parts of the structure, notably in the teeth.

Thus, from a three-toed Eocene *Orohippus*, by regular geological and genealogical descent, came a one-toed modern horse, which seems, however, to have reached the utmost possible limit of the development, for we can not imagine it learning to walk on less than one toe. Perhaps, indeed, this may account for the otherwise inexplicable extinction of the ancient American breed. These creatures, in pushing their development still farther, may have lost the remaining toe, and so have been left literally without a leg to stand on.

Here, then, is the final Q. E. D. of evolution, the demonstration on which great biologists can securely rest their belief in the doctrine that the world and all its inhabitants were evolved by the insensate operation of physical laws, and can defy the stupidly imperfect record of the palæontologists. Shall we here abandon our skepticism, and humbly profess ourselves believers? Unfortunately there are two serious stumbling-blocks which must still be removed out of our way. One is, that while the evidence of succession in time is good, that of genetic connection is not. The members of the alleged genealogical series are still separated from each other by important structural and other differences, and by vast intervals of geological time. The same kind of argument would prove that the modern dray-horses of New York are actual descendants of those whose bones lie in Prof. Marsh's cabinet. But we know that they are not, but came over with the Pilgrims or in later importations, and are as little descendants of their American predecessors as the New Yorkers are of the Mohicans. How do we know that some similar flaw does not vitiate the earlier stages of the pedi-

gree? Another difficulty consists in that same unfortunate imperfection of the geological record which is so often alleged in extenuation of the shortcomings of evolution itself. If Prof. Marsh should, in his next expedition to the West, discover the bones of a true horse with one toe on each foot, in the Miocene or Eocene, the whole demonstration would be overset. It would then become probable that in the true line of descent the animal had, after all, remained unchanged, and that *Meshippus* and the rest are merely false pretenders to the honor of his parentage. Who shall say that this is impossible or even improbable? The horse is, by virtue of his remarkably specialized foot, adapted for rapid locomotion on dry, grassy plains; but the foot of *Orohippus* was better suited for supporting its comparatively small weight on soft and swampy ground. Now as the known animals of the Eocene are mostly those which frequented the oozy borders of lakes, we could scarcely expect an animal like the horse to be found in such company. If there were, as we can not doubt there were, dry plains in the Eocene age, there may have been abundant wild horses pasturing thereon, and we may not yet have met with their remains, so much less likely for many reasons to be preserved than those of their marsh-living contemporaries. Should some intrepid explorer in the far West find such a precious relic, and, escaping the Indian scalping-knife, bring it out to civilization, it is to be hoped he will not meet with the skepticism and distrust which have often rewarded the discoverers of facts unwelcome to the framers of hypotheses, and that all good uniformitarian geologists, at least, will welcome the new and important fact.

These considerations might induce us at least to suspend our judgment, more especially in view of the momentous consequences to our beliefs in other respects flowing from our adhesion to evolution; but there is a farther objection, honestly referred to by the lecturer himself, and which unfortunately reduces his demonstration to the precise level of the arguments already characterized by himself as "negative or indifferent." It is thus stated in the third lecture:

"The knowledge we now possess justifies us completely in the anticipation that when the still lower Eocene deposits and those which belong to the Cretaceous epoch have yielded up their remains of equine animals, we shall find first an equine creature with four toes in front and a rudiment of the thumb. Then probably a rudiment of the fifth toe will be gradually supplied, until we come to the five-toed animals, in which most assuredly the whole series took its origin."

There are even in this short and very unobtrusive statement of a disagreeable fact, some things liable to objection. It might be asked, for example, Why, if *Orohippus* could, with three or four toes, walk over quagmires, there is any need to suppose that for the mere sake of uniformity it should have had five toes in a preceding period? But such questions do not constitute the real objection to the statement. It requires us to believe in a stupendous and incredible hiatus in our geological record. Not only have no equine animals been found in any formation older than the Eocene, but none of the other placental mammals, their contemporaries, have left any known remains in these older formations either in the Eastern or Western continent. Still farther, in the Cretaceous and immediately preceding periods, the place of these animals in nature was filled by the herbivorous Dinosaurs, which according to Huxley constitute a transition from reptiles to birds and not to horses. We are thus required to believe that the five-toed ancestor of *Orohippus* lived farther back in geological time, not only than any known placental mammal, but than any creature likely to have been the ancestor of such a mammal. In short, the imaginary pedigree of the horse has precisely the same flaw with that of man himself, with that of the Eocene placentals, with that of the Mesozoic marsupials, with that of the reptiles of the same period, and with that of the batrachians of the Coal, the fishes of the Devonian and Upper Silurian, and the Trilobites of the Primordial. All these, as well as the greater and lesser groups of the vegetable kingdom, when traced back, end, like the series of horses, without any apparent ancestors. This is indeed so great and dominant a fact in palæontology that it is hopeless now to explain it by any imperfections of the record, and it unquestionably points to some abrupt mode of introduction of organic types unknown to the received theories of evolution. Thus, after following, with faith and hope, the apparently triumphant course of the demonstration in the third lecture, in the end we only run our heads against an impassable wall.

Is this, then, the most conclusive kind of demonstration which one of the most accomplished biologists of our time can offer for the hypothesis of evolution? It would seem so; but it is only fair to say that in selecting the historical or palæontological argument for evolution, the lecturer adopted the most difficult line of proof. The showy analogies of Spencer and Darwin, though equally failing as demonstrations, have a much more specious appearance. But

there lies behind all this a consideration more potent than any argument, and which probably weighs with many of the converts of this new philosophy more than all facts and reasonings. It is expressed in the following sentences of the report :

"The only way of escape, if it be a way of escape, from the conclusions which I have just indicated, is the supposition that all these different forms have been created separately at separate epochs of time, and I repeat, as I said before, that of such a hypothesis as this there neither is nor can be any scientific evidence, and assuredly, so far as I know, there is none which is supported or pretends to be supported by evidence or authority of any other kind. I can but think that the time will come when such suggestions as these, such obvious attempts to escape the force of demonstration, will be put upon the same footing as the supposition by some writers, who are, I believe, not completely extinct at present, that fossils are not real existences, are no indications of the existence of the animals to which they seem to belong ; but that they are either sports of nature or special creations, intended—as I heard suggested the other day—to test our faith. In fact, the whole evidence is in favor of evolution, and there is none against it. And I say that, although perfectly well aware of the seeming difficulties which have been adduced from what appears to the uninformed to be a scientific foundation."

This is the real difficulty. Without evolution, or some similar hypothesis, there will remain in nature, and especially with reference to the origin of species, a residuum of facts unexplained, and apparently inexplicable by science. This can not be endured in an age which has learned to believe that it can explain every thing. In default of actual knowledge, it is necessary by some sweeping hypothesis to cover up our ignorance. The whole march of science is strewn with the wrecks of such hypotheses, devised in every age by ingenious men, to serve as a substitute for actual knowledge, and to spare themselves the labor of arduous investigation ; satisfying one generation with a comfortable form of words, only to be cast off by the next.

Evolution will have its day, and then men will wonder how they could have believed it. When it shall be discovered, as assuredly it will, that the world involves causes and agencies vastly more complex than this simple theory suggests, our successors in the arena of science will point to it as a warning against the prevailing error of specialists and enthusiasts, who ever tend, like quacks in medicine, to refer all effects to the same cause, and to cure all evils by one specific. Our time is too much one of rash and daring speculation, as distinguished from the slow and laborious search for truth. But when the reaction comes, the scientific men of the future, as they slowly dig the trenches with which they hope to

gain the citadel of truth, will not refuse to give due credit to the bold adventurers who in vain attempted to storm it with a rush. Nor will they fail to admit that they did good service in cutting down many of the old prejudices and false impressions that have blocked the path of the free investigation of nature.

A sort of addendum to the last lecture raises the question, so much debated at present, of geological time. From the terms in which it is introduced, one would almost suppose that some inveterate skeptic had urged this as an objection in the hearing of the lecturer, immediately before he presented himself to his audience. The evolutionists make vast demands as to past time, while the physicists endeavor to limit them to a definite period. It is true that the physical philosophers differ somewhat among themselves. Sir William Thomson seems willing to allow one hundred millions of years, while Prof. Tait would reduce us to the petty allowance of ten or fifteen millions. The lecturer thinks it sufficient to say, in answer to this objection, that biologists take their time from the physical philosophers, and are content to prove the fact of evolution, leaving the time to depend on other considerations. But this is scarcely a correct statement. The exigencies of evolution, as the possible development of the various forms of life is pushed farther and farther back, lead to constant demands for more time than even geologists are willing to give; and it is only by granting these demands, and admitting the existence of vast breaks not represented by any geological records, that a semblance of palæontological probability can be given to the theory. Darwin and Wallace have both made the most extreme demands in this direction; and Haeckel, who thinks that "hundreds of thousands of years" may have been required for the development of human speech, holds that even this time "almost vanishes into nothing" in comparison with the "immeasurable length" of the previous periods of organic existence. These demands of the evolutionists, more than any thing else, have indeed led to those vague and wild assertions of certain geologists, which have recently brought down on them the wrath of the physical philosophers. Those geologists who have based their ideas of geological time on the ascertained facts as to deposition and denudation, know that the age of the earth is a calculable and not an immeasurable quantity. Farther, all geologists worthy of the name are prepared to admit that the longer estimates of time based on the rates of denudation and deposition may require much abatement, and that simi-

lar difficulties obtain in calculating the rate of formation of organic accumulations.¹ If, therefore, it has become a habit with certain popular writers on geological subjects to deal with past time as if any amount of it were at their disposal, this has depended very much on the imagined necessities of the derivation of species. If Prof. Huxley can dispense with these long periods of time, and can show that evolution may have taken place rapidly, instead of by the "inconceivably great" number of transitional links demanded by Darwin, geologists will be very thankful to him; but they may make some inconvenient demands as to the evidence of evolution itself.

One word, in conclusion, as to the lecturer. Huxley is an able, well-read, industrious, and conscientious biologist, and has a boldness of utterance and an instinct in favor of fair dealing and equal rights, along with a genuine hatred of humbug and superstition. If his argument for evolution is inconclusive, the fault is in the theory rather than in its advocate, who has given the best possible presentation of it in the space at his command, and on the line of argument which he adopted. For men like Huxley, the gorgeous dreams of Darwin have a fascination which those only can understand who, like him, have been brought face to face with the great mysteries of life and its history in geological time, and have yearned with a passionate longing for some solution of these mysteries. To such minds the hypothesis of evolution comes with a self-evidencing power which scarce allows them to ask for proof, and they are carried away at once as with the glory of a new revelation. In the present state of these subjects, we must expect many fervid and enthusiastic men to be swept away by the tide of this new philosophy. Perhaps cooler and more logical intellects, severely trained in science and jealous of unfounded hypotheses, may stand upon the firm ground of truth, and rescue from the flood the precious things which it is bearing along.

¹ Croll and Hughes, two of our most thoughtful geologists, have recently given cautions to their fellow-workers on this subject.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.

INTERNATIONAL friendship is as capable of cultivation as that of individuals, and though never the outgrowth of purely disinterested principle, it still may elevate the tone while increasing the trade of those who grasp hands—even across the sea,—in generous sentiments of good-will. That nations may understand each other and abide in mutual respect and sympathy, they must be cognizant of those characteristics and conditions which would incline them to closer intimacy. Acquaintance must precede appreciation, and whether friendship be individual or national, it should be founded on sound convictions that spring from a right understanding of the object.

With Japan there has been so little opportunity of practically manifesting this sentiment, that the novelty of the situation now adds a strong stimulant to friendly advances. The present effort toward bringing “the land of the rising sun” into enlightened relations with other nationalities, is not the first of its kind; neither are precedents lacking to prove how she may conduct herself in matters pertaining to foreign intercourse.

Not only did Japan borrow most of her arts and literature,—and even one of her religions,—from China, in the sixth century; and not only did she invade Corea, and reduce the Loo-Choo islands to subjection; but she also received from European countries, in the sixteenth century, much instruction and consequent impulse; all of which have contributed to make her what she was discovered to be when Perry introduced her to the world.

In early times, European navigators, tempted eastward by a hope of lucrative trade, became pioneers of those vast commercial interests, which now link the Oriental world closely and profitably to the Occidental.

Portugal led the way with a remarkable spirit of adventurous research, and to this country belongs the honor of first bringing the distant islands of Japan (in 1543,) into communication with European states. Subsequently the Dutch (in 1600,) and the English (in 1613.)

obtained liberal concessions from the Japanese, and carried on trade with them pleasantly for many years.

At this early period, Japan showed not a shadow of that peculiar policy of seclusion, which has so sharply characterized her demeanor toward other nations during the past two centuries and a half. Europeans are themselves chiefly accountable for that mysterious and rigid rule, which has practically shut out the land so long from communication and commerce with the civilized world. Even as we point to the Portuguese as the ones who first opened the country to European trade, so must we point to the intrigues and fanaticism of the Jesuit priests, (who accompanied the Portuguese,) as the sole reason for the expulsion of foreigners from the country, and the subsequent restrictions on all foreign intercourse. In glancing at a remarkable letter sent by the ruling Tycoon, I-ye-as, from his castle in the province of Surunga, to the king of England, about 1613, we may see how kindly was the spirit then displayed, and how free and friendly were the expressions of the highest ruler in the realm. "Your majesty's kind letter," he says, (to James I.) "I heartily embrace, being glad to understand the greatness of your kingdom, desiring the continuance of friendship with your highness, I will heartily welcome your subjects to any part of my dominion. Applauding much their skill in navigation, whereby they easily discovered a country so remote, being not a whit dismayed at mighty seas and trackless gulfs, nor at the infinite clouds and storms, being bent on honorable enterprises and merchandising, wherein they will find me glad to aid them even as they desire."

A treaty was at the same time made with England, consisting of eight articles, the first of which reads thus: "We give free license to the subjects of the king of Great Britain, viz., Sir Thomas Smith, and the company of the East Indian merchants, forever to come safely into any ports of our Empire of Japan, with their ships and merchandise, and to abide, buy, sell, barter, etc., according to their own way with all nations, and to tarry as they please, and depart at pleasure."

The courteous manner in which commercial overtures were thus met, shows clearly that the country would naturally have been friendly from the beginning had not Jesuitical plots threatened to revolutionize the state, and roused the irrepressible ire of the government, against the Portuguese first, and finally against all foreigners. This is still further proved by the suggestive reply given to the Russian Ambassador, Resanoff, as late as 1805, when the Emperor dismissed his overtures, saying, "Formerly our empire had communi-

cation with several nations; but *experience* caused us to adopt, as safe, the opposite principle. It is not permitted *now* for Japanese to trade abroad, nor for foreigners to enter our country."

Such in effect has been the response of the Japanese to every effort put forth since 1639 to induce them to enter into communication with other nations; and a similar reply was given at the outset to Commodore Perry; but with infinite tact and polite firmness he turned aside the old barriers which had walled out others before him, and opened the way for a new and better policy.

At the time when Perry's ships were lying quietly off the Peninsula of Sagami, just within the Bay of Yedo, a close observer might have seen a peculiar-shaped tomb, placed on the crest of a neighboring hill, overlooking the surroundings of land and sea, where the American treaty was made. This tomb marked the grave of William Adams, whose history is the most remarkable and romantic of any foreigner who ever visited Japan. He was an English pilot on a Dutch ship, driven into the province of Bungo, by stress of weather, in April, 1600. The Daimio of the province sent him to Yedo and being much favored by the Japanese, he acquired great influence at court. By this means, both the Dutch and the English were permitted to trade in the country; and through him the chief negotiations were carried on. His friendship and help were prized by the Japanese, and at his death they buried him on the crest of this hill (which he had himself selected), and raised over him a monument that may be seen to this day. It is a coincidence worthy of note, that the very treaty made in modern times with an English-speaking people, should have been signed by the Japanese close to the tomb of one who, in 1600, first brought the empire into friendly relations with the Dutch and English.

To comprehend the situation in Japan at the arrival of Perry's squadron, and the dangerous complications to which the forcible acceptance of a treaty with foreigners, exposed the government, we must glance briefly at a few peculiarities of the political system, and at the intense bitterness then pervading the public mind, against all "barbarians" of the outer world.

The dual system of government has been a perpetual enigma to foreigners, and various writers on the country have explained the anomaly by calling one emperor the temporal, and the other the ecclesiastical ruler. A little study of such histories and traditions as Japan affords, will readily clear the question.

We will find that the duarchy is of comparatively recent growth,

and that though the Tycoon¹ possessed the larger share of power, he was nevertheless always in *nominal* subjection to the Mikado, or real Emperor.

To put the political developments of twenty-five centuries into a few brief sentences, we will present the three following summaries:—*viz* :

1. In very ancient times, (660 B. C.) the Mikado appears as merely a chieftain of warlike subjects, who occupy themselves in subduing a newly invested country.

2. Having taken possession of the land, a powerful feudalism is eventually developed, and with it arise many jealous strifes. These are finally crushed out by a victorious family called the *Min-a-mo-to*, who,—(in 1185 A. D.)—took the initial steps toward that duarchy which subsequently ripened into Tycoonism.

3. Owing partly to the superstitious seclusion of the Mikado, and partly to the widening distinctions between the military and civil classes:—and also to the doctrine of “necessity” which so often puts the scepter into the hands of the strongest,—we find Tycoonism taking to itself that fullness of power which it created, and which it held firmly from 1604 to 1868.

By Tycoonism,—of later times,—we mean that military system which assumed permanent shape in the last of the sixteenth century, and held supreme sway in the realm for two hundred and seventy years.

On the advent of foreigners, however, it was readily seen that the dual system could be no longer maintained; and though under it the country had enjoyed greater peace and prosperity than ever before, it was soon destined to succumb to the inexorable order of events. The mere opening of the country did not dethrone Tycoonism; even though that prejudiced the popular will, and caused the chief war-cry of the many strifes which followed. Long before the advent of foreigners, serious elements of disintegration had appeared, and were only awaiting a suitable occasion to become manifest.

These disaffected elements arose from two causes, one of which may be termed historical, and the other provincial jealousy.

By the first we mean the revival of an historical fact, entirely forgotten by the masses, to the effect that the Mikado was the ancient and *only* legitimate ruler of the land; and that Tycoonism was a colossal usurpation.

By the second we mean the jealous rivalry of certain powerful

¹ The proper title of this dignitary is “*Sho-gun*,” or great general, but for convenience’ sake, we retain the name “Tycoon,” by which he is commonly known abroad.

princes in the south, who chafed incessantly under the acknowledged supremacy of the Tokugawa line,—of Tycoons,—and who earnestly desired its overthrow.

These two elements paved the way for trouble the moment that Perry's ships appeared, when the long-excluded foreigner probed the mysterious duarchy, in his perplexed search for the real center of power. How long Tycoonism would have lasted, had no foreigners forced their way into the realm and confused its politics, we do not pretend to say. But it is evident, that the opening of the country hastened its downfall, in affording the occasion so long awaited by the two antagonistic elements just mentioned. And though the chief causes were internal and had already begun their disintegrating work from within, yet they were largely aided and intensified by the sudden advent of the foreign element from without.

It will be noticed that the first treaties with foreign powers were made by the Tycoon's government at Yedo, and that too, against the express injunctions of the Mikado's court at Kioto. Not that the Tycoon was predisposed in favor of foreigners,—for his own ancestors had expelled the Portuguese;—but he saw what the Mikado and the country at large could not, viz., that it was impossible longer to persist in the policy of seclusion, in the face of such arguments and display of force as Commodore Perry was fully able to set before him. In making the treaties therefore, he merely selected the least of two evils which threatened; and preferred to brave the indignation of the country which he controlled, rather than ruin everything in the hopeless attempt to drive away the foreigners. Although he dispatched his ablest advisers to the Kioto court, urging the Mikado and the chiefs of the provincial clans to become reconciled to the new order of affairs, which had been politely but firmly forced upon the Empire, the court would not at first heed the stern facts of the case and sent the following instructions immediately to the powerful prince of Mitto, viz.: "The Tycoon has shown great disregard of public opinion, in concluding treaties without waiting for the consent of the Imperial court. The Mikado's rest is disturbed by the spectacle of such mismanagement, when the fierce barbarian is at our very door. Do you therefore assist the Tycoon with your advice; expel the barbarians; content the aroused spirit of the people; and restore tranquillity to his majesty's bosom." The prince of Chosiu, (whose batteries fired on three foreign vessels at Shimonoseki Straits,) wrote in a similar strain to the Tycoon himself, saying,—“ Since the conclusion of the treaties.

the people of this empire have done nothing but protest against them. They declare that you have disregarded the Mikado's wish that the country should remain closed to foreigners. We beg that you will recognize the supremacy of the Mikado, so that harmony may be restored, and the tumult of the people be stopped." Sanjo, the present prime minister, was sent to Yedo by the Kioto court, with explicit instructions that the "barbarians" should be expelled, and the Mikado appointed the date for its performance.

Whereupon, the Tycoon, with the Kioto court and the provincial chiefs pressing upon him on one side, and the foreign powers clamoring for more concessions on the other, felt himself between two fires, knowing at the same time that neither party could be satisfied. And indeed, it was eventually between these two cross-fires that the Tycoonate went down.

The provinces of Satsuma and Chosiu, were strongest in their anti-foreign feelings, by which they were led into trouble, and provoked hostilities. Owing to the assassination of the British minister, Richardson, while attempting to cross the procession of the Prince of Satsuma, the British fleet destroyed Kagosima, the capital of that province.

Owing also to the hostile behavior of the people of Chosiu, in firing on vessels attempting to pass the narrow straits of Shimonoseki, their batteries were destroyed, (in September 1864,) by a combined foreign fleet of eighteen ships of war. In both of these instances, heavy indemnities were extorted; but in the latter case, the amount of three million dollars demanded, was out of all proportion with the magnitude of the offense, and in nothing have the Japanese been so humiliated of late years, as in being forced to yield to this foreign extortion. In the case of the United States, the circumstances were more aggravated than in that of the other three powers concerned; and Congress has only performed a tardy act of justice in recently passing the bill refunding seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which were unwarrantably taken from Japan.

Satsuma and Chosiu used the popular indignation which had been aroused against the Tycoon for concluding treaties, as the lever with which to depose that functionary and reinstate the Mikado. But the moment they obtained their wish, and saw the Tycoon voluntarily abdicate his power and privileges, they discovered that the "barbarians" could scarcely be expelled with impunity. Dropping their war-cry therefore, they went further in their concessions and friendly overtures to foreigners, than ever the Tycoon party had done

before them. Never has there been a more complete revolution in the spirit and policy of a nation, than that under which Tycoonism went down, and the Mikado was restored ; and yet, in which the victorious party dropped its own weapon at the moment of success, and embraced the very principle which it stigmatized in the hands of its opponents.

The Tycoon and his retainers retired to an interior city called Shidz-u-o-ka, while the Mikado transferred his court from Kioto to Yedo ; the name of the latter place being thenceforth changed to "To-kio " or Eastern capital.

When the Mikado was fully reinstated, he ratified the treaties to the satisfaction of the foreign representatives, and on his removal to the new capital, the ministers, (most of whom had hitherto remained at Yokohama,) transferred their legations to Tokio ; although much delay was experienced in obtaining this privilege.

The government being now centralized, the diplomatic relations assumed a less complicated appearance ; but other changes which followed, though beneficial on the whole, brought serious trouble in particular instances. For example, when the feudal system was abolished,—(in 1870,)—and all the provincial "*daimios*" were reduced to the common level, the government was obliged to assume the various incumbrances of the provinces, as well as the right and responsibility of ruling over them. Certain provinces, moved by the spirit of "progress" and mutual rivalry, had incurred heavy liabilities both at home and abroad ; and the consequences which usually attend unwise speculation were imminent. In cases where contracts had been made with foreigners,—(for arms, gunboats, steamers, machinery, or short periods of professional service,)—the government was able to pay off indebtedness, and foreigners were retained in the Japanese service until such conditions were fulfilled as were specified in their individual contracts. But among their own people, the greater portion of the liabilities remained uncanceled.

In abolishing all class distinctions in the empire, the two-sworded "samourai" were deprived gradually of their former privileges, while their annual allowances were very much diminished. This class, once so powerful and proud of their rank, looked upon the unwelcome foreigner as mainly the cause of their misfortune ; and occasionally they wreaked vengeance by cutting down an unsuspecting victim.

This of course, frequently involved the government in grave difficulties with the foreign ministers, and although prompt justice was

usually meted out to the offenders, feelings of suspicion and unrest could not but be excited.

The most commendable chapter in the history of our diplomatic relations with Japan, is by all means the *first*,—when Perry proved himself as deft in diplomacy as he was skillful in navigating the sea. But since his time, there has been little of which we could reasonably boast, and though his achievements have given Americans a *prestige* in the country, even that is being gradually lost, through the grave defects of our *un-civil* service in the East.¹

The “opening of the country” to foreign trade and travel, is still, in its broad sense, the unsolved question, even as it has been the oldest and hardest with which diplomacy had to deal. The only concession obtained by Commodore Perry in the treaty of 1854, was the opening of two ports; but he regarded this as sufficient at the outset, conceiving it to be the entering wedge of more commercial privileges which should follow. Our first resident minister, Mr. Harris, profiting by the momentary dread experienced by the Japanese, (when they heard of British encroachments in China, and the seizure of Hong-Kong,) was enabled to put the treaty question before them in such a light, that they were constrained to open five ports instead of two, and grant other concessions similar to those found in our treaty with China,—which Commodore Perry had tried to use as a model but without success.

This five-port treaty, so cleverly secured by Harris, before the other foreign powers appeared upon the field, was that upon which the subsequent European treaties were based; and this is essentially the treaty which awaits revision to-day, as no material advance upon it has so far been made. The five ports which are open, are Hakodade, Nigata, Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki. Of these, only three are of particular importance, viz., Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Kobe. Here the foreign merchants and missionaries live, carrying on trade or teaching.

Beyond these limits they can not reside; and with the exception of a very small “concession” called Tsukiji or made-land, in Tokio, and also a still smaller concession in the city of Osaka, there is practically, no portion of the country outside the ports mentioned, where

¹ We may note in passing, that although the United States has suffered in a diplomatic sense, through practical oversight of principles cautiously guarded by other powers, (especially by England,) yet Americans are as popular as ever among the Japanese *people*; and whatever decline of influence we may have experienced with the government, is owing to an unfortunate policy, rather than to any overt individual acts.

the foreigner has any legal right to abide. Only a very few foreigners have ever been permitted to reside in the interior, and these were without exception in the service of the Japanese government.

Influenced by the rapid growth of commercial relations, and the consequent crowding together of too many interests within the narrow confines of the ports,—when they should naturally become more scattered throughout the country at large;—and in view also of the desirability of foreigners being allowed more freedom of travel, in a land of such novel interest and natural beauty, the various representatives have tried repeatedly to obtain the same rights in this respect, which are accorded by common consent in all other countries. But although every diplomatic artifice has been exhausted during a series of years past, the attempt has signally failed; and by far the larger portion of Japan is still as totally secluded from “tojin” intrusion, as it was in the peaceful days of the Tycoon.

After the return of the last embassy, the foreign ministers made a strenuous effort to “open the country,” even offering to cancel the remaining million and a half incumbrance which the Japanese still owed on the Shimonoseki indemnity. But on pressing the question, the government, to their surprise and chagrin, paid the full amount; since which time the diplomats have lost their accustomed lever wherewith to pry the country open, and for awhile even the “Ex-territoriality” question was permitted to rest in peace.

On this latter point the Japanese are inexorable, and sternly assert that no further concessions in opening the country can be a moment considered, unless foreigners who may reside or travel in the interior, are made amenable to Japanese law. To this the representatives reply, that Japan has no civil courts as yet, which could in any sense be recognized in civilized countries, or which would be competent to try European or American subjects. This question has caused a diplomatic “dead-lock” during the last few years, and no advance could be made so long as the Japanese insisted that foreigners should become liable to the so-called “legislation” of the country.

Quite recently, however, the government issued a general notification, to the effect that *individuals* wishing to travel or reside in parts of the country, other than the open ports, would be permitted to do so, *provided* that they personally agreed to place themselves under Japanese jurisdiction. For the present, therefore, the long-vexed question is taken from the ministers, and left to adjust itself in the way the Japanese most desire.

In the early treaty stipulations, the Japanese unwittingly per-

mitted an adjustment of tariff rates which they now consider unfair: they have long demanded therefore a revision on the subject of revenue, wishing to increase the export duties especially on tea and silk. They consider the five per cent duty on imports as too small, and have made strenuous efforts to change it; but with very partial success. The points involved have excited much discussion. In America and Europe, greater public interest has been awakened toward Japan by the "embassies" from time to time sent abroad, than perhaps by any other means. Hope has been frequently expressed, that each of them might carry back to their country, such impressions and convictions as would result in permanent good. It may not be amiss to show how far these hopes have been realized.

The first result is seen in the opportunity given for the exchange of international courtesy; which, to a people like the Japanese, with whom politeness is the primal principle of well-being, is of more importance than would at once appear. Wherever the embassies went, they were treated with marked respect, and every facility was afforded them of studying the moral and material benefits of civilization. The members expressed themselves exceedingly interested in all they saw, and much of their natural reserve seemed to give place for the moment to honest enthusiasm. They took copious notes on all sights and subjects, and gave fair promise that the rare privileges afforded would bear fruit in much needed changes, when they returned to their own country.

But from personal observations on this subject, the writer has reached the conviction that "embassies," as such, have very little reforming or converting power, either upon the state which sends them, or upon the individuals who compose them. We have seen men who had received the honors of European courts, returning to their chop-sticks and matted floors, with all the complacency imaginable; preferring the simplicity and conservatism of their ancestors to the stately show and common comforts of "civilization."

The first embassy was sent in 1860, when the Tycoon's government delegated about twenty persons of rank to proceed to the United States, to confirm the friendly overtures of the treaties and judge of the elements of American civilization. This embassy was invited to visit Niagara, and make a short tour of the States; but the members declined, and could scarcely be induced to leave Washington for anything beyond a trip to New York, where a brilliant display was made in their honor. They felt ill at ease, however, in a

land of strangers, and having accomplished some little official business, were glad to return to their own land.

The Tycoon soon after sent another embassy to Europe, with a similar mission and somewhat similar result. A few prominent men were also sent to study in England, but after the revolution of 1868, they were recalled.

The embassy which left Japan in 1871, and made the tour of the world, was thoroughly organized, and gave more promise of good than any which had preceded. At its head was I-wa-ku-ra, who ranks next to San-jo, the prime minister; under him were eight secretaries who were to report upon as many distinct departments, and all were selected with special reference to their capabilities.

This was emphatically a mission from the Mikado's government, while all which came before it, were from the court of the Tycoon.

The embassy went forth like a lion, and returned like a lamb. It attracted a great deal of attention in the United States, and was banqueted, and bored with speeches in England; but when it reached Paris its reception was not enthusiastic. The welcome accorded by Belgium was all the more appreciated, by contrast with French coolness; and in Switzerland the members felt more at home, and appeared to enjoy themselves better than in any other country. In Italy and Austria much cordiality was also extended to them. The expense of the mission being very great, the party was divided, and its members returned home in small detachments. When I-wa-ku-ra reached Japan, there were but half-a-dozen persons left, of the original thirty-five who attended him on starting out a year previous. The high hopes entertained of this embassy, by all who are interested in the progress of Japan, have proved in the end chimerical; and we have reason to believe that very little of the anticipated good has resulted. The two embassies recently sent to China and Corea, have been remarkable for their success and the spirit which attended them, and in some measure have retrieved the shortcomings of other missions abroad. When Okubo and his suite were dispatched to Peking, (in 1874,) war appeared imminent between China and Japan, on account of the Formosan question. Okubo proved himself a master of Oriental diplomacy, however, and caused the Chinese to pay 500,000 taels, besides yielding to other demands, which gave the Japanese a victory of which they were justly proud. War was consequently avoided.

The conduct of Corea toward Japan, has been decidedly insolent of late years, on account of the latter's friendly bearing toward west-

ern nations. Japan tried for some time to instill a better sentiment into her neighbor, but without success. At length she sent a mission to Corea, which fortunately turned out well, accomplishing for Corea what the United States did for Japan. An embassy of Coreans very lately visited Japan, to ratify the friendly relations entered upon; and their presence in Tokio produced a similar sensation to that which was experienced when the first Japanese embassy appeared in Washington.

Recent changes in Japan have been rapid but not always advisable; and to one acquainted with the internal condition of the country, it is sadly evident that superficial effect has too often been the aim, rather than the solid improvement which can only result from patient effort. In common with all Asiatics, the Japanese appear stoical to a stranger; yet they are really very sensitive to the praise so unsparingly pronounced upon them, by those who note with wonder the progress in the empire. National vanity is a trait to which they have been educated, during long series of years of isolation from despised "tojins" (foreigners,) and now that their estimates of the outside world have been readjusted, the old trait simply takes a new direction;—impelling them to appear in the eyes of other nations as they do in their own. This need not be condemned, provided it does not interfere with the true welfare of the country; but it has tended to produce an unhealthy stimulus toward showy results, rather than honest improvement. So far it can not be said that the government has been altogether prudent in its ways, or popular with the people whom it has undertaken to lead. All classes have been dissatisfied in seeing the accustomed order broken up, with little compensating good to any save those who profited by foreign innovations. Several serious uprisings have occurred in the provinces, sometimes starting with the "samourai," and at other times with the farmers. These disaffections have been severely dealt with, and the government has assumed an air of grave indifference to the urgent demands of its subjects, while bestowing most of its attention upon such schemes as would cause it to appear well abroad. This has been the secret of much trouble hitherto, but experience, dearly bought, is gradually correcting the difficulty, by showing that slow and steady improvement is preferable to the rapid advances which threaten to impoverish the country. Railroads, telegraphs, steamship lines, and showy public buildings, are not so much needed by Japan, as the right administration of justice, the establishment of good government in the provinces,

and the elevation of the moral and mental condition of the people. It is taking a long time for the rulers to learn, that true progress depends more upon the development of sound principles within the heart of the nation, than it does upon costly importation of material appliances from without.

Various reports have been accepted abroad during the past few years, to the effect that religious liberty was declared in Japan, that the Sabbath was adopted as a day of rest, and that freedom of the press was insured. These and other similar reports were false, in the sense in which it was evident the government wished to have them believed; and the Japanese have gained considerable credit for liberal concessions which never have been made.

Religious liberty has never been announced, and though the "edict" against Christianity has been removed, the law itself has never been rescinded. No missionaries have any legal right to teach or preach outside the open ports.

The Christian Sabbath has never been adopted, but during the last few months, the government, as a matter of mere convenience, have suspended their usual custom of resting one day in six, and have substituted one day in seven.

Freedom of the press has very recently received a severe check, through the many fines and imprisonments imposed upon Tokio editors, who have been bold enough to venture criticisms on government measures. A prominent English gentleman, who published a paper in the Japanese language, has also been deposed by the British minister, to gratify a demand made by the Japanese government, that no foreigner should be permitted to edit a paper in their language.

In nothing have the Japanese shown more good taste and public spirit, than in their manner of responding to invitations to be present at the International Exhibitions of Austria and the United States. At Vienna, Japan did herself great credit, eliciting high commendation from the European press, both for the richness and novelty of her collection, and for the dignity with which the commissioners conducted themselves. In the latter respect, even the United States might have taken a lesson with profit, from her "western" neighbor. The Vienna collection was regarded as an experiment, and every variety of natural products were comprised in it as well as art-specimens. Mineral ores, vegetables, animals and birds, were sent, together with quantities of Japanese-ware made up in foreign style

and shape,—in hopes of tempting trade, by combining Occidental ideas of utility with Oriental ideas of artistic beauty.¹

Japan has had several national exhibitions of her own during some years past, both at Kioto and Tokio,—the old and new capitals; these have been somewhat primitive, yet they have afforded special opportunities for the study of Japanese antiquities, as well as the mode of life and warfare in the ancient feudal days.

The collection which Japan sends to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, speaks for itself, being probably the finest which has ever been brought together, and needing some careful study to fully reveal its real merit.

Here Japan shows her fairest side to the world, and could she but add a temple or two, and a Daimio's castle with towers and gates, the list of her attainments in art and architecture would be complete. The standing wonder is, that a land so poor and in many respects barbarous, should ever have produced articles so chaste and beautiful,—rivaling in design and execution the highest artistic skill of any country.

The government has shown much wisdom in the selection of this exhibit, and all the prominent provinces are well represented by their productions. Satsuma, Kaga, Owari, and Surunga, are ranged in stately processions of porcelain enamels, bronzes, embroideries, lacquer ware, and curious gems of all kinds; while over the whole is stretched the broad banner, marked with the chrysanthemum, or imperial crest. The Mikado's insignia is everywhere to be seen, but the Tycoon's,—once so familiar to foreigners—is conspicuous only by its absence. The fact is somewhat suggestive, that in all the Japanese array at the Centennial, the trefoil crest of the Tycoon appears but once, and then upon the sealed door of a *tomb*!—a bronze model of which stands in the center of the collection.

Japan brings many things to the Centennial Exhibition which would not be noticed at a casual glance. Such are the reports of her educational system, of her light-houses, and her postal service,—the latter of which has been a marvel of growth during three years past.

¹ The portion of the collection which returned to Japan, was wrecked off Cape Idzu south of Yokohama, on the French steamship "Nil." Among the articles thus submerged for many months, was an enormous fish covered with plates of gold, which once surmounted the castle of Odawara. This fish could hardly be said to be out of its element, so much as the elegant lacquer-ware of finest finish which lay for months in the salt water with it. Some of these lacquered articles were finally recovered by divers, and it speaks well for their durability to say, that they may now be seen in perfect preservation at the Centennial Exhibition.

She sends her merchants, students, and *Samourai*, to study all that this world-exhibition can teach her; and we doubt not that the opportunity thus afforded will be of more advantage than all the sight-seeing performed by official "embassies."

A friendship so happily begun and so profitably continued, as that which unites the interests of Japan and our country, is worthy of being strengthened and perpetuated. Eminently fitting as it was, that America should be foremost in bringing Japan to the light of civilization, it is increasingly important that she should still foster the cordial relations already begun. In furthering this object it is highly desirable that our representatives should be retained sufficiently long to enter into intelligent sympathy with the genius of the people, and that they should be maintained in a manner suitable to the dignity of their position. Simple though this statement appears, it has been disregarded to an unfortunate degree; and a very slight review of our diplomatic service in the Far East, would reveal much that needs correction. Whatever defects exist, could readily be adjusted, were more attention directed to the matter, and sounder principles infused into our foreign policy. No time could be more opportune than the present, wherein to accomplish this, and strengthen the bonds uniting American interests to those of Japan.¹

The early history of the two countries has been marked by two coincidences which it may be appropriate here to mention.

In 1295, when Marco Polo returned from his travels and brought to Venice the first marvellous accounts of the far East, together with certain maps and curiosities, he told of an unexplored but beautiful island group, called by the Chinese "Zipangu," which lay to the east of the Asiatic continent. His accounts were scarcely credited at the

¹ Many circumstances have combined to make Americans particularly popular with the Japanese. We first brought them into contact with modern civilization, and gave them a lesson which they now appreciate, and which inflicted no wounds upon their national honor. We have since welcomed their students to our country by scores, and the Japanese heart has been sincerely touched by the warmth with which we have received and befriended the sons of "Bai-Nippon," in their earnest search after knowledge. We have sent forth men of high integrity and ability to Japan, who have materially aided in every department of public service, and largely contributed to the country's best welfare and advancement. Our commerce on the Pacific is an acknowledged blessing, and has already stimulated increased production; while more than three-fourths of all the tea exported from Japan, finds its market in the United States. Our democratic principles are so far understood, as to guarantee an absence of all covetous designs upon Japanese territory; and we require no such careful watching as Oriental eyes are constrained to bestow upon Great Britain and Russia. Only one serious shock to our friendly relations has ever occurred, and that has just now been rectified by returning the "Indemnity" fund; so that a new and tangible evidence is thus given, of American good-will toward Japan.

time; but a century or so after, his maps and stories found their way to Genoa, where they fell under the eager observation of Christopher Columbus, confirming convictions which he already entertained. When he afterward reached the West Indies he naturally supposed Cuba to be the large island of "Zipangu," referred to by Marco Polo. He never knew that a continent and mighty sea still lay beyond.

Commenting on this historical fact, the compiler of Commodore Perry's expedition very tersely says: "Though not destined himself to find and open Japan to Christendom, it so happened in the order of Providence that on the continent which he discovered and which barred his way to the land he sought, has grown up a nation which has performed a part of his contemplated work; a nation which, if it did not discover Zipangu has, we trust, been the instrument of bringing it into full and free communication with the rest of the world; a nation which has, as it were, taken the end of the thread which, on the shores of America, broke in the hands of Columbus, and fastening it again to the ball of destiny, has rolled it onward until, as it has unwound itself, it has led the inhabitants of the land discovered by the great Genoese, to plant their feet on the far distant region of his search, and thus fulfill his wish to bring Zipangu within the influence of European civilization."

Christian zeal prompted in some degree the enterprise which led to the discovery of this continent; and it also entered largely into the motives which induced Americans to attempt the opening of Japan. This same spirit should still further inspire us, in carrying to Japan those principles which have built us up as a Christian nation, and which have enabled us, (under the blessings of liberty, truth and justice,) to attain greater results in the first century of our existence, than our nearest western neighbor has done in her reputed twenty-five centuries. Over Japan, darkness and despotism have brooded, while light and liberty were advancing in more favored portions of the earth, till they touched our own land, making here a free people, and establishing here a refuge for the oppressed. But if those who founded the nation knew by experience the sorrows of religious persecution, even so did the Japanese converts who, —at the very same epoch,—were suffering all the woes of a martyrdom from which there was no escape. The analogy in the religious annals of the two countries, is thus vividly portrayed by a recent English writer:

"In that same year when the Roman Catholic converts were buried under the ruins of the captured city of Sin-a-ba-ra, near

Nagasaki, or hurled from the rocky heights of Papenberg, or crucified by scores on Campeera's slope ; a few exiles landed at Plymouth, in the newly discovered continent of America, where they were destined to plant the seeds of a Protestant faith and a great Protestant empire. Thus strangely, the same era which saw thousands of the converts of that church from which those pilgrim fathers had fled martyred, and the Romanist faith trampled out with unsparing violence on one side of the globe, marked the foundation of a Protestant church in the other hemisphere, destined rapidly to spread the gospel over a whole continent. It was the descendants of these pilgrims who, two centuries later in the cycle of events, were the first among western nations to supply the connecting link wanted,—to bring the lapsed heathen race once more into the circle of Christian intercourse, and invite them anew to take their place in the family of civilized nations."

Providence has thus linked us to Japan through historic parallel, through geographical position, and through mutual commercial interests. We believe our responsibility is co-equal with our privilege, in aiding our nearest pagan neighbor to apprehend that light she professes to seek ; which, though starting in the East has journeyed to the extreme West, until it now glimmers over the sea, bidding fair to usher in a golden day "From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same."

DANIEL DERONDA.

A NEW work by George Eliot commands reverence. It is something to be a contemporary with such genius—strong in the strength of both sexes and, easily first among living writers, challenging place among the greatest of all time. This is also a disadvantage: we are at the foot of Mont Blanc, or under the looming front of St. Peter's, and the greatness before us outreaches vision. We can not get the perspective.

Therefore is reverence, always a first duty of catholic criticism, here peculiarly becoming. It is easy to splutter over the preachments of "Daniel Deronda"—easier indeed than to appreciate rightly this magnificent work of magnificent genius. But the critics who shrugged their shoulders over the violation of the unities, when Shakespeare and his fellows were writing drama, are not thought well of by posterity, which is in fact rather inclined to shrug its shoulders at them. In the presence of a great work, criticism may be asked to question itself first. It may be open for consideration whether those writers of modern fiction, among whom George Eliot is first, have not been giving to that triumph of England's creative genius, the novel, a new meaning. While we are judging a great work by a current standard, the work itself may be creating a new standard by which posterity will judge us. Provided always that it do not violate art truth, a novel "with a purpose," and that a great purpose, may be greater as a novel because of that purpose; and possibly also in asking of the novel the self-unconsciousness of drama, we are asking of it something which does not belong to it. Certainly if a great work in literature is to represent its age, our form of literature, the novel, may properly present that analyzing self-consciousness which, it may be for good as well as for ill, marks our age.

The comparison of George Eliot with Shakespeare is often essayed, but it must be of degree and not of kind. Of "Daniel Deronda" it may be roughly said that Shakespeare "would not an he could, and could not an he would." The two writers represent

the essential *differentia* between the drama and the novel: with equal truth they set forth the "what" of being and doing, but it is left to the novelist, the analyst, the psychologist, to divine the "why" which in its deep interplay of elusive motive is not evident even to the actor himself. The world has been querying for centuries whether Hamlet be mad or not: perhaps Shakespeare didn't know. It may be questioned whether human nature is greatly different now from then, whether the modern complexity of life has proportionately increased the complexity of human motive. But psychology is a new science: perhaps it is not too much to say that "Daniel Deronda" could not have been written except Herbert Spencer had first lived, or by any other than a disciple of that Columbus of psychology. We are most of us as ignorant of the hidden sources of our action as of the courses of the vital fluid through our bodies, and the discoveries of human emotion which this book reveals could no more have been made without the Spencerian analysis than the discoveries of modern physical science could have been made without the microscope. Unknown to the men and women themselves, these clues can only be given by the *ego* of the novel, which indeed appeared as chorus in the early drama, to be banished thence to its growing importance in the novel when the *differentia* of the two became clear. That it is only more prominent and not new, in George Eliot's writings, the reader of Fielding can testify, and Thackeray, whom we call the artist, stood always visible at the edge of his stage and rang up and down the curtain himself.

Considering then that a novel with a purpose and with a personality may still be recognized as a novel and as a work of art, we may take it as a chief element of George Eliot's greatness that her books are so persistently occupied with the greatest of problems—the problem, old as humanity, that must forever be set before each man as his question of life or death. As unreligious in the personality of her novels as Shakespeare the dramatist, George Eliot is always dealing with the most profound of practical religious questions. That truceless conflict which the Persians deified into alternating gods of Light and of Darkness; which Protestantism has philosophized into the problem of free-will *vs.* predestination; which is presented in history by the sustaining faith of the Jew on the one hand and the disintegrating fatalism of the Turk on the other; which in the experience of the individual is figured by the immortal parable of St. Anthony's strugglings between the spirit

and the flesh—this clashing of the universe, one through its many phases, fought out now with the world for its battle-field, but oftenest in the inmost recesses of the human heart, presents itself to the rationalistic mind of George Eliot as the conflict between character and circumstance. Through all the full harmony of her writings is heard this theme.

“Daniel Deronda” not only treats of this question; it is built up upon it. The novel has two centres, Gwendolen and Mordecai, between whose circles the author’s hero is the connecting link. The evident difference of opinion between the author and her readers, as to which is the leading person of the story, grows out of the conditions of this pervasive problem. She concentrates her attention upon Deronda because he represents character, force—originative in its relations to Gwendolen, transmissive in its relations with Mordecai. The reader looks upon him more as a force than as a person. On the other hand, the reader’s attention is concentrated upon Gwendolen, this throbbing, bleeding heart, torn by the thwarting circumstance we all know to our pain, herself the product of circumstance and the battle-field of opposing character—because this is human and near to us. On either hand are the angel and the demon—not above, shadowy in the clouds, but called Deronda and Grandcourt. The one is indeed *αγγελος*, the messenger of life, the quickener; the other, the mocking spirit of negation which Goethe pictures as truly devil. Both of these men are evidently intended to represent “character” in Emerson’s sense. “This is that which we call Character,” says this seer, “a reserved force which acts directly by presence and without means.” Tito Melema, the antipodes of Deronda, we know through his deeds, but neither Deronda nor Grandcourt *do* any thing. George Eliot has thus set to herself the most difficult task before creative art. There is more in these men than can be told of them, even in real life, and in endeavoring to give to the reader her own impression of Deronda she has returned again and again to the picture, only to find that, with all her pains, the reader must take something for granted. The reader who will take nothing for granted—in the heavens or under them, who, in a word, has no sense of spiritual force—finds Deronda a nonentity and Grandcourt an impossibility. Gwendolen knew, and we know, that this is not true; these men are those who are able to successfully oppose circumstance, and get the better of events. Perhaps if George Eliot had been content just to give us her word for Deronda, to elaborate him less, she

would have accomplished more. We might then have seen him through the eyes of Gwendolen.

There are other readers who pronounce Grandcourt a living realization, but Deronda an unreal and objectionable prig. But Deronda is neither unreal nor a prig. There may be some to whom George Eliot has not made him evident, partly because literary art fails her to paint the real being she knows; partly because they could not, by their nature, know this real being in actual life. We can not make a photograph of a sunbeam, because it is the sunbeam which makes the photograph; we can not make any photograph evident to the blind. But some of us have known these Messianic men—we speak reverently—of whom Deronda is a type: strong with man's strength, tender with the tenderness of woman, touching no life that they did not lighten and inspire. Yet what could we tell of them that should make our friends know them as we know them? It is Deronda's literary misfortune that he is placed in conditions which in many minds attribute to him effeminacy: it doesn't look very manly to treat a woman as if she were in love with you. It is provoking also to poor humanity to gaze long upon too near an approach to unstained goodness, nor do men take kindly to that unpartisan catholicity which, seeing good on both sides as well as ill on both, seems to each party a defender of the other. Thus Deronda arouses manifold prejudices, but they are prejudices and not judgments. His character is justified as the book reaches its real climax and conclusion in that touching sentence of Gwendolen, the noblest testimony a noble soul can have: "It is better—it shall be better with me—because I have known you."

To most readers it goes without saying that this problem of character and circumstance is the mainspring of the Gwendolen side of Daniel Deronda's double history; it will be seen also that what is commonly known as "the Jewish business" no less grows out of it, while even in a side personage like Klesmer we are shown the triumph of character over social circumstance. The history of the Jews appealed powerfully to the imagination of George Eliot, because it presented at once the most remarkable proof of the abidingness of character, in its broader relations, and the most striking illustration of that contact of ideal character and every-day circumstance which, as in the frequent suggestion that Deronda has a modern tailor, she is so fond of pointing out. The Jewish is so far the one race in history that can lay claim to immortality—because the earlier Ezras

founded its national life upon a Rock. It was these Prophets of Judea, strong in faith, and defying circumstance, who, with that fire of soul that blazed into the most splendid and fervent oratory the world has known, gave to their petty state that principle of life which could never be quenched by the whole power of the magnificent empires that one after another fell to pieces around it. And it is this people, the chosen of God, who time and time again have turned aside, betrayed by the lusts of the flesh, into the entanglement of circumstance—who, to-day, leave the ancient and splendid ritual of their synagogues, to cheat Jehovah and the Gentiles on the street. "Seest thou," says Mordecai, in one of the great passages of the book, "our lot is the lot of Israel. The grief and the glory are mingled as the smoke and the flame." The very name of Mordecai and his contrasting fellow-Cohens itself tells the story. Associated in our minds with a common order of people, Cohen is (כֹהֵן) the Hebrew word for priest. Always, as in "The Spanish Gypsy," emphasizing the idea of race, the thought of Judaism came also personally home to George Eliot, not so much in the influence of her husband, as has been suggested, as in that of her friend Emmanuel Deutsch, whose "Literary Remains" have shown to the world one whose kindling enthusiasm, thwarted aspirations, and gentle, pathetic life bring to mind both Deronda and Mordecai. For the latter, the direct suggestion came of course from that Cohen who was the leader of the philosophical club described in Lewes's *Fortnightly* article on "Spinoza," but it is doubtless the life of Deutsch that has given life to Mordecai. In his influence upon George Eliot, as in that of Mordecai upon Deronda, is seen that transmissive inspiration and "apostolic succession" of character that is a chief factor and proof of greatness. It is perhaps his enthusiasm for the East, also, that unfortunately started off Deronda upon a mission, of the geographical reunion of the Jews, which, in the light of modern relations, seems useless and absurd, as well as chimerical, and runs counter not least to the usual philosophy of George Eliot herself.

Of the minor characters it must suffice to say that the general voice has acknowledged in most of them new proofs of that masterly power of genius, so evident in "Romola," through which by a few strokes a great canvas is filled in with individual creations. Whether any one character is real and living is much the same question as whether, to most of his readers—readers of his proper circle—an author has succeeded in making the character seem real and living,

and judged by this test of the literary *vox populi*, a foretaste of the verdict of posterity, Mirah, as well as Deronda himself, is not the person George Eliot meant her to be. Scarcely enough stress has been laid upon that superb portrait of Lapidoth, absolutely true to life, and the swift analysis of the disintegration of his moral fibre into absolute rottenness. This must take rank close to Tito Melema.

Having asserted that a novel may properly, by reason of its difference from the drama, have purpose and personality, and having endeavored to discover the *motif* and purpose of George Eliot's work, it is now time to ask whether in "Daniel Deronda" she has fulfilled, not the rigid canons of a too narrow criticism, but the conditions she has set for herself. It can not be denied that as a writer, as well as artist, she has seriously lapsed. Some indications of this have already been pointed out. The plan of the book is not as diffusive as that of "Middlemarch," and to many readers the interest is more concentrated and continuous, but it oscillates between two plots, neither of which can be considered a sub-plot. This lapse of continuity is not lessened by the frequency with which the chorus occupies so large a portion of the stage, or by the literary fault in which George Eliot unfortunately indorses Browning's worst tendencies. An author may fairly be called upon to give good reason for distracting the reader from his continuity of thought and feeling by sending him to the dictionary for the meaning of a word not generally known, or by calling his attention to a word or phrase so novel or peculiar as to stand out from the text. We don't go to George Eliot as to Sir Thomas Browne, and she herself plans for a wider circle of readers. That the words she uses are pregnant with meaning is not enough; dictionaries of science and of positivism ought not to be the necessary vestibule to a book meant for general reading. Nor is it healthful for a writer to depart far from the usual speech of his day and generation: he is instantly in danger of being led away into affectations which separate him from a wide sympathy with the heart and life of the people. This has wrecked many poets and, despite Miss Evans, some novelists.

There are many who impugn George Eliot for such provoking lack of good taste as the introduction of the little Cohens at Deronda's wedding. But this is connected with a virtue—the perfection of her truth. These contrasts of every-day life are always present to her—as to most of us—and thrust themselves into the picture. The introduction of Mrs. Glasher is resented as

an affront not only to good taste, but to good morals. This opens two of the most perplexing problems before a writer: within what limits it is wise to present truth, and the distinction between truth absolute and relative. In dealing with this subject, George Eliot has a special purpose. It has been noted that while certain relations of life, such as that between mother and daughter, are noticeably absent from George Eliot's books, others, brother and sister among them, are returned to again and again. Among these latter also is peculiarly the relation existing between Arthur and Hetty, Tito and Tessa, Grandcourt and Mrs. Glasher, and imputed by false gossip to Maggie Tulliver and Stephen Guest, and even to Deronda. Why does she so build up plots about this subject? Because here again is her one theme, in the shape in which it comes within the possibilities of every human being in whom the angel and the animal, the fortifyings of the spirit and the temptations of the flesh, wage the warfare of character and circumstance. It is with this motive that she has told also the repulsive story of Janet, slave to the appetite of drink. The subject has always, and for the reason suggested, insisted upon its place in literature, from "Faust" down, and it was a while before the successors of Richardson and Fielding found that there was any other theme for English fiction. Much as we may regret it, it is perhaps necessary to accept the fact, and insist that the subject shall be rightly treated, for it is here that sentimentalism is dangerous. George Eliot, in contrast with her usual method, treats Mrs. Glasher not as a social problem, but as an individual. The chorus has nothing to say about her. In so doing, she presents a picture of absolute—that is, of individual—truth, if relative truth is little considered. The danger is in considering a person who is not even a type as representing a class, and it may be alleged that in Mrs. Glasher George Eliot is unjust to society. But if we look again—as, unfortunately, most readers may not look—Mrs. Glasher's Nemesis is to be discerned.

In fact, the only possible impeachment of George Eliot's truth seems to be that, except in such distinctively religious persons as Dinah, Savonarola, and Mordecai, she scarcely permits to her characters the usual sense and recognition of a divine existence. In all the strophes and epistrophes of the chorus, there is little clue to the personal religious opinions of this *ego*, any more than in the dramas of Shakespeare. But her rationalistic tendency is directly exposed elsewhere, as in her statement, in a *Fortnightly* review of Lecky, of "the great conception of universal regular sequence,

without partiality and without caprice—the conception which is the most potent force at work in the modification of our faith and of the practical form given to our sentiments.” Not irreligious, but unreligious, her keen analysis and avidity for truth makes her nevertheless a great moralist. “The truth is,” says one of her early critics, “we are all moralists when we see the facts in their right light.” But there is more than this: in basing her work on this problem which so possesses her, George Eliot, we repeat, deals with the most profound of practical religious questions. Yet she does not treat it religiously, but morally. The Christian lays hold on the outstretched hand of his Redeemer: she sends her reader only to his own conscience and the choice that comes of it. Character is the one thing, and there is an “inexorable law of human souls, that we prepare ourselves for sudden deeds by the reiterated choice of good or evil that gradually determines character.” The Christian accepts this, but looks to higher help. Under the limitations of her own creed, the question of George Eliot’s moral effectiveness is in good part the question whether she stands with the optimists or pessimists, for faith or fatalism; whether we are to learn from her that men—that is, character—have a fair chance of getting the better of circumstances, or that circumstances for the most part get the better of men. Of course there are facts on both sides, and George Eliot presents them as men and women. But the influence of a great intellect is set one way or the other according as it inspires by the triumph of character or dampens with its defeats by circumstances through the examples it selects. Some of her books are hardly assuring. “Our deeds,” she says in “Adam Bede,” “determine us as much as we determine our deeds.” And “Middlemarch” is a record of disappointments. But “Daniel Deronda” is positive and an inspiration, and this is the best thing about it. It marks an advance in faith, if not in art. This is the great suggestion of “Daniel Deronda,” that there are men not

“tangled in the fold
Of dire Necessity,”

but able to control circumstance, who “stand for a fact” and are a superior part of law. It is comfortable, therefore, to find in the kindling enthusiasms and character-triumphs of this latest book a contrast with the pitiable demoralization of Romola’s Tito, and the thwarted aspirations of “Middlemarch.” It is as though George Eliot had got out into the free air and found hope in life after all.

But George Eliot is too great for the judgment of any less a critic than posterity. It will read her books in a broader light than we, in the light also of the personal history of her life and of the literary material which has gone to the making of her books. In the absence of any thing authentic about Shakespeare, the legendary deer-stealing became an event in English history. There is no writer who has had a more remarkable personal history than Mrs. Lewes, though she is known to the biographical dictionaries only by the dates of publication of her books, or a history that has had more marked influence on the direction of literary activity. It is with all this in view that the verdict of posterity will be given, and that will decide, as we can not, whether "Daniel Deronda" marks for George Eliot a decadence in art or a more hopeful and wholesome outreach in her psychology.

CORRUPTION IN POLITICS.

THE corruption of American politics is a phrase in every body's mouth, not only in this country, but in others. What does it mean? Is it true? And, if true, what can we do for a change? These are questions which we propose, so far as we may be able, to answer in this paper.

The season is a fit one for such inquiries. As with persons so with nations, there are occasions especially fitted for self-examination. The present is one of them. The nation has just celebrated its hundredth birthday. The fourth of July, 1876, was not only an anniversary but it was a centenary. If there be, as beyond doubt there is, reason for national self-examination on every anniversary of the day of independence, there is a hundredfold more reason for it now.

When it is said that our politics are corrupt, what is meant? Is it that offices are obtained by corrupt means, or that they are corruptly used, or both? Is it that government is corruptly perverted from its true ends? or is it merely that, from inattention, offices are unworthily bestowed or unworthily performed; in other words, that though there is misgovernment, it is after all only negligent misgovernment? The truth is, we do not doubt, that both kinds of misgovernment prevail, the intentional and the negligent; and both in a certain sense are corrupt, for neither can exist without a violation of duty on the part either of the elector or of the holder of office. But in the ordinary sense that only is accounted corrupt which is intentionally wrong. It would be sometimes difficult to draw the line between the intentional and the merely negligent, because intentions being dispositions of the mind are invisible to mortal eye; but that there is a great deal of misgovernment is palpable enough, and much of it must be intentional. For proof of the former we need only the evidence of our senses, and with their aid to compare what is with what should be. The result is before us, and the conclusion is irresistible.

In this discussion of the state of our politics we intend to make no comparison between the good and the bad in either our political or our social system.

We are not considering the whole subject of American society and government, with the view of striking a balance between the good that we do and the evil that we are doing or suffering. We will not stop to recount the glories of our history or the felicities of our condition. We lay aside for the time all thought of our moral and social, as distinguished from our political, state. In respect of the former, we forego the pleasure we should otherwise have in measuring our advance with the advance of other countries in our own time, or the advance of this country in these later days with its advance in what are called the better days of old. We refrain from pointing out our religious equality and freedom as worth more to the world than all the other triumphs of our time in arts or arms. We will not stop to congratulate ourselves, or remind our detractors, that we have established in the western hemisphere a refuge for all those who from other quarters of the world have fled hither to escape poverty or oppression, and that we have received them, watched over them, encouraged and defended them. Nor will we pause to boast of that which, unlike what has always happened in the rest of the world, is yet the fitting supplement of our victories; that we have never after the heat of battle taken the life of a traitor, while the soil of Europe is red with the blood of men who in good causes as well as evil have been cloven down by the sword of power. We would forget for the moment the amount of our wealth, the development of our industry, the states we have founded, the cities we have built, the universities we have endowed, the number of our schools, the ever-swelling volume of our charities, the activity of our religious bodies, the comforts of our dwellings, the ease with which we travel, the diffusion of knowledge, and the plenty that fills the land as though the horn of abundance had been poured out over all its valleys and hills. We are fain to look now not on the bright, but on the dark side of our shield, however much, if the two were placed side by side, the brightness of the one might cover and illumine the darkness of the other. We would here show, not wherein we have succeeded and excelled, but wherein we have failed; that we may the better learn what to do to retrieve ourselves and to make our political equal to our moral and social condition.

It is strange that these conditions should ever be severed, and

that political corruption should exist by the side of social purity ; but that is one of the anomalies of our present social and political life, arising, we are inclined to believe, from causes accidental and removable, and not from an inherent and ineradicable vice.

When we speak of our political condition, we have to distinguish between that which is theoretical and that which is practical. In theory, our political constitution is irreproachable : it supposes a government of all, for the benefit of all ; or, as the politicians put it, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people ; but when this theory is reduced to practice, or rather, we should say, as it has been so reduced, the results are bad—almost as bad, we are tempted to say, as the promise was good.

There are few truths so much overlooked, or, if not overlooked, so soon forgotten, as that the excellence of a government depends more upon its administration than upon its constitution. The government of Trajan and the Antonines, faulty as was its constitution, gave to the Roman Empire peace, prosperity, and glory. The England of Elizabeth was as happy as the England of Victoria, and the history of China is a standing proof that a people may have wealth and pleasure under a mild though absolute despotism.

How is it then with us ? Let us take to heart a few facts. We see a federal union which, being free from debt in 1836, now owes a debt of more than two thousand millions ; which keeps in its service thirty thousand soldiers and an hundred thousand civil officers, and which pays for these hundred and thirty thousand servants more than twice as much as any European country pays for the like number. We see thirty-nine States owing an aggregate of three hundred and eighty-two millions, and of which eight pay neither principal nor interest ; we see counties, cities, and townships overwhelmed with debt ; and all the while these various governments—federal, state, and municipal—take from our people in taxes more than any government of Christendom takes from its people. We see offices which it is the function of the President to fill, and which it is his plain duty to fill with the truest and best, farmed out to senators and representatives in Congress. We see offices claimed and bestowed not for merit, but for party work, and as a natural consequence we see the public service inefficient and disordered. We see venal legislatures and executive officers receiving gifts. We see the most depraved and least responsible newspaper press in all the world. We see a customs tariff which taxes 502 imported articles, and 972 different grades of these articles,

some of them to the extent of 100 per cent of their value, while the tariff of England taxes only 17, and the tariff of Germany 152, arranged in 37 classes.

We see depreciated paper money forced upon creditors who contracted for coin, and swaying prices back and forth like the swing of a weaver's shuttle. We see a commerce which once covered the seas now so diminished that in this present year the tonnage of our sea-going steamers is 289,000, while that of England is 3,332,000. Fifteen years ago we were advancing with the stride of a giant to the dominion of the seas; to-day the trident is in other hands.

And what an opportunity have we lost; for the time at least, and perhaps forever! Behold the land and the coasts thereof: how its plains heave with fertility, and its borders lie in the midst of the seas. From the easternmost cape of Maine to the southernmost of Florida, and thence to the great river of Texas, and from the Gulf of California to Vancouver's Island, with its wondrous network of strait and inlet, what harbors lie open for lading and shelter, and what rivers to bear the products of the land to the entry of the sea!

And what is this prize that we have thus thrown away? What is it to have the dominion of the seas? It is to girdle the earth with your flag, the pledge of your protection and the symbol of your power; to bear in peace and war the primacy of the world, "the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power;" to be able to send forth at will

"The armaments that thunderstrike the walls
Of rock-built cities, bidding nations quake,
And monarchs tremble in their capitol;"

and, better yet, to send the ships of peace over all the world, to bring men and riches from every sea-watered shore. In the eye of law and of reason a ship is part and parcel of the territory of its nation. Every ship is therefore movable territory, and it may be a movable fortress. That nation which has the dominion of the seas can thus push its territorial domain and its fortresses over not only the three fifths of the earth's surface that are covered with water, but over all the other two fifths that can be reached by sea, to bear its speech, its arts, and its civilization into every zone and beneath every constellation of the sky. It is thus that the little island, our mother, fifty degrees north of the equator, with a length of scarce ten degrees and a breadth of six,

has made the language of her people the language of a third part of the earth ; has heaped up riches beyond all that is recounted in romance or song, and has made herself teacher and lawgiver in regions vast and fertile of which neither Phœnician nor Roman ever dreamed.

Behold an armament go forth upon the sea : it is like an army on the march, without the impediments that beset armies ; it finds its way by the sun and by the stars ; it stops not at night to set up its camp and surround itself with intrenchments ; it builds no bridges across rivers, or roads through mountain passes, but moves on wherever its keels can float and winds can waft them ; coursing along every continent, circumnavigating every island, looking into every harbor, and making descents upon any shore whenever and wherever it will. Or, if you like not the show of war, behold a fleet of merchant ships spreading their white wings and flying with the wind, bearing the harvests of one part of the earth to feed the inhabitants of another, or bringing back equivalents in fabrics for household comfort and all the luxuries "of commerce born."

What else do we see of the fruits of misgovernment, as if the picture were not dark enough already ? We see legislatures, state and federal, granting monopolies to corporations and individuals, making gifts of the public lands, and bestowing subsidies from the public treasury ; we see the plunder of local communities by what is called local taxation, and we see demagogues clamoring for largesses under pretence, perhaps of equalizing bounties, or other equally dishonest pretences.

Then we see the open and flagrant breaches of trust in those who are clothed with the administration of the public property, as, for example, the frauds upon the city of New York perpetrated in 1870, the plunder of Southern States by imposed governments, and the free gifts to private corporations of rights over streets and highways which were built at the public cost.

The facts here recited prove beyond question that the corruption of our politics, so often asserted, is unfortunately true. Having now answered the first two questions, we will seek an answer to the third, What can we do for a change ? The corruption is an effect of a cause behind it. What is this cause ?

Men are intent on making money ; that is for nine tenths of them the chief object of life. They who have different tastes and other objects ; whether they seek power for the sake of power and the gratification which the possession of it gives ; or fame for its

sweet incense wafted to them living, and to be breathed upon their names hereafter; or science, searching for truth through earth and heaven; or art, blending the beautiful with the true; or pleasure, with its voluptuous charm, falsely claiming to be the supreme good; they are all insignificant in number compared with the great army which is pressing forever toward the gates of Mammon.

Now if it be once assumed that government is, or may be, converted into a machine for the making of money, and that the majority, who control it for the time being, may use it for that purpose, then there springs up as from the ground a host of hungry adventurers, office-seekers, and public plunderers, bent on using the power or patronage of the government for the enrichment of themselves. This is accomplished in various ways, sometimes by getting offices, or, if there be none already made, creating them for the occasion, sometimes by getting appropriations from the public lands or the public chest, or by procuring tariffs here and charters of corporations there.

Those classes of the people who are already engaged in profitable pursuits, being intent on their own methods of employment, concern themselves little with the ways of the politicians, hardly thinking, so long as they are prosperous themselves, how much their prosperity in the end may be lessened by political devices.

That these are the fruits of wild notions prevalent about government and party we will endeavor to show. It is not strange that men should seek to make money. "The love of money is the root of all evil," says Holy Writ. What is strange about the matter is that in a country where it is the province of all to fashion and administer the government as they please, the machinery devised for the common benefit should be perverted, and so soon perverted, to the benefit of a portion of the people.

Here lies the root of the evil: the perversion of the power and patronage of the government from public to private ends. And this is possible, and in fact happens, through a misapprehension by the people of the functions of government and the duties of its servants. What are the functions of government according to the American theory? They are to protect each person in his individual rights, and to construct those common works, such as roads, bridges, canals, and aqueducts, which are for all, and in the construction of which all might be justly required to assist. For the performance of these functions certain agents are required, for

whose appointment the laws must provide, and the necessities of the service constitute the warrant and the limit for the creation of offices. What then are the duties of the officers? They are to perform the services required by the laws, and to do nothing else which can interfere with that performance.

How grievously these functions and duties must be misapprehended by the people! We say must be, for there is no other way of accounting for the present condition of affairs. The tree is known by its fruit. Here is misgovernment, and the people govern. Good government it is their interest to have. They must therefore intend to be well governed. And inasmuch as they have the power to be well governed, and are in fact ill governed, their failure must be due to a misunderstanding somewhere. This misunderstanding will be apparent the moment we compare the theory of government and office, as here defined, with the actual practice.

Government is the greatest combination of forces known to human society. It can command more men and raise more money than any and all other agencies combined. It is quite natural, then, that they whose theory of government, if they have any, does not forbid its use for any purpose they deem useful, should seek its intervention in such schemes as require great power or capital. How many well-meaning persons ask of Congress and the State legislature grants of special charters or other monopolies, or subsidies to corporations, or gifts to private institutions or charities. And yet nearly every one of these is incompatible with the true theory of our government. It is time that they should all cease. Not one dollar should Congress or any State legislature hereafter grant to any road, canal, or other enterprise owned by any corporation or individual. No matter what may be the pretence of advantage to the whole community or any part of it, so long as the thing does not belong to the state or nation, so that every citizen could be justly required to assist in the undertaking, the government has no just right to give to it any of the property of the state or nation. This doctrine should be imposed upon every member of Congress and of the State legislatures, and inexorably enforced by their constituents, and will be so imposed and enforced so soon as the people recover from their misapprehension of the true functions of their government. For it should be held a fundamental maxim of our polity that neither monopolies nor favors of any kind to any class or person can ever be allowed.

What the nation or state can not justly do for itself it can not

justly allow any lesser public authority to do. If the State of New York, for example, can not justly take stock in a railway corporation, not more justly can it authorize the municipality of New York to do so. Giving authority to municipalities to subscribe for shares in corporations is nothing but an agrarian measure to divide property among those who have not earned it. If, for example, in a town which contains 100 voters who have property, and 150 who have not, the majority of all have and exercise the power to buy stock or any thing else not needed for municipal purposes, and pay for it out of the common treasury, that is a forced division of property, as unjustifiable and as liable to abuse as the agrarian laws of Rome; for if the 100 thought the investment a good one, they would have made it themselves, and the municipal vote is but another name for the virtual forgery of allowing one man to put the name of another to an obligation he would not himself assume. The power of the legislature, so often asserted, and so far sustained by the courts, of compelling a district to tax itself against its will, and spend the money on a local object which it does not approve, is a power of more than doubtful propriety, and liable to infinite abuse. It may be necessary that the legislature which sits at Albany should tax the people of the State for the expenses of their State government; but when it comes to taxing the people of Erie for a supposed local improvement which they do not desire, its necessity is not perceived nor its justice admitted.

If the theory of government that we have been urging as the true one were once adopted and adhered to, not only would the nation and the states be saved the enormous expenditures consequent upon the grants now so lavishly made, but the number of offices would be materially lessened. There would remain fewer persons to be subjected to the wholesome discipline which we hope is in store for all holders of office, state and national.

The condition of our civil service is a scandal to the country. Not even the false notions of government that prevail cost us so much in money or lead to so wide a demoralization as the manner in which office is conferred and exercised. There are too many offices to begin with. Those which are permanent are greatly in excess of the public need; and there are besides commissions numberless and useless, perplexing and confounding the people, and eating out their substance. There would be no occasion to go into details, if we had space for them now, as we have not, but we will venture the assertion that, taking the country together, two thirds

of the present official force would do all the work needed, and do it better than it is now done.

Besides being too many in number, too many are unworthily bestowed. It could hardly be otherwise, considering the manner of the appointment and the condition of the service; the appointment being made for partisan work, and the condition being that the officer shall continue to work in the same way for the same party that placed him in office. Of course the qualification required is, as it must be under such circumstances, not that he shall be the best person to perform the office, but the best person to do the party work—we had almost said the dirty work—done by him in the past and put upon him for the future. The performance will, of course, be equal to the qualification.

It has been computed that in the city of New York the head of every twelfth household is the holder of an office or public employment. He gets his living, then, out of the remaining eleven, and his family and friends help him. He is a mercenary, and they are his auxiliaries. How many mercenaries and auxiliaries can thus be counted up, in this much abused city, who are dependent for their bread upon the party for the time being dominant in the city government? No wonder that politics as now pursued may be set down as a branch of business, and that this band of mercenaries—called variously office-holders or the people's civil servants—are found to be the supporters, as they are the instruments, of misgovernment, in direct antagonism to the rest of the people, whose interest it is to have good government, and whose hard lot it is to be obliged at every election to struggle against these mercenaries, and in the intervals to bear with their incompetency and indifference.

This, say the politicians and the Fourth of July orators, is a government of the people by the people. How does it happen then to be so badly administered? Their servants are to blame, it is said; but who select and commission these servants? The people, directly or indirectly, but always the people. If the public servants were bad men when they were selected, that is the fault of those who made the selection; if they became bad afterwards, and are not punished and removed, but suffered to continue in office, that also is the fault of the people who either do not make proper laws or do not execute them when made. The maladministration is either necessary or unnecessary. If it is necessary—that is, if it is inseparable from popular government—then

popular government is a failure. The question thus goes to the foundation of republican institutions and the strength and permanence of the foundation.

Do we sufficiently reflect upon the inferences deducible from the misgovernment that is admitted to prevail, inferences which affect the immediate agents—that is, those who have in their hands the selection and the supervision of the delinquents—and the ultimate agents—that is, the people who are the source of all power, and therefore responsible for its abuse? Whenever an official is found abusing his trust, the first inquiry should be, How did he get into his place? and second, How is he kept there? Do not let us mince matters, but speak the truth boldly. In ninety cases out of a hundred in which federal officials have been found delinquent, the President is in fault for giving them the opportunity to do the wrong; and so whenever a State official has gone wrong in the same way, the chances are ninety in a hundred that the governor, or other appointing power, is in fault.

The disease of the civil service is incurable by any method short of an entire change in the manner of selection and the tenure of office. So long as offices are given as rewards for party service, and held by the tenure of more such service, just so long will they be badly filled and badly performed, and, what is worse, the poison of their atmosphere will spread itself over the whole people and into all the transactions of life.

While we do not expect in this generation the realization of our ideal of a perfect commonwealth, we yet think it possible that the officers of the government may be selected for the same reason, and held to the same responsibility, as the agents of other corporations, and of private persons. The better to contrast the methods of politics with the methods of business, let us take the case of any well-managed private corporation; one of the factories or furnaces, for example, which line the banks of the rivers of Massachusetts or Pennsylvania. The officers and agents are there selected for their supposed fitness. The members of the corporation expect of the directors the choice of the best men, without regard to friendships or private relations. What would be thought of a president or director who should appoint a superintendent because he was a relative or had done him a service, or because he expected a like service from him afterwards? How long would a corporation managed in that way retain the confidence of investors? Suppose the managers of

a transatlantic steamship company to appoint a master not for excellence in seamanship, but for personal favors to himself, how long would travellers trust their lives to the skill and care of such a master?

If a private person employs an agent to select an overseer for him, and the agent selects his friend instead of his enemy, the friend being incompetent and the enemy competent, every man will pronounce the agent the betrayer of his trust.

Is there any reason why the same principles should not be applied in the selection of agents for the government? We are unable to discover any; we can not see the least difference in principle between the two cases.

The President of the United States has no more right to follow his friendship or his hate in appointing an officer of the United States, than has the president of a private corporation to follow his in appointing an officer of the corporation. The one is indeed public, and the other private. But what difference does that make in the principle? If there were any, then the same difference should be made between public and private property, and it should be held lawful to steal the former and not the latter, or rather the taking of the former without title should be held lawful and of the latter unlawful. We are shocked when we see an administrative officer acting with partiality in the discharge of his duties; and the charge of favoritism is felt as a stain upon his honor. Why should we be less shocked when we see the office bestowed from partiality? If favoritism in the discharge of official duty by the officer appointed be a just reproach, why is not favoritism in the discharge by the appointing officer of his official duty in making the appointment equally a reproach?

And how can one who is conscious that he owes his place to personal favor or party zeal maintain that self-respect and independence which are necessary for the faithful discharge of his duty? He can not but feel that some of the dishonor of the appointment attaches to him. If a judge or a juror is supposed to have decided in favor of his friend because he was his friend, and not because he had the right, all men cry out Shame! Is there any reason why an honest selection of one to perform official duties should be any less imperative than an honest decision upon a matter of private right?

"Population presses upon the means of subsistence," says the economist. Every man seeks a living. He will put in his

claim whenever he has a chance. When he wants food or money he will sell his services to get it. He sees that a certain number of men live on public employments ; he knows no reason why he should not do the same, and so he claims an office, and, if there is not one for him already, he casts about to see if one can not be made for him. This is, in short, the rationale of our politics. Every new election is a new traffic in office ; another trade, says the office trader ; another deal, says the office gambler.

Government is instituted for certain definite objects. The government can be carried on only by public agents, who are for that purpose and to that extent the servants of the public. The problem is how to keep the government confined to these objects, and how in the pursuit of them to prevent the agents turning masters, and using the government for their benefit instead of being themselves used for its benefit. To solve the problem we have first to reduce the number of those agents to the lowest limit equal to the work, and next to make them attend to their duties, and these only. The tendency is always to increase the number, in order to increase their power, and then to increase their emoluments. The object is to get out of the government more than should be got, and, as every thing that is received from the government is so much taken from the people, the tendency is to take from those who do not hold office for the benefit of those who do.

Suppose a community of a million persons, whose public business can be transacted by a thousand servants. If these thousand are dependent on party for office, they will become partisans, and will use all means not unlawful or dishonorable in their eyes to keep their party in power. They will work for it themselves, and all their dependents will do the same. They will offer inducements to others to help them. What inducement so strong as self-interest ? They will try to make it the interest of the others to help them, by promises of a like living upon the public. The thousand and their organized auxiliaries will prove too strong for the unorganized million.

These are considerations affecting the appointment of the officer. Those which affect the tenure of his place are equally important. Rotation in office is a favorite phrase of the politicians. Why they like it is easy to see ; for there being many seekers after each office, the oftener an incumbent is turned out the greater the number enabled to get in. Suppose the rule of

rotation applied to the factory, furnace, or steamer just mentioned, and that every two or three years the superintendent and the master were made to give place to a new hand, and so on at like intervals. Every body would say that the managers of the corporation were idiots. What would be said of a community in which the rule should be applied to employment generally? Take any of the little villages scattered among the hills, and say that no man shall be a shopkeeper, a shoemaker, or a blacksmith longer than four or five years, and must then make way for somebody else, or they must change places among themselves: how would the little village be likely to get on? Or suppose a lawyer or physician to be permitted the exercise of his profession only four years, then to make room for a new aspirant: would the faculty of law or medicine be improved in quality thereby? Is there any greater reason why the physician should continue to make himself more and more familiar with the art of healing, than why the appraiser of goods at the custom-house should continue to make himself more and more conversant with the qualities and values of merchandise? It is inconceivable that rotation should be a good thing in those offices which require skill and practice and do not directly affect political measures. The only instances in which it can be reasonably safe are those where the office can be performed by one person as well as another, and where familiarity with the duties gives no facility for their performance. Whenever that is the case, the rewards of party service may be distributed by chance or caprice, with no other resulting inconvenience than the excitement and demoralization of the struggle.

If the result of all this wrong were simply the selection of a set of incapables, to be succeeded after a short interval by another set of the same description, and so on *ad infinitum*, it would be bad enough, yet it might be possible nevertheless to carry on the government under such a load; but the tolerance by the community of the fraud in the selection, and the fraud in the performance, makes us all, to a certain degree, accomplices in the fraud, even though we be no more than passive spectators. The certain effect is to blunt the conscience of the officer and the conscience of the voter.

The contrast between the military and the civil service shows clearly the different effects of the two modes of selection and the two tenures of office: the tone of the one being high as the tone of the other is low. If rotation in office be a good thing in itself, why is

it not applied to the army and navy? Why not every four years make the captains lieutenants, and the lieutenants captains; send General Sherman to the charge of a frontier post, and the frontier commandant to be general of the army?

What, then, is to be done? One plan, which some have suggested, does not appear to us practicable, or adequate if practicable; that is, the dispersion of the patronage, by making the minor offices elective by the people of the localities which they serve. Thus it has been proposed, in respect of federal appointments, that the postmasters should be elected by the people whose letters they receive and distribute. This would require, in the first place, a great addition to the machinery of elections. But that is not the chief objection, however: postmasters are not the agents of the people who send and receive letters from their offices; they are the agents of the federal government, for which they act as receiving and distributing agents, and whose money they handle. There is a greater objection still; which is, that the people are already perplexed and confounded by the number of officers they elect, to such an extent that the local politicians are too much for them. In the State of New York we have gone on dispersing and decentralizing, until we have fallen into a sort of official anarchy. At the last general election there were seven tickets to be voted for at each poll, and on these seven tickets were twenty-two names of officers to be elected, besides the names of the thirty-five Presidential electors. One of the tickets had sixteen names, some known and some unknown, being nominated within a few days of the election; some acceptable and some unacceptable probably, to every elector. He was obliged, therefore, either to take the good and the bad together, or to go in the rain to a corner grocery and scratching a portion of the names, insert others in their places.

Though the people are the ultimate source of all power, and directly or indirectly appoint all their servants, they may in all cases choose for themselves or delegate others to choose for them. Two questions then arise: one, to what extent the inferior agents should be selected by the principal ones; and the other, by what rules should the principal agents be bound in their selection. In New York we have acted for the last fifty years upon the theory of selecting nearly all the public servants directly by the people, in opposition to the former theory of electing one chief executive and giving him the appointment of all other executive and administrative officers.

After fifty years' experience of the new plan, most reflecting persons will say that the old is preferable. The reason is twofold: first, the electors are not as competent to choose wisely as a person selected for that purpose; and next, if they were competent, no mode has yet been discovered by which they can manifest a free choice. As to the first, our instincts are decisive; for no man in his senses would entrust to a crowd the selection of a person to do his business; he would make the selection himself after inquiry into the fitness of the different persons. If he wanted a tutor for his son, or governess for his daughter, a superintendent for his factory, an overseer for his farm, a captain for his ship, he would make careful inquiry for the fittest person, and decide after comparing the qualifications of different candidates; but he would never think of asking a town meeting to decide for him. Yet he should do so if the town meeting were likely to make the wisest choice. Looking at the reason of the thing we should reach the same result. The qualifications of persons for special trusts can be known to only a few. Take, for example, the office of State engineer and surveyor, an office lately existing in New York and filled by popular election, the only restriction upon the choice being that the person chosen must be "a practical engineer." It is difficult to speak with respect of such a provision. Who should determine whether particular individuals were or were not practical engineers? And who, of all the electors, could select the best of those particular individuals?

Suppose, however, that the people in their various electoral districts were best qualified to make a wise choice, what method has ever yet been devised of enabling them to choose the one upon whom the wise choice should be made? We know that in practice the choice is limited to two, three, or four candidates, who are themselves selected by nominating bodies, themselves in turn selected by a few out of the whole body of electors, without legal sanction, and meeting for a few hours or days in a tumultuous assembly, as noisy and about as unmanageable as the pretorian guards when they disposed of the Roman purple. If any plan could be devised by which each elector should name his candidate, and the sum of all their nominations be compared before the final choice of a candidate for a party, there might be some reason to think that the people had a free choice; but no such plan has yet been devised and put in practice. There are, besides, so many

offices to be filled at an election, that the ticket presented to an elector on the morning of the election is so formidable in length, and so difficult to understand without a scrutiny longer than he can then give to it, that he generally takes it and throws it into the box, without discrimination, in despair of understanding the merits or demerits of half the candidates. In nine tenths of the meetings held in this country for different purposes, where officers are to be chosen, nominating committees are first appointed to present candidates. What is this but a confession that a crowd is of all agencies the worst for making on the instant wise selections of committees or officers? And lastly, the election by the people of a great number of officers is such a dispersion of responsibility as practically to nullify it altogether. For these reasons, and others which might be added if there were need, an election by the people directly of all or the greater number of the officers of a government is faulty in principle, and ruinous in practice.

The legislators must of course be elected by the people. No other mode of selecting them is possible in a free and popular government. The chief executive in a republic must also be elected by the people or by the legislature. To an election by the legislature there are insuperable objections. A popular election is the only natural and unobjectionable method. And here, with the legislature and the chief executive, popular election should stop, and every other office should be filled by one or the other of the two departments thus created, or by the concurrent action of the two. In this respect the Constitution of the United States appears to be as perfect an organic law as can be framed. Then the question arises, How can the best judicial and administrative officers be obtained? How shall the appointing power be guided in making its appointments? By the most perfect good faith always, and in respect to administrative offices by requiring from the candidates certain prescribed tests of qualification, without which no person can be eligible. By good faith is meant a single purpose to fill the office with the fittest person. This is the rule of the Constitution and the rule of conscience. No other is consistent with an honest discharge of public duty. If the office to be filled is political, then political opinions may enter into the question of fitness; but if the office is not political, no preference can honestly be given to one person over another on account of political opinions or political services. The false maxim that to the victors in elections belong the spoils of office is as infamous a

one as was ever uttered, and as dangerous as it is infamous. The President of the United States, the Governor of each State, is bound, by the constitution he is sworn to uphold, and by the dictates of probity and honor, to select the fittest man he can find for an office to be filled, be he an enemy or friend, personal or political, or the most favored or disfavored of the best or the worst of his supporters or opponents.

We know it is assumed, as an article of political morality, that the dispenser of patronage may rightfully postpone an enemy to a friend in the matter of preferment, and so he may if the two are in all respects equal in fitness; but on any other supposition, private or political friendship has no place. Personal attraction or repulsion, between the appointing officer and the officer appointed, should have nothing to do with the appointment, unless the official duties of the two are such as necessarily to bring them into close personal relations. The needs of the service and the fitness of the servant are the only things to be measured and compared.

The measure called civil service reform, rightly understood, is worthy of all commendation. If it were assumed, however, that success in competitive examinations is a sure passport to office, the plan would fail, because such examinations will not develop all the elements necessary to make a good officer. But an examination, as a preliminary to the exercise of an administrative office, would be a great boon. It would exclude the ignorant and the idle from the competition. It would insure an amount of knowledge requisite for the place. And it would make the present discreditable scramble for office give way to an honorable ambition. But no civil service reform can reach all the offices of the country, or even the most important, such as the legislative, judicial, and highest executive. For these nothing will suffice but to enlighten the voter and arouse his conscience. So soon as the legislative and highest executive offices are filled with honest and capable men, the judicial and administrative offices will be well filled also. No civil service rules were needed for Washington when he was President. And though parties had not then been formed, struggling for office, as we now see them, he showed by his example, in the circumstances of that time, what he would have done in the circumstances of ours.

If the electors were all honest and intelligent, we should have honest and intelligent officers elected. But they are not all such. Some are intelligent who are not honest, and many are honest who

are not intelligent. The majority, the great majority, are honest. If it were not so, this government would come speedily to an end. What is needed is a better apprehension of the function of government and the duties of its servants.

Our conclusions are, that the following maxims are fundamental and indispensable for the good government of this country:

First. That no grant or subsidy of any kind should hereafter be conceded to any private corporation or enterprise, no matter what may be the advantage promised or expected;

Second. That no legislation or other act of government should be permitted which has for its object the pecuniary profit of any class or person;

Third. That no office should be created or suffered to exist which is not necessary to the public service;

Fourth. That in an appointment to office by any servant of the people, the fittest person to exercise it should be selected, without regard to party or personal relations;

Fifth. That in the class of administrative offices, no person should be appointed who has not passed successfully through a competitive examination; and,

Sixth. That when once appointed, such officer, if his duties are not political, should hold his place during good behavior.

The final remedy for our political troubles lies in the intelligence and conscientiousness of the people. Amendments of constitutions and laws may do much, but they will not reach the root of the evil. As the disease is partly political and partly moral, so must be the cure. We are to address ourselves to the hearts and minds of the electors. Good or evil government depends upon the spirit of the people. The government of England is now, as it has long been, in the hands of the educated classes; yet how different is its present administration from what it was in the days of Walpole! What has made this difference? The higher tone of public morality.

It must be made a point of honor and conscience with the appointing power in this country, wherever that power may reside, whether in president, governor, secretary, or legislator, that the authority to appoint is a high and sacred trust which can not be delegated, and must be neither perverted nor coerced.

The indifference of the citizen to his political duties is owing in part to his forgetfulness of the evils of misgovernment. "Magna est veritas et prevalebit" is an often quoted and much perverted

maxim. Truth has often a hard time of it, is frequently crushed to earth, and will seldom prevail but by the aid of diligent and persistent coworkers. A profound student of human nature has observed, that, if they thought it for their interest, there would be as many persons to deny as to admit the truth of the 47th proposition of Euclid. That which may be affirmed of truth in general, may with greater force be affirmed of experiments in politics and government. People who are always exclaiming that things will come right, do not know what they are talking about. They will not come right of themselves, nor because they ought to be right, nor without the help of brave hearts and sturdy arms. No greater evil can befall a people than a bad government, by which we mean not merely a government badly constructed, but a government badly administered. The fairest portions of the earth, those which were once most fertile, most populous, and most opulent, are at this hour waste and desolate through misgovernment. Look at Persia, Turkey, and the States of Barbary. Every one of them flourished once in high prosperity; why are they not flourishing now? Their soil is the same, their sky has not changed. Misrule has brought them to ruin. Why has not Spain kept her place among the nations? It is scarce two hundred years since her sceptre was lifted over half the world. In the East as in the West the orders which her swift couriers bore from the wood of Segovia were obeyed, not more in Europe than in half of America and in both the Indies. Let us take these lessons to heart. We can not have misgovernment and prosper. We are not superior to the fortunes of our race.

It is sometimes said, as if to excuse the inattention of the citizen, that our government is a simple machine, not easy to get out of order, and easy to mend when it does. Never were there words with less of truth in them. Instead of calling it simple, call it the most complex of all the machines of government ever contrived for mutual protection and the common weal, and you will come nearer the truth. It is a curiously wrought, carefully adjusted, and most easily deranged piece of statesmen's workmanship. The simplest of all governments is an absolute monarchy, an autocracy like that of Russia under Catharine, or Spain under Philip the Second. A limited monarchy, like that of England, where all government is practically concentrated in one house of Parliament, is in simplicity the next.

Our American system of government, composed of federal and

state authorities, each independent of the other and supreme in its own sphere, and all working or designed to work without friction for the common good, has nothing simple about it. It is like the solar system, with its mazes of attractions and orbits: its sun, planets, and satellites. Not only is it the most complex, but it is also, if not most carefully watched, the most expensive. The federal government and the state governments have each an equipment of officials, with their long lists of salaries and perquisites. Our taxpayers have to bear the burdens of four governments; that is to say, the federal, the state, the county, and the town or city. It behooves them to watch with the vigilance of interest and of patriotism combined, lest they lose their liberties and their estates together.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, SCIENCE AND EVENTS.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

ALZOG'S CHURCH HISTORY.¹—In the two volumes already completed of this important literary enterprise, both Dr. Alzog and his American translators and editors have not only performed a substantial service for students within the Roman Church, but produced a work which will take rank as in some respects an authority on which other scholars can depend. There has not been accessible in English, a good Church history from the Roman point of view, and the attempts at writing history by modern advocates of Romanism, have dealt too largely with *ex parte* statements to secure confidence. Dr. Alzog writes less to defend disputed doctrines, than to produce a manual which shall open the whole subject from the beginning, and which shall indicate the facts and principles of different epochs. He writes from the scholar's position, and accordingly presents a work which, while not unfaithful to Roman Catholic traditions, dares not ignore or explain away the facts which make against that communion. So far as we can judge by a careful examination and comparison with existing histories on critical points, Dr. Alzog has produced a work which must command the attention of all students of ecclesiastical history. The eminent fairness in the treatment of vexed questions and the freedom from exaggerated statement lead to this conclusion. The method which he employs is also an important feature of the work. He grasps the leading features of an epoch in a few words, then divides it into sections, and throws into each section not only the chief facts to be noted, but some philosophical conception of their bearings. The result is that his work loses, especially in the second volume which is much more minute than the first, its almost necessary dryness as a compendium, and gains the life and flow of historical narrative. He has studied the science of method and arrangement to good purpose, and one hardly knows where to find the history of the middle ages set forth in a more intelligible manner. The work compares favorably with

¹ "Manual of Universal Church History." By the Rev. Dr. Alzog, Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. Translated, with additions from the last German Edition, by F. J. Pabisch and the Rev. Thomas S. Byrne. In three volumes. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1876.

Hardwick's Middle Ages, and with Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, and in some respects is more full and complete than either of them.

Dr. Alzog divides Church history into three periods, the first of which extends from the beginning of the Christian Church, to the victory of Christianity over the paganism of the Roman Empire. The second extends from the establishment of Christianity among the Germans to the Western Schism; the third dates from the Schism of Luther to the pontificate of Pius IX. He attempts to give the entire history of Christianity. While much of the material for such a work must be obtained at second-hand, the references to the original authorities are always given, and often the very words of the reference are reproduced in the foot-notes. The translators have greatly enlarged the second volume, and, being practical teachers in a Roman Catholic theological seminary, have known how to meet the demands of students no less than those of the general reader. The work in its present form reflects credit, so far as it has gone, upon the Roman Church. Whatever Romanism may have done in former days, its manifestations of literary culture, whether in England or America, have not lately been equal to the Benedictine standard. This history restores the hope that scholarship of the ripest kind has not been lost in this communion, and, while we are far from indorsing all its statements, we gladly commend its spirit, its fairness, its thoroughness of execution, its scholarly character.

JESUS OF NAZARETH.¹—Many of the books which are specially intended for youthful readers, are spoiled by a too evident effort on the part of the author to make them differ from books intended for adults. This is because so many writers fail to take the measure of the youthful mind, erroneously supposing that young people—by which we mean boys and girls in their teens—are not capable of assimilating the mental food offered to their elders, and must be fed on something entirely different. The truth is that plain facts, stated in simple language, are what is needed in both cases; and that to relate a fact simply, does not require the use of words of one syllable. A book whose language is such as we have indicated, if there is anything in the subject to attract popular attention at all, will be read with almost equal interest by old and young. We find in Dr. Thompson's book an apt illustration of the style of writing to which we refer. In a book dedicated to the young, he writes in a style worthy to be adopted in addressing any class of readers. We do not wonder that a German friend to whom the author read some of its pages exclaimed "But you must not call this a book for young people; it is a book for me, for grown up men and women!" With a dignity of style worthy of the sacred subject, and yet with perfect simplicity and clearness, Dr. Thompson tells the story of Christ's life in such words as to commend his book to readers of every age. Without

¹ "Jesus of Nazareth." His life for the Young. By Joseph P. Thompson, D. D. Illustrated. Boston: James R. Osgood and Co. 1876.

attempting a critical comparison, we may liken the difference between this and other books upon the life of Christ, to that which exists between a Sabbath in a country town, of a June or October day, and a Sabbath in the city. In the one case, nature helps to worship by all the silent speech which she has for human souls in the glad shining of the sun, the pure blue of the sky, the songs of birds, and pictures of fair fields and woodlands. In the other, where nature is less helpful, art provides beautiful temples, and sensuous accessories of worship, with which to beguile the mind from worldly cares to thoughts of God. There is certainly more of likeness to Christ's life in the former picture, and Dr. Thompson has done well to make his book suggestive of those scenes in the midst of which our Lord so often appeared when on the earth. No attempt is made to teach the doctrines of any school in theology; matters of dispute between schoolmen are utterly ignored, and an earnest, honest effort is made to present to those who read such a view of the life and words of Christ, "as shall win their hearts, and bless their lives."

The publishers have very properly presented the book in an attractive form, with admirable illustrations, and we heartily commend it to those who would place in the hands of the young an interesting volume which will bring clearly before them, as a pattern and exemplar, the life of the Son of God.

FETICH IN THEOLOGY.¹—Upon its first appearance, two years ago, this book attracted considerable attention among theologians, because of its bold and vigorous assaults upon some of the methods and tendencies of the system of theology of which Dr. Hodge is recognized as an able supporter. The matter of the book relates chiefly to positions taken, or supposed to have been taken by Dr. Hodge, calculated to misrepresent God, and to pervert or weaken if not destroy faith. Mr. Miller is a Presbyterian clergyman of recognized ability, and his book, while betraying in some instances too evident a relish for polemics, merits the careful study of those who are disposed to question or defend the soundness of the theological teachings to whose criticism it is devoted.

THE PRAYER GAUGE DEBATE.²—In July 1872, an article was published in *The Contemporary Review* under the title of "The 'Prayer for the Sick'; Hints toward a serious attempt to estimate its value." The author of this article, believed to be Sir Henry Thompson, a prominent London surgeon,—boldly proposed, in the form of a letter addressed to Professor Tyndall, certain plans for "determining the value of prayer to the

¹ "Fetich in Theology." By John Miller. Second Edition. New York: Dodd and Mead. 1876.

² "The Prayer Gauge Debate." By Prof. Tyndall, Francis Galton, and others, against Dr. Littledale, President McCosh, The duke of Argyll, Canon Liddon, and "The Spectator." Boston Congregational Publishing Society, 1876.

Deity." The astonishing proposals of this anonymous paper at once became the subject of universal discussion, chiefly, no doubt, because introduced to public attention over the name of Professor Tyndall, and therefore regarded as having his indorsement. Various spirited and able papers, on both sides of the question, were subsequently published in all of the great newspapers of London, all members of society, from prelates to merchants' clerks joining in the general discussion. The object of this volume is to present, in a convenient form, the ablest of the writings called forth by this "Prayer Gauge Debate." Many who have not read the original articles in the *Contemporary Review* and the *Spectator*, will be glad to have them in the form now presented; and others no doubt, will be pleased to refresh their memories by a review of the arguments, especially of those presented in defense of the ancient Christian doctrines regarding the significance and efficiency of prayer.

THE UNSEEN WORLD.¹—The author of the "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy," has already won a right to recognition as a thinker and writer of no mean merit, and the essays of this volume will detract nothing from his reputation. Mr. Fiske is in thorough sympathy with that school of scientists who seek to arrive at a conception of the spiritual from the scientific point of view; but the processes by which he seeks to reach this end are characteristically his own. He believes that as "experience is not infinite" and as "our capacity of conception is not co-extensive with the possibilities of existence," it may be possible that "there are many things in heaven, if not on earth, which are undreamed of in our philosophy." It is upon considerations such as these, that he builds his hypothesis of an "Unseen World." He frankly admits that the hypothesis thus reached may be without scientific support, but he as explicitly declares that it is placed beyond the need of such support, and also beyond the range of scientific criticism; that "it is in no sense irrational," and furthermore that "it may be logically entertained without in the least affecting our scientific habit of mind or influencing our scientific conclusions." The spirit and purpose of the essay is commendable, if for no other reason because in such marked contrast with much of the ill-natured writing which has lately been done upon the disputed topics of which it treats.

In referring to the so called "conflict between Science and Religion," Mr. Fiske severely criticises many of the positions assumed by Dr. Draper in his recent work on that subject, for reasons very similar to those expressed in Dr. Washburn's article in a recent number of this *REVIEW*.

Motley's "History of the Netherlands" Longfellow's "Dante," and Taine's "Philosophy of Art," are chiefly noticeable among the other essays which complete the volume. A feature of the book worthy of imitation, is a complete topical index of subjects.

¹ "The Unseen World and other Essays." By John Fiske, M. A., LL. B. J. R. Osgood & Co., Boston. 1876.

VERTEBRATES OF THE NORTHERN STATES.¹—This work is a commendable attempt to supply a great want in our zoölogical literature. The method of arranging species with characters and an artificial key, is undoubtedly applicable to animals as well as to plants; and has been introduced into some of the best special treatises on both sides of the Atlantic. But we have not had heretofore any strict comprehensive hand-book of this kind for any of the large divisions of the animal kingdom, and applicable to Eastern North America. The work can not fail to be of great use to students, in enabling them readily to determine any specimen of our vertebrates, and it is sufficiently simple to be used in this way by school-teachers, amateurs, and indeed by any person of ordinary intelligence, as the glossary at the end will render such persons independent of the difficulties of technical terms.

Another use of such a work is that of fixing definitely in the minds of learners the diagnostic characters of the orders, families and genera in the best way, namely, by associating them with the characters of some known species, determined by means of the manual. Teachers who may introduce lessons in zoölogy into their schools, will find the work very useful in this respect, and may rest assured that the reference of even a few mammals, birds, reptiles, or fishes to their places in the classification will give a more careful kind of training in natural history than a large amount of vague description, and will also prove of great service in that *awakening of the comparing faculties* in the mind of the learner, which is one of the most important educational uses of studies in natural science.

It would be impossible to criticise a work of this kind as to details without having used it for some time, and undoubtedly in this process many defects and inaccuracies will be detected, to be amended in subsequent editions. Of larger omissions which should be supplied we may mention the seals, the cetaceans and the sea fishes. The want of these is certainly an important defect in the case of students resident on the coast, and one which might readily be supplied by the aid of naturalists resident near the sea. Another want is that of an index of English names. Of course this might induce learners to determine their species by a readier way than by the use of the key; but there are numbers of tourists, amateur collectors and others, who may wish to know something of the probable scientific relations of animals they may hear of or meet with accidentally, and in circumstances where the regular methods of determination can not be applied.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Jordan may meet with such encouragement in his praiseworthy effort, as may enable him to enlarge the work in the

¹ "A Manual of the Vertebrates of the Northern United States, including the District east of the Mississippi river and north of North Carolina and Tennessee, exclusive of Marine species." By David Starr Jordan, M.S.M.D., Professor of Natural History in N. W. C. University, and in Indiana Medical College. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1876.

directions above indicated; and in the meantime there can be no doubt that the book must tend to enlarge and render more accurate the general knowledge of our wild animals, and greatly to aid students in their work.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.¹—Mr. Buckle declares that Adam Smith contributed more by the publication of his *Wealth of Nations*, "towards the happiness of man, than has been effected by the united abilities of all the statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account." If this be not a wild deduction, it would be difficult to over-estimate the value of the services which have been lately rendered, in still farther developing and perfecting the science of which Adam Smith, not Aristotle, was the father.

It is remarkable that the science which has the most to do with national well being, should be least understood and last developed. The most accurate thinkers in Political Economy have but recently died or are still living. Of the former we may name Bastiat, John Stuart Mill, Cairnes, and Walker; of the latter, Macleod, Chevalier, and Perry. In the United States, we are only beginning to comprehend the laws and elements of national wealth. We have been legislating for a century in ignorance and at random. Every important act regulating tariffs, finance and taxation, has been based upon, or has embraced false principles. Our financial legislation especially has been ruinously vicious. We have lost more as a people since the origin of the government, through irredeemable paper money, a rotten currency, than ten times the present national debt.

Four Secretaries of the Treasury only—Hamilton, Woodbury, Walker, and McCulloch—have given any evidence in their reports of a masterly knowledge of the principles of Political Economy. With the exception of *Benton and Webster, we can recall the names of no others in the past, who upon a question of taxation or finance, can be quoted as authorities. In the present higher advancement and more general comprehension of the science of values, we find among those who have been regarded as authorities, Ex-Secretary McCulloch, the late Amasa Walker, David A. Wells and Professor Perry, each of whom have given publicity to their views with more or less frequency and force, and in many respects with unanimity of sentiment.

In his book on the "Elements of Political Economy," Professor Perry's most cogent reasoning is contained in the chapter *On Money*. He gives here in condensed form what has been thought out and settled on this subject. He does not lay stress enough, however, upon the foundation fact that the essential function of money is to measure values. That money *measures* is the most important truth in finance. It is a medium of exchange and a measure of values, it is said, but it is a medium or instrument of exchange *because* it is a measure of values. If it does not enable

¹ "Elements of Political Economy." Eleventh Edition. By Arthur Latham Perry. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

us to determine the relative values of articles or services to be exchanged, it is no instrument by which to effect exchanges. If what is called a dollar is worth forty-five cents one day and ninety-five cents the next, that money would be no medium of exchange with which business could be carried on. It would measure the relative or exchangeable value of nothing. Money is good then just in proportion to its being an accurate measure or standard of values. That money is best, which measures best. Hence it follows that dishonored or broken paper promises to pay dollars, are not the best instruments of exchange, for the reason that these violated promises are perpetually varying in volume and value. When the greenback promises are at all times convertible into coin, our currency will be as little variable in value as coin. Its volume will then be determined by immutable natural laws, and not by a call of the ayes and noes on a vote in Congress.

A MANUAL OF AMERICAN IDEAS.¹—There is an unquestionable want of just such a book as Mr. Hopkins has attempted to prepare—a book which shall so “explain the salient points of our system (of government) as to bring them within the comprehension of the youth of our public schools, and furnish the immigrant with a correct idea of what it means to become an American citizen.” This want is but partially met by Mr. Hopkins, whose views upon many important questions are neither judicious in expression nor correct in point of fact. The book may nevertheless serve a useful purpose in the hands of wise teachers, and it is well adapted to use as a text-book, by its arrangement in paragraphs beginning with suitable questions.

COX'S HISTORY OF GREECE.²—This is one of the latest additions to Harper and Brothers' valuable series of Students' Histories, and is fully equal in merit to any of the series which have preceded it.

It traces the history of Greece very fully and satisfactorily from the earliest period to the death of Alexander the Great, B. C. 323, after which is presented, in a very few pages, a sketch of the later fortunes of the Hellenic people. If there are any noticeable faults in Mr. Cox's otherwise excellent manual, it is the exceeding brevity of the last portion of the book, and the fact that it contains fewer references than might reasonably be expected to the light thrown upon the earlier history of Greece by recent discoveries.

LAWS RELATING TO RELIGIOUS CORPORATIONS.³—Until the reign of peace and good-will on the earth has become sufficiently established, to

¹ “A Manual of American Ideas.” By Caspar T. Hopkins, M. A., San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co.

² “A General History of Greece.” By George W. Cox, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

³ “Laws Relating to Religious Corporations.” By Rev. Sanford Hunt, D. D. With an Address on “Laws affecting Religious Corporations in the State of New York.” By Hon. E. L. Fancher, LL. D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

prevent even churches from sometimes appearing as parties in contests where the appeals are "unto Cæsar," religious corporations may properly interest themselves in a study of the laws affecting their interests. For this purpose we can find no better manual of reference than that prepared by Dr. Hunt, and which presents in a concise and methodic form, a compilation of the statutes of the several States in relation to the incorporation and maintenance of religious societies, the disturbance of religious meetings, and other matters of importance.

SANITARY DRAINAGE.¹—The application of sanitary principles to the drainage of houses and towns, is a matter whose importance has only lately attracted deserved attention. The results of investigations conducted of late years chiefly in the United States and in England, have made very evident what has been previously only suspected or half known, that a large number of diseases concerning whose origin physicians had hitherto possessed little or no knowledge, may be traced directly to the sanitary conditions of dwellings and their surroundings. Mr. Waring, whose book has grown out of a series of papers formerly published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, is deserving of commendation, for the conscientious and thorough manner in which he has treated his subject. A careful study of the principles which he lays down, and their thorough application, would in many instances secure—what is far better than a cure—the prevention of disease.

POETICAL WORKS OF LORD HOUGHTON.²—Lord Houghton is a very marked and interesting example of a class, probably not so small as is generally imagined, who, favored by external fortune, have too much positive talent and character to be confounded with the fortunate who enjoy life and pass away, and too little necessity for higher aspiration and exertion to become all of which they are capable. As a statesman, as an author, as a man, he is entitled to high respect; for he has recognized from the first both the measure of his talent and the duties which it imposed upon him. The latter he has conscientiously fulfilled; and if we weigh so much desert with the temptations to ease, indolence and indifference which he has nobly resisted, we shall not hesitate a moment in our estimate of his character. This is not necessarily a factor in our estimate of his literary merit; yet, inasmuch as success in literature requires the presence of ethical no less than of intellectual qualities, we must fairly allow its value. There is an important difference between the impression which a man makes who has avowedly done the utmost of which he is capable, and that which springs from the exercise of genuine gifts, not so stimulated to their highest development.

¹ "The Sanitary Drainage of Houses and Towns." By George E. Waring, Jr. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1876. \$1.50.

² "The Poetical Works of (Richard Monckton Milnes), Lord Houghton." Collected Edition. In two volumes, 12 mo. pp. 319, 323. Roberts Brothers: Boston.

So judged, no one can deny an inborn voice of song to Lord Houghton. His poetical activity began when Wordsworth was first recognized as a great English poet, when there was a growing reaction against the adoration of Byron, and when the most popular lyrist in England was—Mrs. Hemans! Yet in his earliest verse we find but very faint reflections of two of these authors. If, in his graver and more thoughtful poems, he seems to have caught an occasional tone from Wordsworth, or in his sentiment a softer cadence from Mrs. Hemans, we shall find, on explaining the complete poetical records of his life, that such resemblances are inevitable, because springing from congenital features of his own poetic nature. He seems to stand—if on a lower plane—somewhere between Byron and Wordsworth: that is, in making a specific classification of poets, we must refer him to an intermediate variety. The simple, frank, unambitious character of most of his poetry is a feature which must not be overlooked in these days. If he has not achieved the highest, he never seems to have aspired to it. We find, in regard to this point, a passage in his preface to the present edition, written only last March, and so admirably and sensibly said that we can not forbear quoting it:

“I have sometimes thought that I should like to review my own poems, as I have done those of others, conscious that the distances of time and the alterations of temperament qualify me to do so with perfect impartiality: but if I do not do this, I think I can judge them so far as to see that, whatever little hold they may have taken on their time is owing to their sincerity of thought and simplicity of expression.”

Nothing can be truer than this: and we may assume that an author, who so well understands the secret of whatever value he may have acquired in the literature of his country, has always honestly exercised his peculiar gift. This is no doubt the secret of the clear individuality which stamps Lord Houghton's poems, even where subject and style are such as another poet might have chosen. Take, for example, the universally-known song: “I wandered by the brook-side.” It is simple as Wordsworth; yet it is not Wordsworth. It is tender as Hood; yet it is not Hood. We may run through the list of contemporary poets, and find no one to whose pen we should attribute it. So of the lyric entitled: “Strangers Yet,” and many others which are characterized by equal sweetness of rhythm and gentle grace of fancy. His “Poems of Sentiment and Reflection” abound in passages of admirable purity and strength: there are stanzas, quatrains and couplets so complete that few poets would be unwilling to father them or their like. Witness the following, in his poem, “The Men of Old”:

“Blending their souls' sublimest needs
With tasks of every day,
They went about their gravest deeds,
Like noble boys at play.”

Or this stanza:

"A man's best things are nearest him,
 Lie close about his feet ;
 It is the distant and the dim
 That we are sick to greet :
 For flowers that grow our hands beneath
 We struggle and aspire,—
 Our hearts must die, except they breathe
 The air of fresh Desire."

All Plutarch seems to be compressed into the first of these quotations: the same thought was never before so sweetly and concisely expressed. The second is not new in substance, yet it is new in manner,—and it is a great comfort amid the flood of platitude which whelms every generation in turn, to find something so freshly said. In such an extensive collection of poems, there is of course much inequality of merit; but the careful reader will find that the lyrics and songs which are most widely known are by no means the height of the author's achievement. They have merely touched some responsive chord in the popular sentiment. We find throughout, the evidence of an honestly-felt necessity of utterance, without much regard for the question whether the thought expressed may have equal value for the reader. This, however, implies the absence of conscious seeking for popularity, even as we find in the poems no reflection of any fashion which has become temporarily popular in Lord Houghton's day. The following poem, which will undoubtedly be new to most of our readers, seems to us very nearly perfect, as the pure, artistic expression of a very common experience:

THE BARREN HILL.

"Before my Home, a long straight Hill
 Extends its barren bound,
 And all who that way travel will
 Must travel miles around ;
 Yet not the loveliest face of earth
 To living man can be
 A treasury of more precious worth
 Than that bare Hill to me.

"That hill-side rose a wall between
 This world of ears and eyes,
 And every shining shift scene
 That fancy forms and dyes ;
 First Babyhood engaged its use,
 To plant a good-child's land,
 Where all the streams were orange-juice,
 And sugar all the sand.

"A playground of unending sward
 There blest the growing Boy,
 A dream of laborless reward,
 Whole holidays of joy ;

A book of Nature, whose bright leaves
 No other care should need
 Than life that happily receives
 What he that runs may read.

"Nor lacked there skies for onward youth
 With wayward will to tinge,
 Sweet sunshine overcast by ruth,
 And storms of golden fringe:
 Nor vales that darkling might evoke
 Mysterious fellowship
 Of names that still to Fancy woke,
 But slumbered on the lip.

"The hour when first that hill I crost
 Can yet my memory sting,
 The dear self-trust that moment lost
 No love again can bring:
 It seemed a foully broken bond
 Of Nature and my kind,
 That I should find the world beyond
 The world I left behind!

"But not in vain that hill-side stood,
 On many an after-day,
 When with returning steps I wooed
 Revival of its sway;
 It could not give me Truth where doubt
 And sin had ample range,
 But it was powerful to shut out
 The ill it could not change.

"And still performs a sacred part,
 To my experienced eye,
 This Pisgah which my virgin heart
 Ascended but to die;
 What was Reality before,
 In symbol now may live,
 Endowed with right to promise more
 Than ever it could give.'

CLAREL.¹—Here is another work, of wholly different conception and execution. Thirty years ago, who could possibly have foreseen that the author of "Typee" and "Omoo" would at last appear as the author of a poem of 18,000 lines, inspired by religious doubts, questions and aspirations? That Mr. Melville has a vein of native poetry in his nature was already manifested by some ballads which he published during our civil war; but it still remains an amazement that the hero of whaling and Polynesian adventures, whose model seemed to be Defoe, should become a theological mystic in his ripened years. One of his novels, we remember, was entitled: "Pierre,

¹ "Clarel; a Poem and Pilgrimage in the Holy Land." By Herman Melville. In two volumes, 12mo, pp. 571. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

or *The Ambiguities*,"—and this poem might properly have been called: "Clarel, or the Ambiguities." The title, to begin with, is ambiguous; how are we to understand "*A Poem and Pilgrimage in the Holy Land?*" It is one of those works which the author writes for himself, and not for the reader, wherein he simply follows the bent of his own interests and fancies, and relies either upon his personal value or assumed height of achievement for his popular success. This is an experiment which Browning has lately tried, compelling the sentence of failure from unwilling critics. We doubt whether the very greatest of poets could practice it successfully for any length of time unless the principles of his art had entered into and become an integral part of his imagination. How then should Herman Melville, who has not yet achieved a recognized place as a poet, hope to succeed with a public which has, first of all, to be taught faith in his powers? How large a portion of the reading class (small, at the best, in this country,) are so familiar with his literary individuality that they will venture upon the perusal of such a work, solely for the more complete appreciation of its author? Mr. Melville seems totally to lack the *literary sense*; and he ought not to be surprised if his poem, with all its scattered excellences, should fall comparatively unnoticed.

The plot has apparently been constructed as a frame upon which to hang descriptions of the scenery of Palestine and the theological discussions of a chance company of tourists. The principal characters are an American student, an English clergyman, a Jew, a Smyrniote Greek and a Jewish girl of whom we see little, as she dies in order to introduce a tragic element. So much remains as a clew to guide us through a chaos of description, incident, conversation, and conflict of ideas and beliefs, wherein there is no single governing and harmonizing conception. The poem is divided into four parts, respectively entitled: Jerusalem, The Wilderness, Mar Saba and Bethlehem: but these are only divisions of the "pilgrimage." The author, indeed, may have intended to give a symbolical meaning to the headings. If so, we fail to understand it, since "Jerusalem" is the beginning and "Bethlehem" the end. In like manner, we are unable to say whether he has meant to give any coherent spiritual development to his chief character. Whatever modifications of belief we notice, they seem to spring from the intimate personal intercourse of the parties rather than from the arguments they use. Throughout the whole work we trace, under many masks, the wanderings of a questioning and unsatisfied soul: yet at the close we do not feel clearly that peace has been attained, or, if it has been, upon what basis. The literary character of the poem corresponds to the intellectual. It is astonishingly unequal. After a couplet, quatrain or brief passage which bears a high poetical stamp, we stumble upon one which is awkward, feeble and immetrical. Reading the best parts, we can not understand why the whole poem is not greatly better: reading the worst, we are surprised to find it so good.

THE VENDETTA.¹—What shall we say of a volume like this, where the apparent youth, sincerity and earnest endeavor to produce something in the shape of poetry move our sympathy, and the crudity of performance and low grade of imagination prohibit our encouragement? If Mr. Peacock came before us with the diffidence and uncertainty of a young man who knows only that he has tried, and scarcely dares to hope that he has succeeded, we should be slow to chill him with critical severity; but the fact that this is a second edition, and contains "Notices of Press" as an appendix, kindly intended to assist us to a favorable judgment, leaves us free to be candid. Moreover, the additional fact that he has quoted just so much of an unfavorable notice from *The Nation* as might give the innocent reader the impression that it was honestly laudatory, removes any remaining scruples we might have felt, and allows us to say that Mr. Thomas Brower Peacock was never intended by nature to be a poet. The stanza quoted by the critic of *The Nation* is sufficient evidence of the justice of this verdict, for all intelligent readers:

"Chastity! thou that long hath held
The world's existence on, in virtue's modest check,
Man owes to thee, in heart, joy knell'd,
For th' little pure that's saved from vice—corruption's wreck—
Warm thanks to surface ever gurgling up,
As o'erflows th' boiling, sparkling chaldron cup."

Need we give any further reasons?—or comment further upon the volume of which this is a specimen?

POEMS.²—Miss Rossetti has already won her place in modern English poetry, and we are not called upon to examine her claims to it. In the estimate of most readers she is placed beside Jean Ingelow; in that of a considerable number, above the latter. Yet she is undoubtedly inferior to Jean Ingelow in brilliancy of rhetoric, rhythmical movement and a certain intensity and vividness of apprehension.

On the other hand, she is simpler, more natural and unstudied, more naively direct in her appeals to sentiment and feeling, and more purely devotional in her nature. Herein lies, we suspect, the secret of her popularity. Many of her poems are redeemed from being childish only because we feel that their quaint simplicity is so sincere. She has written nothing—indeed, she could not write anything—so compact and dramatic as Jean Ingelow's "High Tide in Lincolnshire;" but neither could the latter, with all her art, write such poems as Miss Rossetti's "Days of Vanity" and "Martyr's Song." Both are alike in the subdued, semi-mournful key of song which they prefer; and equally alike in the light, joyous, sparkling measures to which they sometimes rise. We only compare them for the

¹ "The Vendetta, and other Poems." By Thomas Brower Peacock. 8vo. pp. 161. Topeka, Kansas: Democrat Printing House.

² "Poems," by Christina G. Rossetti; 12 mo. pp. 300. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

sake of illustration : the reader will set this or that higher, according to the taste which is born of his spiritual temperament. We should certainly place Miss Rossetti among the first of Mrs. Browning's successors. But there is a wide difference between those of her poems which are born of transient and perhaps not wholly conscious moods of thought, and those which are made distinct by some external theme. In "Twilight Calm," for instance, she gives us a soft, restful, beautiful picture, while in "Sleep at Sea," and other poems of the class, we seem to be gazing upon a dissolving view, every feature of which changes or vanishes just as we seem about to hold it. Poetry of this character may serve as an echo to fancies or cravings equally vague and unformed : but it can never permanently belong to literature. Miss Rossetti's volumes of verse have attained a wide popularity, yet we can not recall any single poem of hers that is universally known and quoted.

AMONG MY BOOKS.¹—About the year 1870, there appeared in the New York *World* a series of articles under the title of "Among my Books," which attracted no little attention by reason of the grace of style, and the scholarship displayed by their unknown author. While these papers were in process of publication, a volume, which immediately gained great popularity, was published, under the same title, by James Russell Lowell. Soon afterward, the author of the first named papers, decided to give them a more permanent form, claiming as rightly his own, the title which he had first used, and another volume was published under the title of "Among my Books," distinguished from the first only by the use of "World Essays" on the cover. We make this statement, because the appearance of a second series of essays by Mr. Lowell, and a new edition of the book by the *World* essayist, by their conflicting titles, seem to demand it as the means of explaining what many may be unable to understand. The new volumes bear the same title, save that for "World Essays" the editor has substituted "Memories of Familiar Books." With the similarity in titles, the likeness between the books is at an end. In the subjects chosen, in matter, and manner, the volumes differ almost too much to permit of comparison. To say this, however, is by no means to praise one and condemn the other. Both possess excellences of a character which will commend them to that large class of readers who are obliged to take much of their knowledge of authors and books at second hand. Professor Lowell gives us glimpses of Dante, Spenser, Wordsworth, Milton and Keats, such as no one could give who had not made them his familiar friends, and he does it in a manner which is at once instructive and fascinating. The companion volume treats of a wider range of subjects, in a manner entirely different, but scarcely less interesting. New value is added to the latter by

¹ "Among My Books." By James Russell Lowell ; 2d Edition. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co. 1876. "Memories of Familiar Books." By Wm. B. Reed, LL. D. New York : E. J. Hale & Son. 1876.

the publication of the name of the author, William B. Reed, LL. D., with a Memoir by Manton Marble.

WORDS: THEIR USE AND ABUSE.¹—In a manner full of interest and remarkably free from the faults which he would correct in others, Dr. Mathews writes of the significance and morality of words; of grand and small words; of words without meaning, of abuses of words, of Saxon and Romanic words; of the secret of apt words; of fallacies in words; of nicknames and curiosities in language, and of common improprieties of speech.

In the chapter on "Curiosities in Language" the author betrays less than his usual carefulness in giving place to some questionable illustrations. For example, serious consideration is given to the pretention that the familiar words "Hip! hip! Hurrah!" are derived from *Hiersolymna est perdit*, a cry said to have been used by the stormers of a German town containing Jewish residents, and which was abbreviated by the use of the initial letters, h. e. p. into an exclamation. The words *hip*, and *hurrah*, or their equivalents, have been in use as exclamations in various languages from time immemorial, and an account of their origin which is so evidently ridiculous, hardly merits a place in a book like Dr. Mathews'. In regard to "the secret of apt words," the author believes that, as a rule, impression and expression are relative ideas; that what we clearly conceive we can clearly convey; and that, if we fail to embody our thoughts, the fault lies in our deficient genius rather than in our mother tongue. Giving due heed to the necessity for a proper study of language, he thinks with Goethe, that

"Sound sense finds utterance for itself
Without the critic's rule;
If to your heart your tongue be true
Why hunt for words with much ado?"

Dr. Mathews attaches high importance to the study of the best English models on the part of English students, as the means of cultivating a good style; and as an example of modern essayists who have thus achieved success without the aid of a classical education, he names Edwin P. Whipple, of whom he says that "it would be hard to name an American author who has a greater command of all the resources of language." The readers of the *International Review*, who are familiar with Mr. Whipple's style of writing, if less extravagant in their praise, will agree with Dr. Mathews in regarding him as a writer whose manner of using the English language will repay the study of young writers. There are, however, other American writers who have achieved distinction without the aid of a classical education, of equal, and even wider, reputation,—such as Bayard Taylor,—who

¹ "Words: Their Use and Abuse." By Prof. William Mathews, LL.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1876.

might well have been cited by the author as examples of what may be accomplished chiefly by the patient study of one's mother tongue. While not without faults, it is safe to say of Dr. Mathews' book that it can be read with profit by every intelligent student of the English language.

THE VEST POCKET SERIES.¹—As examples of the *recherché* in typography, if for no other reason, the dainty little books which are being published under the above title, are worthy of attention. But they are chiefly commended to public favor by the fact that they present in a tasteful, convenient, and cheap form, selections from the writings of Coleridge, Keats, Tennyson, Whittier, Fields, and Lowell, such as *The Ancient Mariner*, *The Eve of St. Agnes*, *Enoch Arden*, *Snow Bound*, *Hawthorne*, and *the Vision of Sir Launfal*. It would be difficult to measure the refining influence of popular writings such as we have named; and the wide diffusion which they are sure to have when published in a form at once attractive and cheap, is a gain to the cause of education.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

TURKISTAN.¹—This work deserves notice in several aspects. Doubtless, it is as a book of entertainment for the general reader that it will be most widely circulated; and in this point of view it has extraordinary merits. "Travellers' stories" are proverbial for precisely the characteristics that are wanting here. The art of making the narrator himself the central figure in all his scenes, of surrounding all that is novel with a haze of wonder in describing it, until its outlines impress the imagination with their vastness and mystery, of turning the petty accidents and annoyances of a wandering life into thrilling adventures by flood and field, and so of moving the reader's personal sympathies, and attaching him to the writer's career as to that of a hero—these means of fascination were once the glory of a book of travels. But in these days, when science and commerce have joined hands to explore and subdue the globe, the reading world has learned to make entirely new demands of its reporters, and the intellectual interest, the appetite for knowledge, has completely overborne the feeling for the story-teller's art. The traveller and the novelist have now shaken hands and parted forever. In the modern school of travellers, in which the names of Arthur Young, Humboldt, and Livingstone have become immortal, and in which those of Darwin, Wallace, and Schweinfurth will worthily follow them, a definite intellectual purpose is recognized—that of adding to the stores of our knowledge of the world in which we live;

¹ "Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja." By Eugene Schuyler, Ph. D., with three maps and numerous illustrations. In two volumes. New York; Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1867.

and the investigator who succeeds in this, by exploring and describing countries not yet adequately known, often needs qualities as great, and often achieves results as valuable, as the scientific inquirer who devotes his energies to the discovery of the laws of matter in his laboratory, or of the laws of the heavenly bodies through his telescope. Yet it is a remarkable truth, and one which does honor to human nature, that the interest aroused by explorers of this class, in their truthful narratives, seems to be even wider, and is certainly more lasting and profound, among the readers of this age than was ever excited in earlier days by the persistent appeals to credulity and wonder which were the habit of "the traveller," from Pytheas of Massilia to the Baron Münchhausen. Mr. Schuyler is altogether a modern traveller. His personal narrative is modest; his own adventures are never thrust upon the reader; even in instances where they must have been exciting and dangerous enough, they are passed by with the briefest statement of the main facts, and without comment. His steady aim is to set his reader in his place solely as an observer, to see and understand the country and the people as he, by extraordinary labor, was able to see and understand them. And yet he has produced a work which, for the degree and variety of the entertainment it offers to the curious reader, deserves to be the despair of the most expert novelist. This is due to the picturesqueness of the strangely mixed communities he visited, to the perpetual contrast and conflict among the widely varied forms of culture and character there thrown together, and still more to the penetrating intelligence with which he observes, and the simple truthfulness with which he records them. Only those who are long accustomed to travel through the world with map and book, while sitting at ease in their libraries, know how universal the failing is with travellers to fall wholly out of sympathy with the reading public, and to omit precisely the particulars for which every thoughtful reader is sure to inquire. Mr. Schuyler is a marked exception; and, as a travelling companion, has the art of divining the reader's curiosity as it is excited, and of gratifying it at once, yet always in such a way as to direct it to something else, also sure to be soon told. It is only fair to make emphatic here the fact that Mr. Schuyler's book is thoroughly interesting; since so much has been said and will yet be said about its value as a solid contribution to the world's knowledge of Asia, that many a reader might imagine it to be a book of heavy discussion and statistics.

Yet the importance of the work at this time unquestionably turns upon the information it gives us concerning the countries of Central Asia, which, within a few years, have been brought under the sway or influence of the Russian Empire; and concerning the policy of that Empire towards its Eastern possessions. There is no part of the world on which the mind of Christendom is more vaguely informed, and none in which, until very recently, there was less prospect that any of the interests of civilization could ever become intimately concerned, than that vast tract in the heart of Asia which used to be labelled in our school maps, "Independent Tartary." But the steady growth of the Russian dominions in Asia from year to year, and the great

increase of rapidity in that growth during the last fifteen years, have directed attention to these regions, and awakened an indefinite anxiety concerning their value and destiny. Russian ambition, in every form, has been the standing bugbear of European politics for half a century; and the vulgar belief that the great northern monarchy is a monster, steadily, from age to age, pursuing, with unbounded resources, a profound scheme of aggrandizement, has linked itself with the vague reports of Asiatic conquests, and has awakened apprehensions lest Tartary be sought as a pathway from St. Petersburg to British India, or lest the wealth of the barbaric East be one day gathered for the subjugation of civilized Europe. Not only as dispersing misty visions like these, but as showing, in its true light, the course of events by which Russia has, almost in spite of herself, become the proprietor and responsible administrator of vast regions and half-civilized nations which are a drain on her resources and a perpetual weight hampering her strength, Mr. Schuyler's account of these possessions has a great political value. It shows the real nature of the Russian government better than any other book with which we are acquainted; and while it leaves the future of that amazing empire a problem no less attractive and no less impenetrable to thought than the most superstitious apprehensions have hitherto made it, it sets in a clear light many of the elements of the problem hitherto obscured, and will contribute much to make speculation upon it more intelligent hereafter. Certain it is, that whatever Europe may have to fear from Russian ambition or from Russian power, it has nothing whatever to apprehend from the persistent and far-sighted pursuit of a profound policy in wielding that power or in pursuing that ambition. The policy of the empire is the momentary effect of circumstances; and the greatest triumphs of its administrative genius have been the device of present remedies, or rather political palliatives for present emergencies. Its head and hands are overburdened by the demands of its current labor; and all the tendencies of its organization are to make it, except Austria, the most short-sighted, makeshift, hand-to-mouth government that ever wielded the forces of a great nation. Yet its ability in meeting emergencies as they arise is great, and has at times been magnificent; and the actual result of the sway of Russia in Central Asia will be found by the judgment of contemporary public opinion, which will not fail in this matter to adopt Mr. Schuyler's view, to be an actual boon conferred on the Eastern world, though for the present, and probably for some generations to come, at a heavy cost to the European subjects of the Czar.

HOMERIC DICTIONARY.¹—A reviewer, in reproaching ambitious critics with giving more time to treatises on the Homeric question than to the acquisition of a sound knowledge of Homer himself, counsels them to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* before attempting to write about

¹ A Homeric Dictionary, from the German of Dr. Georg Autenrieth. Translated, with additions and corrections, by Robert P. Keep, Ph.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

either. We have perused much of Autenrieth's dictionary, already well known in Germany and but just rendered into English by Dr. Keep, and we flatter ourselves with having followed the advice and avoided the reproach. The impression it has left upon us is so pleasant as to make us regret that we did not earlier enjoy its perusal. Under the fair aspect of its bright type, solid paper, and instructive illustrations we have found a work of much learning. To one acquainted with the labors of ancient scholists and modern lexicographers it is a wonder that in so few pages can be comprehended a very mass of well-chosen information without the exclusion of original additions. For Autenrieth not only guides the learner but also enlightens the scholar, who will often notice his original treatment of a number of words, and will accept, we think, more than one rendering somewhat variant from the meaning commonly used. The presentation, for instance, of the verb *χάvoι* is better than that in Liddell and Scott's Sixth Edition. The particles are very fully treated, and no difficulty appears to have been shunned in giving a minute and classified statement of their usage in Homer. We need not speak of the illustrative woodcuts; their utility is apparent to the idlest school-boy. In Homer are seen many phases of ancient Greek life. He furnishes us with much of olden fable and legend, and he uses a wide and abundant stock of words. It is because of this that the prolonged study of him will equip the mind of the reader with the very knowledge he needs for following the poets and philosophers as they succeed one another down to a comparatively modern time. We hope that this dictionary will serve to increase the number of modern readers of ancient classics.

RELIGION AND THE STATE.¹—Dr. Spear has been for some years known as a very decided and consistent advocate of the doctrine "that civil government, as such, should have nothing to do with the work of administering, sustaining, or teaching religion, and that on this subject its only legitimate function consists in affording an impartial protection to all the people in the exercise of their religious liberty, while so limiting this exercise as to make it compatible with the peace and good order of society." To establish this view by a full and fair discussion of it is the object of this volume. First of all, the question is clearly stated, and separated and distinguished from all collateral and more or less nearly related questions. This because the popular mind is very liable to be misled by confounding things that differ, and so to be prevented from apprehending the precise question in debate.

From the careful statement of the question, Dr. Spear next proceeds to discuss the general nature and design of civil government, the extent of its legitimate jurisdiction, and the various practical principles that must necessarily define its action. Then, proceeding to the special argument, he takes up, one by one, the particular topics involved in the determination of

¹ "Religion and the State; or the Bible and the Public Schools." By Samuel T. Spear, D.D. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1876.

the proper functions of our own governments—State and national—in respect to religion and popular education. The range of the discussion is not indeed exhaustive, but sufficiently wide and comprehensive for the end in view. If we were disposed to break a lance with Dr. Spear, we should enter the list against him as regards his views on the divine right of civil government. We think he confounds two things which ought to be distinguished—to wit, the question whether government itself is ordained of God, with the question whether any one particular *form* of government, or any particular *class of persons as governors*, is divinely established. This distinction is fundamental. We had supposed that Rousseau's fancy that civil society was simply a social compact had been abandoned long ago. The foundation of civil society and the necessity of civil government is laid by God in the constitution of man. Whether men shall be governed or not is not a question submitted to them at all. Order, law, authority, are things without which human society can not exist nor man fulfill his end. Civil government is therefore a divine institution, just as truly as the family. Both are the necessary result of obvious divine purpose; and those who receive revelation can not but admit that the divine authority of the magistrate and the father are in both alike recognized as grounded in the divine arrangement of things and are as such specifically sanctioned and guarded. But to decide under what particular form and by what particular persons government shall be administered, this is left for men, for those who compose society, to determine. It is only in this latter sense that the assertion is true that "government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed." The people can commit the "powers ordained of God" to whomsoever they choose among their fellows, and may establish a monarchy, a triumvirate, a presidency, or any other form of administration; but the powers themselves which are legitimately involved in just government lie deeper than in the will of man. The historical question how any particular form of government has grown up, how men have established it, is, we conceive, of no more consequence as regards its essential legitimacy, than that as to how two lovers came to know each other and to marry is in relation to parental authority.

But what seems to us Dr. Spear's want of entire accuracy on this point does not materially affect his argument as a whole. With great clearness of language and force of reasoning, with ample citation of high authorities, and with the earnestness of full conviction, he urges that "the public school, like the state under whose authority it exists, should be simply a civil institution, absolutely secular and not at all religious in its purposes." This is the conclusion to establish which his volume has been written. No discussion could well be more timely. Since the right organization of our public schools is one of the foremost questions of the hour, no pains should be spared to come to a full understanding of the subject; and Dr. Spear's views as here carefully and lucidly presented, whether accepted as

conclusions or not, are worthy of candid and thorough examination. We hope the book will be widely read.

THE FIVE SENSES OF MAN.¹—To those who would obey the command of the Greek philosopher, *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*, and are unable to enter upon the study of that which concerns self, including the phenomena of their own being, from a purely scientific stand-point and in a large way, Mr. Bernstein's book will prove exceedingly helpful. It affords a wide range of information, stated with scientific accuracy, but in plain terms, regarding the five senses of touch, sight, hearing, smell, and taste. These are treated of with reference to their qualities, uses, and activities, as well as relations one to the other, and the subject-matter is illustrated by such physical and physiological explanations as to make the book not only interesting, but of practical value. Mr. Bernstein, who is Professor of Physiology in the University of Halle, is an acknowledged authority, and his work is one of the best in the International Scientific Series, of which it is a late publication.

DISEASES OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM.²—The sixth edition of this standard work is much enlarged, and is fully brought up to the present state of knowledge. The most important addition which has been made to the book is that of a new section on "Toxic Diseases of the Nervous System," which treats clearly and fully of the various forms of chronic poisoning by alcohol, bromine, and by several of the metals by use of which the brain and nerves are frequently impaired. The work is throughout a storehouse of observations and experiments by the author in the course of his own extensive practice, and is thus full of contributions to our knowledge of the subject, many of which are fresh and novel. It makes comparatively little use, however, of the vast literature which has grown up of late years upon this branch of inquiry, especially on the Continent of Europe, and can not in any sense be regarded as complete.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

ESSAYS ON INTERNATIONAL LAW.³—The first of the three essays contained in this volume seeks to give a general view of internationalism and

¹ "The Five Senses of Man." By Julius Bernstein. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

² "A Treatise on Diseases of the Nervous System." By William A. Hammond, M.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1876.

³ "Internationalism." By His Excellency Don Arturo de Marcoartu, ex-deputy to the Cortes. And "Prize Essays on International Law." By A. P. Sprague, Counsellor of Law in the United States, and M. Paul Lacombe, Advocate in France. London: Stevens & Sons. New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co.

the phases it has assumed in different periods, and to present the necessity for regulating it by codification of international principles. The proceedings suggested for this purpose are, *first*, a codification of the principles already more or less recognized in international law, "taking for guides and starting-points the collections of international conventions, the standard works of the best authorities who have written on the subject of treaties and the solutions pronounced in special cases; whilst the several principles and controverted cases could be discussed and cleared up among the states themselves." And *second*, "the scientific preparation of the bases of the code of nations by subjecting them to the test of experience." The learned author gives some account of the rise of the idea of an international congress or tribunal, and expresses his own view that in forming it the executive, legislative, and judicial elements of each nation ought to be duly represented. In Chapter II. the right to declare war is discussed, and the impropriety and injustice of leaving it exclusively in the hands of the executive is forcibly and clearly stated. Chapter III. gives the history of international arbitration and of proceedings looking to its general adoption, and points out the difference between that which is stipulated beforehand in order to meet difficulties and contests which at any time may be likely to occur, and that which is agreed upon after difficulties have arisen in order to their settlement. Chapter IV., under the head of "Truce of Peace," illustrates the importance of an international tribunal by showing the terrible and crushing cost of maintaining in time of peace the customary armaments which give to the respective European nations a continual readiness for war, and at the same time constitute a perpetual threat and danger.

The prize essays will perhaps attract the most attention, as they undertake to point out practical methods for the codification of international law and the leading principles on which the code should be framed. A brief analysis of that of Mr. Sprague [is all for which we now have space. It begins with some account of the origin and progress of the international idea, and its present state. It points out that too much should not be expected from codification; that it must keep within such limits that the moral sanction will constantly strengthen and support it, and not, by attempting impossibilities, weaken the moral sanction; and that a political code, though imperfect, is far more effective than a scientific code, though complete. It then considers the question of the constitution of an international assembly of codification, and says very truly that "the representatives who ought to be chosen to frame the code should be persons representing most prominently the most diverse governments and the most diverse interests in their respective governments." Under the head of "Substantive Public International Law" are considered those subjects which ought to be embraced in a codification and those which, by reason of diversities in sentiments, laws, and other circumstances, can best be provided for by special treaties. Under "Judicative Public International

Law" is considered the proper constitution of a tribunal for the determination of international controversies, and two are suggested: a high tribunal having the general jurisdiction, and a collateral tribunal of arbitration with a jurisdiction dependent on the option of contending powers. The chief difficulty is encountered when "Executive Public International Law" is considered, and in this the singular moderation and good sense of the author—not apt to be prominent characteristics in those who plan great changes—are specially conspicuous. While not limiting the sanctions of the law to those exclusively of a moral nature, he would still confine them to such as can be applied by impartial nations peaceably and without making one controversy the occasion for others of perhaps a more desperate and dangerous character. Penal provisions the author does not favor. The whole essay, as well as that of M. Paul Lacombe, is worthy of careful and thoughtful attention. They certainly do something towards preparing men's minds for something better than the application of the "last reason of kings" to international disputes.

GLADSTONE'S HOMERIC SYNCHRONISM.¹—Mr. Gladstone's last work is to be regarded as a continuation of his "Homer and the Homeric Age" (1858) and "Juventus Mundi" (1870). Like them it is to be classed with such books as the standard German work Buchholz's "Homerische Realien." Its object is to inquire into the *things* mentioned as existing in the Homeric age. The natural conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's labors in the field where he has wrought with such zeal and industry for so many years will be found in his "Homeric Concordance," or we might call it Index Rerum Homericarum. This work, of which two instalments have already appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, under the title "Homeric Glossology," will deal with questions of chronology, mythology, geography, and ethnography rather than with linguistic inquiries. The present work has a practical aim, and its inquiries will interest a wider circle than that of scholars alone. He first handles the question of the site of Troy, and, after a succinct account of the theories and arguments of the more important topographers from Le Chevalier down to Schliemann, declares, on what seem sufficient grounds, for the identity of the recently excavated site on Hissarlik with the city around which once raged the combat between Trojans and Achaeans. The second question which Mr. Gladstone approaches is that of the native place of Homer. Defending the position with great freshness of thought and ingenuity of argument, he declares himself for a *habitat* in European Greece, and for a date prior to the Dorian conquest. This view, which had already been advanced in "Juventus Mundi," is opposed to the prevailing one in two points: it places the great epic poet earlier by two centuries in time, and makes his home to have been the western instead of the eastern shore of the Archi-

¹ "Gladstone's Homeric Synchronism." An Enquiry into the Time and Place of Homer. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

pelago. The arguments upon which Mr. Gladstone chiefly depends are such as the following: 1. The exploits and sufferings of the Achæians on the theme of the *Iliad*, but the Achæians, after the Dorian conquest, had sunk into insignificance. Rather, had the poet lived after 1104, would the Dorians, then supreme in the Peloponnesus, or the Ionians, then rising to greatness in Attica, have been the themes of epic song. In point of fact the existence of these two tribes is almost ignored. Dorians are only twice mentioned in Homer, and to the Ionians is always applied an epithet which seems to betoken effeminacy.¹ Another point which Mr. Gladstone makes yield an inference in support of his theory is that no trace is found in Homer of any accurate knowledge of the great Æolian tribe, which, immediately after the Ionian migration, had attained to power and importance. Such ignorance is easily explained on the supposition of Homer's origin in Greece, but it would be inexplicable in an Æolian or an Ionian Greek. In a period closely following the Trojan war, the Trojan plain became a part of Æolis; Homer's knowledge, then, of this plain, had he been an Æolian, or even an Asiatic Greek, living at the date commonly received, might have been expected to be somewhat accurate. He would not have described (*Iliad* xx.) two fountains of hot and cold water as springing forth just outside the city, while in reality the only such fountains are far up Mount Ida. Such inaccuracies receive indeed explanation in the license allowed to the epic poet, yet the very explanation is based on the supposition of local ignorance.

It will be natural to ask, how does Mr. Gladstone explain the existence of the tradition which represents the poems as originating on the eastern side of the Archipelago? As follows: On the victory of the Dorians and the rise of Sparta, the poetry-producing and poetry-loving element of the population migrated to Asia Minor and carried the poems with them. On that coast, in Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, Chios, by various bards the poems were sung, and local authorship was attributed to them. How different is the picture which a great German scholar has given us of the process by which the *Iliad* came into being! Ernst Curtius in the July number of this Review (1876) wrote substantially as follows:

"Is it not natural that, in the transparent mirror of the Homeric epics, the men among whom the deeds were wrought should retreat wholly out of sight, while we behold the exploits of the heroes? The heroes are the Achæians. Recollections of the contest were preserved in Smyrna, which the Ionians, with that objectivity which is an essential trait of a people or of an age in which epic poetry develops, surrender themselves to the subject-matter of the tale."

The remainder of the book examines how far the Egyptian records, so far as deciphered, shed light upon facts or events recorded in the Homeric poems, and discusses the general question of the extent of Homer's knowledge of foreign lands. Into this more special and minute investigation we can not enter, nor will this portion of the work attract the general reader.

¹ ἐλκεχίτωνας, tunic-trailing.

LIFE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT.¹—Although this second volume of the Prince's life covers but a space of six years, those years are the most eventful in the reign of Queen Victoria. Commencing with the year 1848, a period of tribulation and tremor for most of the sovereigns of Europe, we are brought down to 1853, which witnessed England drifting into the Crimean War, respecting which Mr. Bright so eloquently warned the statesmen of the period. Mr. Martin's second installment of his biography sets the Prince Consort in a new light. He has always been regarded as a conciliatory and peaceable man, but now we distinguish something of the diplomatist in him; and the letters and documents published in the present volume demonstrate that he had considerable knowledge of the Eastern Question and much prescience in reading the political signs of the times. The veil is lifted upon the relations between several illustrious statesmen and the English Court, and it would appear that Lord Palmerston, who has always been regarded as the most popular minister of modern times, was not so popular with the Queen and the Prince Consort. The Prince especially appears to have been constrained in his attitude towards him; nor is it to be wondered at if the charges brought against Lord Palmerston of altering the Queen's despatches, using her name without authority, and concealing important matters from her, be correct, as there seems no reason to doubt. Very different was the feeling entertained by the Queen and her husband for Sir Robert Peel, of whom, writing to the Duchess Dowager of Saxe-Coburg, the Prince says, "Sir Robert Peel is to be buried to-day. The feeling in the country is absolutely not to be described. We have lost our truest friend and truest counsellor, the Throne its most valiant defender, the country its most open-minded of greatest statesmen." The attitude assumed by the Prince at the time of the Chartist riots was more humane than that taken by many statesmen, and he expressed his determination that, if it could possibly be avoided, the troops should not be allowed to come in contact with the rioters. The volume details much of the labor which the Prince undertook in regard to public improvements, and also his exertions on behalf of the working classes. A considerable space is devoted to the project of the Great Exhibition of 1851, which originated with the Prince, who worked night and day to make it successful. The Life will be completed in the next volume, which will come down to Christmas 1861, a period still remembered vividly in England for the shadow which fell across it by the Prince's death.

RAHEL'S LIFE AND LETTERS.²—Rahel Levin was a remarkable woman. Born at Berlin, in 1771, of Jewish parentage, her singular force

¹ "The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort." By Theodore Martin. Vol. II. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

² "Rahel, her Life and Letters." By Mrs. Vaughan Jennings. London: H. S. King & Co.

of character soon rendered her distinguished. She was made to feel all the ignominy attaching to her race, and though her faith remained the same all through life, she was baptized for political reasons. Speaking of herself and her religion, she wrote: "Nothing was ever taught me. I grew up in the wild forest of humanity, and Heaven took pity on me and saved me from what was base and untrue. But I could never have been taught religion. I look for that from above." Notwithstanding her original obscurity, Rahel rose to be one of the most famous women of Berlin, and princes attended her social gatherings as well as the most eminent literary men of Germany. Humboldt, among others, testified to the originality of her mind, and said that it was impossible to be with her and not carry away the germs of thought from her conversation. Romance attaches to her union with Varnhagen von Ense, who fell in love with her at the age of eighteen, her own age at that time being thirty-two. She died in 1833, at Vienna, mourned by her husband and the many persons of both sexes who enjoyed her friendship. To an ordinary reader Rahel will not appear to be a remarkable woman; her influence is not so much that of the writer as of the thinker and talker. Nevertheless these memorials of her are by no means destitute of interest.

AURORA, A VOLUME OF VERSE.¹—This volume, if in some respects one of the most enigmatical, is none the less one of the most characteristic appearances in the literature of the present day. It illustrates both the tendency of speculation and the degree of poetic expression, which may be attained through high culture and carefully developed taste, without the gift which is always born with the true poet. From the first page to the last, the reader wanders in a sort of cloud-land, out of the dim atmosphere of which forms, more or less distinct, approach and recede, speak in faint, oracular whispers, or give dumb gestures and then disappear. We do not wonder that the book should have puzzled the English critics, and that certain of them should be divided in opinion whether it is a covert plea for the Church of Rome or a covert onset against the same. It is, in fact, the utterance of a devotional mysticism which has no clear consciousness of its own nature. It is governed by a presentiment of some impending change in the faith of men, but seems unable to foreshadow to itself the exact features of the change. This is, undeniably, the expression of an existing spiritual condition, the extent of which we can not estimate, because it is still so occult and vague. The opening poem, "Aurora," which gives its name to the volume (prefaced with a quotation from the *Rig-Veda Samhita*), has these two stanzas:

¹ "Aurora: A volume of Verse." 12mo, pp. 266. London: Henry S. King & Co.

"She who shall come, is near!
 Yet, first, must there appear
 That woman-child wherefor Creation prayeth:
 Which Faith to Reason bears,
 And yet not his, but theirs,
 Of whom all things are born on Earth, through Faith.

"Even now adown the slopes,
 Fair Virtues, Loves, and Hopes,
 The wise Handmaidens of the Queen, are winging
 Their way with lamps and oil,
 And robes earth cannot soil,
 And time but broider with fresh jewels, bringing."

What does this mean? Is it the coming recognition of a feminine element in the Deity, prefigured as the "woman-child" and the "Queen," or is it the modern Romanist idea of the immaculately-conceived Virgin Mary? We are unable to answer the question, and we do not feel sure that the author could definitely answer it. The author, we have said; but the volume has evidently two authors,—man and wife, or sisters, we may surmise, since the poems are signed either "A. A.," or "A. M." Judging from purely intellectual testimony, we should say that both writers are women. The predominance of strong emotional expression, the absence of sharply outlined conceptions, the careless lapses of a metre which is generally melodious, and the extravagance with which certain imaginative ideas are presented, lead us to this conclusion. But, whether men or women, we can not but acknowledge in the poems the power of a feeling which has compelled its own speech; although partly incompetent to find the words it requires. Whether the souls of the writers look forward to the revival of unquestioning faith, we can not deny that they are tremendously in earnest. Such poems as "The Voice of the New Church," "Hermes," "The Genesis of Life," and "Psychometry," were never written for the mere luxury of rhythm and sound which they contain; they breathe not only the desire for, but the belief in, the possibility of some form of life truer and purer than the world now possesses. Such a longing, as independent of any fixed form of faith, is always noble; and the volume though it stimulates rather than satisfies, suggests rather than explains, and points out a general direction rather than any prescribed path, can not fail of accomplishing some good.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.¹—A timely contribution to the Eastern Question is the Discourse of Dr. Dillmann, Rector of the University of

¹ "Der Verfall des Islam." Rede zur Gedächtnissfeier der Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität zu Berlin am 3. August, 1876, von Dr. August Dillmann, Rector der Universität.

Berlin, upon the decline of Islamism. After a vivid picture of the original power and the rapid spread of Islamism, the author shows that its decay was also working from the first in three false principles, which fail more and more in presence of the modern development of society. The first is the troubled mixing of religion with worldly and political affairs; the second, the light estimate that Mohammed puts upon Man; and the third, his perverted and preposterous doctrine of Revelation, by which he sought to bind his followers forever to a blind obedience to his person and the letter of his Koran. It is obvious that no political intervention can arrest the doom of a system so utterly at war with the progress of the world.

THE RUSSIAN AND THE GERMAN.¹—Literature may create breaches between peoples that diplomacy can not heal. Just now there is a good deal of chafing between the peoples of Germany and Russia, though their emperors keep the peace openly. Such books as the Countess Ségur's will not help neighborly feeling. It is a story of Russian country life, in high conditions, cleverly written, and carrying internal evidence of its substantial truth. It opens one's eyes to the inner life of a people who with such ostensible signs of civilization, retain so much that is barbarous in domestic manners, and police administration. But this is not a mirror that Russians will like to look at themselves in, especially when German life is pictured in such pleasing contrast at their side. The revelation of coarseness and petty tyranny in domestic life, of police espionage and of brutal punishments—even to the corporal chastisement of women—may be a surprise to some; but we have known of like facts in Russia. The sting of the narrative is none the less sharp, in that everything is told in such a natural and credible way, and the style is so readable as to insure for it a very wide audience both in German and in French.

GERMAN HOME LIFE.²—But the Germans, in turn, have the mirror held up to them in a volume reprinted in a tasteful manner from "Fraser's Magazine." Every foreigner who has lived in Germany long enough to acquaint himself with the domestic life of her well-to-do people, knows how painfully true is this picture—especially of the German *Frau*. The gifted authoress who was transplanted from an English home to its German caricature, here makes the world the confidant of her experiences. There are happy exceptions; but it is a great risk, and commonly proves a sad mistake, for an English or American-bred girl, to marry a German, and worst of all a German officer. We doubt if many will take the risk after reading this undeniable sketch of German home life.

¹ "Russisch und Deutsch." Von der Gräfinn Ségur. Herder'sche, Verlagshandlung. Freiburg.

² "German Home Life." London: Longmans, Green & Co 1876.

THE LIMITATIONS OF DISCOVERY.¹—The discourse upon the limitations of investigation and discovery in Nature, delivered by Professor Du Bois-Reymond in 1872, has reached a fourth edition, enlarged and improved. This address, conceived in a masterly spirit of science, deals hard blows at Materialism, and especially demonstrates the impossibility of conceiving of consciousness as originating from any mere change of position in atoms of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen and oxygen.

CHALDEAN GENESIS.²—Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch has honored the memory of Dr. George Smith, of the British Museum, by introducing his Chaldean Genesis to the German savans, with high encomium, and with special critical notes and appendices. The translation of the English into the German is by Mr. Hermann Delitzsch, and is marked by a close adherence to the original, and a transparent style. But inasmuch as the correct rendering of many English terms in such a work would require a knowledge of the subject-matter, Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch has carefully revised the translation by the light of the original Assyrian texts. As Dr. Smith's book is already known to our readers in its original dress, we confine ourselves to a mention of Professor Delitzsch's additions. These consist of essays on the history of the deciphering of the cuneiform writing and of the excavations in Assyria; on the Babylonian names of the gods, considered both in an etymological and a mythological point of view; on the narratives of the creation, the fall, and the flood; the legend of the seven evil spirits, etc. Smith's work, avowedly put forth as fragmentary, is commended by Delitzsch as "masterful," and forming an epoch in this department of study; much more is the work as enlarged and elucidated by the sixty pages of new matter from Delitzsch's own hand, the most valuable contribution hitherto made to the elucidation of the Hebrew antediluvian history from Chaldean sources. The German edition is handsomely printed and illustrated.

THE ZEITSCHRIFT,³—edited by Dr. W. Koner, for the Berlin Geographical Society, has begun its eleventh year. No. 61 gives a sketch of the life of Werner Munzinger, the Swiss explorer. Like his brother Walther, who filled the chair of Jurisprudence at Berne, and became the leader of the Old-Catholic movement in Switzerland, he was sent to study law. Forsaking that, he studied oriental languages at Paris, went to Egypt, and thoroughly explored Abyssinia. He was appointed French consul at

¹ "Über die Grenzen des Naturerkennens"; von Emil du Bois-Reymond. Leipzig: Von Veit.

² "George Smith's Chaldäische Genesis." Autorisirte übersetzung von Hermann Delitzsch. Nebst Erläuterungen und fortgesetzten Forschungen, von Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche. 1876.

³ "Zeitschrift" der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer. New York: L. W. Schmidt.

Massana, and Lord Napier found his advice of great importance in the conduct of the Abyssinian war. After the Khedive had made him governor of Massana, he was, while engaged in a commercial and military expedition, murdered by the Gallas. His devoted wife, an Abyssinian lady, shared his fate.

THE DOCTRINE OF COGNITION.¹—To displace consciousness by cognition, to restrict "knowledge" to that which is appreciable through the senses, and "thought" to a product of nerve-mechanism, is the attempt of a school of Biology ably represented in Germany as well as in England. Dr. Mayer's book is a contribution to this discussion, professedly from a purely physiological point of view; yet the author is obliged to have recourse to metaphysical reasoning in arguing against metaphysics. The truth is physiology and psychology so interlace each other, that it is impossible to reason conclusively from one without understanding both. We have no English terms that give the exact shade of distinction between *Erkenntniss* and *Bewusstsein*; the former is best expressed by *cognitio*, especially the conception of something external to ourselves, the latter by *conscientia*, which implies a knowing Self, distinguishable from the object known. Mayer argues that consciousness can not be separated from cognition; that there is no such thing as a continuous consciousness, no evidence of personal identity or of spiritual existence; that the notion of a soul or an immaterial substance rests upon an illusion; that the various experiences of consciousness,—even the notions of space, time, causality, etc., are but momentary effects of the nerve-apparatus of cognition.

In a word, his book gives in a condensed form the physiological argument for the *monistic* existence of man as a mechanism, in opposition to the dualistic notion of body and spirit. But, however potent Dr. Mayer is in his line of facts, those facts are but one-sided or half-sided, and Metaphysics remains in the undisturbed possession of facts of its own, as certain as any discovered by the microscope.

DIE VOLKSEELE.²—The best definition of this term is that of the author:—the totality of the intellectual and moral outcome of a nation, race, or community. Hence it does not denote a directly working force, but is simply an expression or formula for the sum of circumstances, conditions, and results. In other words, Dr. Reich is an apostle of Positivism in Germany, though more of a crammer like Buckle and Draper, than a philosopher like Comte and Spencer. Three hundred and twenty-six distinct authors are catalogued in his Appendix as references for facts and opinions, and a more indiscriminate medley could hardly be brought together. How

¹ "Die Lehre von der Erkenntniss," vom physiologischen Standpunkte allgemein verständlich dargestellt, von Dr. med. A. Mayer in Mainz. Leipzig: Theodor Thomas.

² "Studien über die Volkseele," von Edward Reich, Doctor der Medicin, etc. Jena; Hermann Costenoble.

much wisdom he has gained by his multifarious reading may be inferred from this characterization of the people of the United States: nowhere in the world is there so much lack of principle, such want of consciousness in domestic life; nowhere so much intemperance, lunacy, and crime; with all their churchgoing and sanctimoniousness, the people, at large, are wanting in true morality and true religion. Here is an author who puts himself forward as capable of philosophizing upon the statistics of society, yet makes no account of the fact that many of the criminals and paupers in the United States are foreigners, and that many of the opponents of laws for restraining intemperance and immorality, are the immigrants; but charges all excesses in American life to peculiarities of race and climate! This matches Buckle's famous chapter on religion in Scotland. Mayer's whole treatment of America shows his inability to discriminate as to the worth of his authorities, and to digest his materials; indeed, it is the weakness of the school of Positivists, to gather together superficial phenomena and construe these as laws and powers; whereas man's will and God's will are continually active.

A CRITIQUE OF SPIRITUALISM.¹—Now that Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace has attempted to bring the phenomena of Spiritualism under the cover of science, into the British Association, there is a call for such a sober and exhaustive criticism of his "Scientific Aspect of the Supernatural," as Dr. A. Wiessner has given in "Der wiedererstandene Wunderglaube." The subject can not be dismissed with a smile or a sneer, and Dr. Wiessner brings to it the force of logic, to prove that Spiritualism is not only contrary to the facts and laws of natural science, but is self-contradictory in its own arguments and evidences. "The notion of magic is inadmissible in a world governed by the laws of Causality." Yet surely it is not unscientific to admit the possibility of the Supernatural upon *worthy* grounds.

PORTRAITS FROM CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.²—Though one may not find in Julian Schmidt a Sainte-Beuve, nor even a Taine—much less a Lowell,—yet he is a clever feuilletonist, whose genial sketches of current literature and leading authors are worthy of a more permanent form than the journals and reviews in which they first appeared. In this volume, which is the fourth of a series of papers upon modern intellectual life, we have been particularly attracted by the articles on Strauss and on English Romance. To Strauss he gives the credit of an earnest, truth-loving, conscientious man, who deeply probed his own consciousness, and accepted the results of this self-scrutiny, without regard to the fear of man. But he does not find in him a corresponding ripeness of culture, or maturity of

¹ "Der wiedererstandene Wunderglaube." Eine kritische Besprechung der spiritualistischen Phänomene und Lehren, von Alexander Wiessner. Leipzig: Theodor Thomas.

² "Characterbilder aus der Zeitgenössischen Literatur," von Julian Schmidt. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

critical judgment. The lack of these is apparent in Strauss's handling of the question, "Are we still Christians?" Schmidt shows that Christianity is not a system yet to be developed, it has been continuously unfolding itself for almost 2000 years; what it needs from age to age is not so much a reconstruction of dogma, as the practical adaptation of its spirit to the necessities of the time. "Christendom is in our blood. The highest ideals of our souls are rooted in the historical soil of Christendom."

The "Studies in English Romance" take a wide range both of generalization and characterization. He points out the tendency of the English novelist to concentrate interest in individual persons, sometimes at the expense of the plot; his love of realization, in intense, minute word-picturing, or in the use of dialects; his fondness for humor, for satire, and occasionally for sensation. Schmidt enters into a somewhat minute analysis of the "Spectator," of Smollet, Fielding, Scott, Dickens, and others, closing with an extended review of George Eliot's "Middlemarch." Here one heartily agrees with him, and still more as to "Daniel Deronda," in the wish that George Eliot would study more the art of condensation and of dramatic movement. These latter novels resemble Wagner's later operas, with dreary wastes between passages of real force or beauty. We commend our genial German annotator to lovers of kindly and wholesome criticism.

THE INVISIBLE CHURCH.¹—One of the best fruits of the ecclesiastical discussion so rife in Germany is the revision of Protestant traditions concerning the Church in its essence and in its relations with the State. Dr. Krauss has given a sharp critical analysis of the notion of the invisible Church as developed in Protestant dogmatics; the views of the pre-reformers, the conflicting doctrines of leading Reformers, the concrete forms into which these settled in the Reformed and Lutheran churches respectively, and the modifications of recent times. He would find the true solution of the problem in the substitution of the phrase "Kingdom of God" for "invisible Church." All those who through a life renewed by grace belong to the religion of Redemption, in their totality constitute the kingdom of God; while the Church is the organized communion that serves as the organ of the kingdom of God. The Church is the visible; but the Faith establishes itself only upon things that are not seen; and the spiritual apprehension of what is embraced therein is the kingdom of God.

He maintains that the promise to Peter did not contemplate clothing the Church Universal with jurisdiction. "In the declaration which designates the totality of Christian believers as *ecclesia*, Christ had no reference to the organized congregation after the death of Peter, and in the declaration which assigns to the Church a fixed jurisdiction, it is not the universal Church but the particular Church congregation, which is intended."

As to the relations of the Church to the State, Dr. Krauss is opposed

¹ "Das protestantische Dogma von der unsichtbarer Kirche," von Alfred Krauss, Professor der Theologie zu Strasburg. Gotha: F. A. Perthes.

equally to the free Church system and to an exclusive establishment. He holds that the Church should be independent in respect to its belief and to its spiritual administration, but in its rights and its moral functions should be not only protected but supported by the State. This is the notion that the Evangelical Church in Prussia is trying to reduce to practice under its new regime. Altogether Dr. Krauss's book is a fresh and vigorous contribution to one of the most important questions of the time.

THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS.¹—It is always a manly thing for an author or a leader of opinion to avow a change to which he has been forced by experience or conviction. With great frankness Councilor Oechelhaueser announces his change from a life-long advocacy of protective tariffs to a hearty acceptance of free-trade. Born in an iron-district where he imbibed the doctrine of Protection with his mother's milk, trained to look upon Free-Trade as a mischievous dilettanteism, he published twenty years ago, a defense of the protective system. Since then, his experience as Director of several important industries, his observation of strikes, and studies of the labor question have brought him over to the side of Free-Trade, which he now advocates with vigorous reasoning and a formidable array of statistics.

MEDICAL.—A number of recent medical publications from the well-known house of Carl Czermak in Vienna, lie before us. The material execution is, for Germany, remarkably good. To begin with the most important, we have from Dr. Ludwig Bandl² a monograph upon the rupture of the uterus. Inasmuch as especially in medicine and natural science, much yet remains to be done in the way of collecting through single observations the material out of which a coming generation will form views and ideas that shall approach nearer and nearer to absolute truth, one can not but welcome with delight such excellent monographs as this. Upon the basis of thirteen cases of his own observation the author describes and makes clear an anomaly of confinement, which if not recognized in time, must have a most fatal effect for mother and child. The recorded observations of others upon this happily rare occurrence are fully given and applied, and new hints are furnished for the treatment of it.

We have Dr. Hoffmann's Medical Guide through Vienna. Following other authors upon the scientific centers of Europe, especially Dr. Rigler upon Berlin, the author has produced a good hand-book of the institutions for medical education, infirmaries, and the sanitary administration of the Austrian capital, with the addition of the laws relating to the same and a list of medical men. The book is a condensed index of all matters pertaining to its subject, prepared with a diligent use of the best sources, and will be of special worth to the many young physicians who continually resort

¹ "Die Wirthschaftliche Krisis," von Wilhelm Oechelhaueser. Kön. Preuss, Geheimer Commerciénrath. Berlin: J. Springer.

² Dr. Ludwig Bandl. Über die Ruptur der Gebärmutter und ihre Mechanik.

to Vienna to enrich and expand their knowledge and experience for their profession, through the excellent means of instruction provided in that city.

Dr. H. Hlasiwetz's Introduction to Qualitative Chemical Analysis is a remarkably compact and at the same time practically arranged method of chemical investigation—a serviceable hand-book for the laboratory. Dr. John Czerwinski's "Compendium der Thermotherapie" gives a complete system of water treatment, based upon the experience of the author. He ascribes the healing effect, however, not to water in itself, but to the higher or lower degree of temperature, according to the case; hence the same effect might be produced by some other fluid, and in many cases by dry applications, hot or cold.

RECENT FRENCH BOOKS.

DOMESTICS.¹—In spite of a style which recalls Mr. Carlyle's condemnation, "such resolution to be piquant is the besetting sin of innumerable persons of both sexes, and wofully mars any use there might otherwise be in their writing or their speaking," this is an entertaining little volume. As the sub-title shows, it is not a discussion of the wages-fund theory, nor in any way connected with political economy, but a study rather of the servant as he is seen in the literature, especially the dramatic literature, of France. All lovers of Molière and Marivaux know how important is the part of the valet and the soubrette. Like the clowns of Shakespeare, the *valets de Molière* form a distinct line of business, always hitherto held at the Theatre Français by a first rate actor, and not likely now to degenerate in the hands of M. Coquelin, as those who have seen him will attest. It was the late Victor Lejour, we believe, who explained his never having had a piece played at the Comédie Française, by saying that he did not like a theatre "*ou les valets sont les maîtres.*" M. Robert's third chapter on the "valet de comédie révolutionnaire" is by far the most entertaining. The son of the Italian *comédie dell'arte*, the grandson of the slave of Latin comedy, it is in Figaro that the valet comes to a climax. Ruy Blas alone, if memory serves, is the only attempt in fiction to make a valet a hero of romance. Its plot was probably suggested by the real adventures of Angelica Kaufman, possibly in turn influencing the deception of the gardener's son, Claude Melnotte. M. Robert mentions the cook in the "Avare," but not his worthy scion in the "gendre de M. Poirier." Nor is there to our mind, sufficient attention paid to "High Life Below Stairs," the excellent farce by Garrick, which Mr. Bartlett persists in crediting to Townley. There is in it a delicious reference to "Bob the Bishop," not equaled even by

¹ "Les Domestiques," étude de mœurs et d'histoire, by Edmond Robert. Paris: Germer-Baillièvre; New York: F. W. Christern. Pp. 208.

any of the later legends of Leech and Keene. M. Robert seems to be better acquainted with English literature than are most French literateurs; of Spanish literature he knows less, and we can only regret that he did not note more fully the development by the genius of Cervantes of the practical-joking *gracioso* of Spanish comedy into the immortal Sancho Panza. The author refers casually to the "help" of this country, leaving perhaps to another hand a study well worth writing, of the differing influences exerted upon American society by the employment of "help" in New England, of imported domestics in New York, and of slaves in the South. For this the materials are abundant in our literature, although the immigrant, Irish or German or Swedish, has not been as well treated as the Yankee or the negro. In the novels of New England the "help" is especially prominent, and Sam Lawson is a worthy mate to Sam Weller or Corporal Trim.

THE HISTORY OF THE THIRD INVASION¹—a very sumptuous work on the subject of the late Franco-German war—is marked by an agreeable style, great conscientiousness, and a decidedly independent spirit. M. Véron evidently does not seek for popularity by any deference to national prejudices and conceit in the ground that he takes regarding the causes, management, and issues of the war. In fact, his position is quite opposed to that of most of his countrymen on these questions, who appear to think that if the government had pursued a different course the final catastrophe would have been averted. His view of the political and military situation, all through, seems to be a candid and dispassionate one, and he gives good reasons for the overthrowal of the empire. As a literary performance the work deserves high praise. The volume, if a very large folio in portfolio can be called a volume, affords, by its great size, ample room for the full-page etchings of M. Lançon, which are such a significant feature of it. The etchings were made on the spot by the artist who accompanied the army, and are doubtless faithful transcripts of actual scenes. The severe and terrible aspects of war make up the staple of these plates—the march, the conflict, after the battle, the interiors of hospitals, etc., being vividly portrayed. As an aid to a clearer apprehension of the direful realities of a great military struggle these etchings are certainly successful. But as objects to give pleasure, some of them are too painfully suggestive to be agreeable. We suppose, however, that the artist did not purpose to do any thing more than to reproduce accurately the scenes that characterized the war and made it memorable. So we can respect his severe fidelity, though we may not like many of the sights that he pictures with so stern a realism. Critics of art could easily show how some of these etchings might be improved; none, however, can deny their sincerity, vitality, and topographic truth.

¹ "La Troisième Invasion." Première Partie de la Déclaration de la Guerre à la Capitulation de Sedan. Texte par M. Eugène Véron; eaux-forte par M. Auguste Lançon. Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 3 Chaussée d'Antin. 1876.

CHAPTERS ON PAINTING.—The accomplished author of these chapters on painting¹ succeeded in giving, in a narrow compass, some very clear and useful views of the topics which he discusses with such thorough knowledge and grace of style. The subjects of the treatise, nineteen in number, are among the most interesting in the range of modern art, embracing, with others, "Religious Painting," "Show Portraits," "Familiar Portraiture," "Louis XIV. and the Grotesque," "Rustic Painting," and "Battle, Animal, Marine, and Hunting Pictures." In treating these, the author selects some representative artist under each head, whose characteristics he graphically describes; so we have with religious painting such masters as Spinello Aretino and Domenicho Ghirlandajo; with show portraits, Titian, Van Dyck, and Thomas Lawrence; with familiar portraiture, Carl de Moor, Hogarth, and Reynolds; with landscape, Poussin and Claude; and of the English school, Old Crome, Gainsborough, Constable, and Turner; and of the contemporary French school, Paul Huet, Jules Dupre and Theodore Rousseau. An etching of a work of the artist described is given in each case, so the illustrations, fifty in number, add greatly to the interest and value of the volume. The reader will recognize here the names of some of the most famous etchers of the Continent, among which Flameng, Brunet-Desbaines, Jacquemart, Gilbert, La Rat, Rajon, Martial, Greux, Courtney, Chavel, and Waltner are conspicuous. As regards paper, letterpress, and illustrations, the volume is a superb affair. It has been admirably translated under the superintendence of Mr. P. G. Hamerton, whose name is a good indorsement of its contents.

L'ART EN ALSACE-LORRAINE² is another notable volume, by the same author, which covers a period from the time of the ancient inhabitants to the present. M. Menard has here a wide and rich field, where he treats as pleasantly and instructively of medals, miniatures, monumental statuary, and sculptured images as of the famous masters who come under his review. Nothing can be fairer, it seems to us, than his biographical and critical notices, which make up so large a part of the volume. He evidently allows no national partiality to warp his judgment or diminish his appreciation of what is really valuable in art, whether the art have expression in grand cathedrals and famous paintings or in the ornamentation of stoves and porcelain ware. The author treats both provinces after the same method; so whatever is specially notable in the art and artists of each region is discussed, not, of course, in an exhaustive way, but so that the reader gets a comprehensive and satisfactory view of the subject. The illustrations are helpful in this particular, as they are numerous and some of them of distinguished merit—there being in the book seventeen

¹ "Entretiens sur la Peinture," par Rénè Ménard, Rédacteur en chef de la Gazette des Beaux Arts, avec cinquante eaux-fortes. Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 3 Chaussée d'Antin. 1876.

² "L'Art en Alsace-Lorraine," par Rénè Ménard. Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 3 Chaussée d'Antin. 1876.

fine etchings and upwards of three hundred wood engravings. The American reader is likely to be interested more particularly in what is said of contemporary artists, seventy-four of whom are described—among them Bartholdi, Benner, Doré, Brion, Deck, Gluck, Ehrmann Steinhel, and Marchal of Alsatia, and Aubé, Boilvin, Français, Grandville, and Isabey of Lorraine.

GONCOURT'S ETCHINGS.—This portfolio of etchings¹ contains twenty characteristic examples. There is issued with them a life of the artist by Philippe Burty, who also gives a catalogue and brief descriptive notices of eighty-six other etchings of this artist. Jules de Goncourt was born in 1830 and died in 1870. His artistic life was industrious and in many respects interesting. His biography by Burty is well told, and gives us a generous and sympathetic account of a career that ended in the very meridian of manhood. De Goncourt evidently had a good deal of versatility, and, with all his sensitiveness to beauty, shows a vein of humor and an appreciation of the comic as well as the serious side of life. In this group of etchings, for effective characterization *The Monkey before the Mirror* is an excellent specimen. There is a good deal to study in the *Heads of Men and Women*, where out of a few subjects is produced a wonderful variety of expressions; *Le Point-Neuf* is full of vitality, and the rollicking gayety and luxurious indolence of a part of the company represented, and the ridiculous quarrel going on in another part, make a striking contrast. The portraits of *Le Tour*, *Duclos*, and *Chardin* are very fine. But the etching that will be apt to arrest special attention, as representing powerfully a character that is droll, shrewd, good-natured, half-comic, with a certain dignity in spite of his queer figure and attire, is *Thomas Vireloque*.

LA FERRIÈRE'S MEMOIRS.—M. Laferrière, the French actor, has been contributing to the Paris *Figaro* his "Memoirs," two series of which have now appeared in book form.² Those familiar with the ingenuity of M. de Villemessant's staff, can not but suspect that M. Laferrière's manuscript has been revised and amplified before its appearance in the Paris paper. Some of the chapters are woven of material so thin that it is hardly possible to avoid the suspicion that, like American "campaign charges," they are "made out of whole cloth," or at least that they have been freely patched and pieced by the fertile fancy of the *Figaro*. For forty years M. Laferrière has been noted for his youthful appearance, and most marvellous indeed is the account he here gives of his mysterious elixir of youth, of its origin, and of the way in which he became possessed of it. After reading this tale of wonder, worthy of the inventive genius of the late Mr. Locke, the author of the "Moon Hoax" and the originator of the "Aztec" children,

¹ "Eaux-Fortes de Jules de Goncourt." "Notice et Catalogue de Philippe Burty." Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 3 Chaussée d'Antin. 1876.

² Paris: Dentre. New York: S. French & Son. 1876.

and bearing a striking likeness to the startling stories told by the itinerant discoverer of the patent pill or potion, it is with small surprise that we see by the advertisements in the French newspapers that M. Laferrière's elixir has been brought out with the usual flourish of trumpets and is now regularly on sale "at all respectable druggists'." Nor is this specimen of theatrical thrift unique: Mlle. Félix, the elder sister of Rachel, is in like manner a vendor of nostrums. The chief value of the volumes is in the more or less likely anecdotes with which they—like all actors' books—abound. Two of the best are of the elder Dumas. The first piece at the Théâtre Historique was the "Chevalier de Maison-Rouge," in which Laferrière played. At the rehearsals Dumas, when alone, was amiable, but when outsiders were present, he was disagreeably autocratic. Once when the author was "showing off," apparently before no one, Laferrière finally got rid of the fireman on duty, and Dumas at once resumed his tranquillity and at last went to sleep. The second play at the Théâtre Historique was the "Ecole des Familles," by another Dumas, Adolphe, not related to Alexandre. After the success of the piece on the first night, the author ventured to say to his celebrated namesake, "Hereafter they will speak of the two Dumas as they do now of the two Corneilles." Shaking hands with him, Alexandre Dumas at once said, "Adieu, Thomas!"

ART IN EUROPE

THE gradual increase, chiefly by bequest, of the great French and English national galleries requires a corresponding extension of the space devoted to them in public buildings, and both the Louvre and the London National Gallery have been considerably enlarged of late. Perhaps some of your readers may like to know what has been done and how far the new arrangements appear to be successful. They may remember the well-known staircase by which people generally enter the picture-galleries of the Louvre—that staircase, to the left of the central pavilion, which goes up through a sort of tunnel, the least imposing of all the large public staircases in the building. When you reach the landing, you have the rooms full of drawings to your left, and the rooms full of paintings to your right. Formerly, before you got to the room where hangs Géricault's *Wreck of the Medusa*, you had to pass through a hall adorned with big vases and paintings of indifferent merit, hung in a bad light and too high to be seen. All these are now removed elsewhere, the room has been entirely renovated and lighted from the roof, and it is filled completely with the collection bequeathed by M. Louis La Caze. Besides this, there are several other new rooms in the massive buildings which were added by Louis Napoleon, and they are made specially accessible by a magnificent

staircase, not yet finished, being in the condition of plainness which precedes sculptural decoration. The Louvre always gave a fine impression of spaciousness, and now it gives it more than ever, especially from the vastness and elevation of certain halls and staircases, the loftiest of the halls being that under the great pavilion. But the Louvre is not, and never will be, a good model for the construction of picture-galleries. Even the most recent parts of it are by no means the most convenient rooms for the exhibition of pictures that it would be possible to imagine. Some of the pictures can be seen, but not all. Many of them are hung so high as to be practically out of sight, even in the rooms built in the days of Napoleon III. A recent alteration in the Luxembourg has achieved by accident what no architect would ever willingly design. There is a corridor to connect the two sides of the building, narrow and lighted from above. This corridor is low, so that when the authorities were obliged by the crowd of pictures to make use of it as a gallery, they could not possibly hang them out of sight. It is rather too narrow for some of the larger works, because you can hardly get far enough back from them to see them quite at their best, but this objection does not apply in the case of any of the cabinet pictures. The light in this corridor is excellent; and it is also good in some new rooms in the Louvre, up in the attics, near the Marine Museum, these rooms also being but moderately high, so that a large picture, such as Delaroche's *Death of Queen Elizabeth*, is sure to be very well seen there. I can not say much for the lighting of some of the new rooms in the English National Gallery. They are very fine-looking interiors, rather overdone in the decoration about the ceilings and cornices, but they are not in every instance so well lighted as they ought to have been. There is one room especially which imperatively requires more daylight, for it is scarcely possible to see any thing in it on an autumnal afternoon. I remember that in former times, when the old gallery was laughed at for its ugliness, some merciful defender of the architect answered that at any rate it was well lighted. So it was, and this is much indeed. The old rooms have been preserved, which, as the English are generally rather economical about public buildings, is certainly a permissible economy, and it is probable that at some future time the present façade will make room for a nobler and better one, which might be so arranged as to gain a great deal of internal space between the old rooms and itself. The recent increase of space has been got by building at the back. The new buildings are handsomely, even splendidly, finished inside, with good materials in marble, wood, and metal. It has been said that all this splendor overpowers the pictures; and so indeed it does during the first ten minutes while you are looking at each hall for the first time, but as soon as you begin to interest yourself in any one of the pictures; you forget the gilding. I can not say that I like the paper which has been selected for the walls, it seems to me of too bright a red; but the English taste in the choice of papers for all purposes is

dependent very much upon climate. Perhaps your readers would permit me a little digression on this subject of wall-papers. The English seem to be liking light-colored ones more and more, and the most prevalent taste in drawing-rooms approaches as near as possible to white itself. It seems strange at first sight that a nation situated in so cool a climate should have such a taste for chilly-looking walls. Fancy the effect of an ordinary English drawing-room or bed-room in the autumn, before fires are lighted! It is all white together, ceiling, walls, marble chimney-piece, etc. Well, it *is* chilly, but there is a reason for it. The English live in a climate where there is not very much natural light, and where such light as there is will often be obscured by that thick canopy of coal-smoke which hangs over every English town, especially in the manufacturing districts. They have found out by experience that a white interior reflects the light which enters it powerfully, while a dark interior absorbs the light, and so they prefer whiteness, to make the day longer in their rooms. Something of the same tendency is visible even in picture-galleries. The English very frequently put papers behind pictures which a French critic would think injuriously bright. In the National Gallery, notwithstanding the plentiful use of black in the woodwork, the tendency in the decoration generally is towards an undesirable brightness. The objection about height is not so serious as I expected, in the new rooms of the National Gallery, at least for the present, because there is space enough to hang the pictures without putting them very much too high; but it is probable that as time advances, these rooms will all be crowded up to the ceiling, and then the highest pictures will be invisible for purposes of serious study. In a low gallery, like that corridor in the Luxembourg, there is no possibility of this. One artist has considerably suffered by the recent changes in the National Gallery, and that is Turner. In the old Turner room nearly all the most important pictures could be well seen; in the present room it is not so. The walls are crowded, and many works are hung very inconveniently for the student. A special room has been assigned to sketches and drawings by Turner, consisting of the Liber Studiorum series and specimens of his sketches from nature and compositions, very judiciously selected by Mr. Ruskin as examples of his different ways of taking memoranda and making use of them. Besides this there is a spacious but very plain room on the ground-floor, where the great stock of Turner's studies and drawings is kept in excellent order. A large mahogany counter (or something very much resembling one) occupies the middle of the room, and the space under it is entirely filled by slides, something like the camera slides used by photographers. Each of these contains several drawings, framed in *passe-partouts* of light wood. In all there are about four hundred and fifty such framed drawings under the counter, and besides these, there are thousands upon thousands of sketches and memoranda, in boxes, which have not been framed. It is much to be regretted that Turner had not somebody to take care of his things in this way during his life, when they

were left in heaps in the disorder of his ill-kept house. The place occupied by Turner in the National Gallery is certainly disproportionate even for an English artist of the most distinguished genius. I never see the Turner pictures without longing for the power of rejecting some of the worst, and leaving the best to represent him.

The leading artistic event of the month of October was the speech delivered at the Social Science Congress at Liverpool by Mr. Poynter, the Academician. Mr. Poynter is one of the few artists who have the gift of measured and well-controlled verbal expression. He does not blunder and make foolish one-sided statements as half-educated men do, but he grasps his subject all round, and gives it you by the right end. The main subject of his address at Liverpool was the difficulty of introducing good art into common English life, so as to make English existence pleasant and harmonious from the artistic point of view, which it certainly is far from being at present. Mr. Poynter did not waste any of his time or of that of his audience in vain discussion about the influence of art upon society, but proceeded almost immediately to consider matters which are more easily ascertainable. Taking it for granted that a cultivated audience would consider visible artistic harmony desirable, he showed with the clearness of mind able to see things without illusion how difficult it is for England to attain this, and how improbable it is that the country will ever attain it. At the same time, not to give too absolutely hopeless a tone to his discourse, Mr. Poynter showed what were the causes of the present state of things, and also that some of them were preventible. One or two of his main points are well worth the consideration of Americans, who are liable to the same error as the speaker's own countrymen. He showed that while the municipal and governmental authorities in London do not now willingly of themselves erect eyesores in the metropolis, they nevertheless permit others to do so when they could quite easily prevent them. The most glaring instance of this is the treatment of the Thames.

"That whole districts," says Mr. Poynter, "should be given up to desolation in our large towns through the invasion of railways and their appurtenances is probably unavoidable, at least under the hap-hazard arrangements which have governed the growth of the railway system; but that the few spots favored by picturesqueness of grouping or real architectural beauty should have their charm destroyed at one blow by the intrusion of some hideous railway bridge or station, shows an amount of heartlessness on the part of the engineers who construct them and, I may add, of the public who permits them, which would surprise us did we not know that a large section of the community admires in their hearts what is supposed to be a fine practical preference for utility over sentiment. Perhaps the most glaring results of this feeling are to be found in London. The views along the Thames from Westminster to London Bridge were continually picturesque and adorned with many beautiful architectural features. They were only marred in the public eye by the meanness of the buildings and wharves along the banks, and it was wisely determined to add the great improvement of quays, which, if they destroyed inevitably some of the picturesqueness dear to artists that

is always found among barges and water-side sheds, have undoubtedly added that architectural dignity which alone is worthy of a great city. Strange to say, what was given with one hand was more than taken away with the other; monster railway stations of hideous and, I may add, useless proportions were erected which overshadowed and dwarfed by contrast our beautiful water-side building, Somerset House, and eclipsed by comparison the groups of spires and the beautiful dome which rise above the banks. Blackfriars Bridge, another of our finest architectural works, is flanked by two railway bridges which would appear to have been made ugly on purpose, and we are, alas, threatened with the disfigurement of another noble structure. It is not at all certain that London Bridge will not be eventually ruined by the addition of iron footways on each side, and the public [are supposed to believe that these additions will not be objectionable because they are to be covered with some trumpery Gothic ornament."

Mr. Poynter does not go so far as to wish that the use of iron should be abandoned, if it is found more convenient than stone, but he argues that it is by no means necessary to make all iron things ugly, and he especially censures the absurd habit of trying to beautify such things by sticking incongruous ornament upon them. The fact is, that the utilitarian and artistic states of mind are so widely different that they have a difficulty in working harmoniously; but I do think that every project which in its realization might possibly mar the beauty of a great city ought to be submitted, before its execution, to a committee of persons whose taste had been really cultivated by the study of art. What was objectionable in the project might be eliminated by them without interfering with its utility. The quays of the Thames are useful and beautiful at the same time. The railway bridges might have been made as easily to combine the two qualities as the older bridges of London and Blackfriars. P. G. HAMERTON.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

THE PROJECT of carrying the waters of the Mediterranean Sea into the desert of Sahara has for some years occupied the attention of the French people, and has been the subject of many discussions. It has long been surmised that portions of this desert were below the level of the sea, and in 1873 Captain Roudaire, of the French army, accompanied by Captain Noll, established the fact by direct measurements, and ascertained that if communication with the Mediterranean were opened a vast area of desert country south of Algeria and Tunis would be submerged, with the formation of a great inland sea. In 1874 a commission was formed, under the direction of M. Roudaire, and surveys of the southern districts of Algeria were made, with a view to the determination of the contour-lines which this body of water would have. Several old lake-basins were found, some of them not entirely dry, which the chief of the commission believes

he is able to identify with bodies of water mentioned by ancient geographers, but which have long since disappeared. M. Roudaire estimates the area of the sea to be formed by the admission of water into these depressed regions in Algeria as 6000 square kilometers, or more than 2300 square miles. The mean depth would be fifteen meters, varying in the central portions from twenty to twenty-seven meters. Toward the west and south-west the land rises rapidly, in such a way that vessels of the heaviest tonnage would be able to approach the shore and find good harborage. Toward the north, however, the inclination of the ground is very gradual. As, in order to the completion of the plan, it was necessary to make a similar examination of the part of the low lands lying in Tunisian territory, M. Roudaire was commissioned by the Ministry of Public Instruction to undertake this also, and in the spring of 1876, assisted by M. Baronnet, a civil engineer, he accomplished the survey of this region. It is estimated that the area of the country capable of submersion is at least half as great as that in Algeria just mentioned, and that the depth of the water will vary in different parts from twenty meters to forty meters in the central region. The land which would be covered with the waters of the future sea is now an arid desert, with oases scattered here and there, settled and cultivated ground. None of these, it is said, will be submerged, as they are upon elevated portions of the tract, and will become islands. As to the execution of the project no insuperable obstacle exists, since it will require only the construction of a canal from the Gulf of Gabès to the nearest basin, as the main portion of the work, and some shorter ones farther inland. The principal canal will be but 12.5 miles in length, and not difficult of construction—though for a short distance the land through which it must be cut has an elevation of forty-six meters—as no hard rocks are present, and there will be required merely excavation of earth or sand for the most part. Besides the undoubted commercial advantages to be gained by thus inundating the sterile desert, and, while converting its shores into fertile lands, furnishing in addition a convenient highway for the valuable products of the nearer portions of Central Africa to the Mediterranean and thence to the ports of Europe, it is anticipated that important climatic changes will be produced over a large portion of the adjoining country, as a result of the presence of such an expanse of water, and that the southern slopes of the Aurès Mountains, which now prevent the moisture raised by evaporation from the Mediterranean from reaching the interior, will be abundantly supplied with water. This opinion of M. Roudaire is shared by M. de Lesseps, a firm believer in the practicability of the enterprise, who has already witnessed results of a like nature in the country about the Bitter Lakes since the completion of the Suez Canal.

IN CONTRAST with this proposal to convert dry land into a sea may be placed the extensive works executed in the Netherlands, by which large areas of fertile land have been rescued from the ocean and converted into habitable and productive territories. A Sketch of the Public Works in the Netherlands

by L. C. Van Kerkwyk, prepared for the U. S. Centennial Exposition, gives the area thus reclaimed within the present century as not less than 1190 square kilometers, or 460 square miles. Works now in progress for connecting the island of Ameland with the shore of Friesland will add to this from fifty to one hundred square miles of cultivable land. The prospective work of draining the southern portion of the Zuyder Zee is the most important of all. This gigantic enterprise has been under consideration for a number of years, and a commission has been appointed by the Dutch Government for a detailed investigation of the measures to be adopted in carrying out the project, and of the condition of the land which will thus be reclaimed and regained; for it must be remembered that this vast body of water was the permanent result of a mighty storm and inundation in the thirteenth century. The plan proposed is to build a dyke from Enkhuizen to the island of Urk, and thence to the coast of Overijssel south of the Keteldiep, one of the effluents of the Yssel, the water thus inclosed being afterward removed by pumping, as was successfully done in the case of the great Haarlem Lake. It is estimated that this will add to the country a productive territory equal to one eighteenth of its present area, and amounting to more than 750 square miles. Such an undertaking must necessarily be the work of years, but it seems not unlikely that its successful accomplishment may be witnessed ere the close of the century.

THE ENGLISH EXPEDITION to the arctic regions under Captain Nares, with the *Alert* and the *Discovery*, returned without having accomplished the journey to the north pole, but this was only one of the objects of the exploration, which must be said to have been, on the whole, an eminent success. For though Captain Nares gives it as his decided opinion that to reach the pole is impracticable, if not impossible, he has the glory of having attained the highest latitude yet reached by any arctic explorer, and has brought back results of great value to science. The party appear to have fallen upon a season of exceptional rigor, and to have encountered extraordinary obstacles, which were met with admirable courage and perseverance. That under these adverse circumstances they should have reached a latitude of $83^{\circ} 20'$ is no small achievement. The opinion expressed by the commander of the expedition that a sea of permanent ice covers a wide region surrounding the pole is neither in accordance with the observations of other polar voyagers nor likely to be generally accepted, and it should not be suffered to act as a check upon further enterprise in this direction; for though the attainment of the pole is itself a matter of comparatively little moment, the knowledge that may be gained by an extended exploration of these northern solitudes is of the highest interest and importance, especially in its bearing upon the question of the figure and climate of the earth in remote ages. Furthermore, the fact that the latest expedition reached a higher point than any previous one is not of itself calculated to impress the belief that succeeding explorers may not go still farther, and even in some favorable season reach the pole itself.

IN A PAPER upon the mutual effect of two sounds, published not long since, Professor A. M. Mayer reports some new and unexpected results which are likely to find valuable applications. He shows that the sensation of one sound may be completely obliterated by the action on the ear of another more intense and lower sound, while, on the contrary, a sound, even when intense, can not obliterate the sensation of a sound lower than itself in pitch. Besides the use of these principles in studying the relative intensities of sounds, they will find a most important application in the orchestra, with reference to the proper disposition of the instruments and the regulation of the relative intensities of sounds of high and low pitch, in order to produce the effects designed by the composer. It often happens that the instruments yielding acute sounds are completely overpowered or lose their characteristic quality when those producing intense sounds of lower pitch are played with them, an evil easily avoided by proper attention to these simple laws.

THE FAMILIAR EXPERIMENT in which a light sphere is sustained upon a vertical jet of water has recently been investigated mathematically by Professor E. Hagenbach, who gives a simple explanation of the phenomenon. The column of liquid, as it strikes the ball, spreads over a portion of its surface in consequence of its adhesion, and is then thrown off in diverging lines, the portion which follows the surface being necessarily curved along a considerable arc. The centrifugal force of the liquid in passing along this curve produces an action the resultant of which tends to move the ball in a direction nearly perpendicular to that of the stream, and this, with the pressure caused by the impact of the fluid stream, keeps the ball steadily suspended and generally rotating about its center more or less rapidly. The explanation is defective in taking no account of the diminution of pressure in the interior of the jet, where it meets the ball, in consequence of the inertia of the diverging portions of the water thrown off, which materially aids in producing the result observed. In a late number of *Poggendorff's Annalen* Professor Reuleaux describes as a novelty a similar experiment witnessed by him in this country, in the workshop of Messrs. Westinghouse & Co., where a ball five inches in diameter was supported by a stream of air issuing under great pressure from a narrow orifice, and inclined at a considerable angle. The action is similar to that observed in the case of a liquid jet, except that the adhesion, which plays such an important part in the former case, is here less prominent, the effective agent being the momentum of the particles of the air-stream as it spreads out in a conical form around the ball, which results in the formation of a partial vacuum in its interior. This tends to draw the ball into the axis of the current, where it is met by the force of the blast, the two forces acting together to keep it sustained. The experiment can hardly be said to be new in this country, as it has certainly been often exhibited in the physical lecture-room, and Mr. E. S. Ritchie, of Boston, has for many years supplied apparatus for performing essentially the same thing with various interesting modifications.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

THE EXPOSITION at Philadelphia, which closed on the 10th of November, possessed a double character—a national and an international. Although the ostensible purpose of the exposition was the celebration of the Centennial of American independence, yet it was largely the international character of the affair which gave it importance and which will leave its permanent effects upon the nation. Nothing has occurred in its history which has so completely brought out and defined the general position of the United States with reference to other nations, as has the Exposition, just closed. At every international exposition the country in which it is held is, of course, expected to present the most complete if not the finest array of exhibits. This expectation was realized at Philadelphia; but the productions of foreign countries were exhibited on a scale quite satisfactory to the general spectator. From the four quarters of the globe there was gathered together a collection as varied, imposing, and excellent as that shown at any other world's fair. There was an appreciative attendance of foreigners and a multitudinous assemblage of American spectators. The result has been that while the exposition has satisfied the curiosity, enlarged the knowledge, and gratified the patriotism of the people of this country, it has also enabled the rest of the world to understand, as never before, the resources, institutions, and civilization of the United States. The social and commercial benefits are already manifesting themselves; but they will become more and more apparent, especially in their international aspects, as time elapses. The exposition may have had defects in certain particulars; but, considered as a whole, it was such as to cause the utmost gratification. The treatment of the foreign exhibitors, after the formal closing of the exposition, was, however, not such as ought to have been expected from our custom-house officials. The difficulties and annoyances encountered in the appraisement of goods might have been alleviated, if not avoided, by the presence of a larger and more polite force of officials. If the custom-house officers of the country should be efficient and courteous at any time, they should be so on such an occasion as this. The "Customs" regulations of most countries are becoming less and less rigid and less and less annoying to the traveler and the trader. Until we reach that happy but distant period when custom-houses shall be abolished, let there be every effort made to lighten the burden of their annoyances. In this connection we notice that the preparations for the next international exposition, which is to be held at Paris in 1878, are going forward, notwithstanding the warlike aspect of European affairs and the discouragements which Germany throws in its way. No effort will be spared by the French to make the exposition a magnificent success.

THE POLITICAL AGITATION in the United States consequent upon the uncertain result of the Presidential election drew the popular mind from a

proper contemplation of the successful termination of the great International exposition. The political situation developed all sorts of grave problems and conjectures. The people took an almost unprecedented interest in the election, but their interest was intensified by the events subsequent to the election. The popular mind was never more active and alert, and never more receptive of doubts and conjectures; at the same time there has been a decided disposition to pursue the path of safety and order, to avoid violence and uphold the government. In the midst of the excitement came the brief but timely proclamation of President Grant declaring the noble sentiment, which all parties commend, that "no man worthy of the office of President should be willing to hold it if counted in or placed there by fraud. Either party can afford to be disappointed in the result. The country can not afford to have the result tainted by the suspicion of illegal or false returns." The lesson of the hour is, that the singular defects in the method of electing the President, which have existed since the foundation of the government, should be remedied without delay. It is not so much desirable that there should be a radical change in the method of electing the President as that the method of making the returns, and that of counting the votes and declaring the results, be rendered fixed and definite. In an emergency such as that through which we have been passing it must always be remembered that the tranquillity and prosperity of the country are identical, and that both are superior to the triumph of any party or faction. The stability and permanence of our free but complicated institutions are constantly put to the test, while all monarchical governments await with interest the further result of what they still call our "experiment." The vote of the Electoral College in some of the States not having proved satisfactory to both the great parties into which the country is divided, the contest for the Presidency seems to have been transferred to Washington, where all political attention is now concentrated. The work before Congress will be of the most serious and important character, calling for calmness in the midst of excitement, impartiality in the midst of partisanship, and adherence to the true constitutional doctrines in the midst of the utmost diversity of opinion. The country looks for the end with impatience but yet with deep anxiety, and with fervent hopes that the right will prevail and the government will be preserved. No one ought to expect that this will be accomplished except by fair, peaceful, and legal processes.

WHILE THIS COUNTRY has been disturbed by the agitation attendant upon a Presidential election, the result of which remained in doubt and difficulty, Europe has been vexing itself over the great political question of modern times—the Eastern Question. It has all along been the hope of Christendom that there might be a satisfactory settlement of the controversies lately arising through Turkish misrule and barbarity. The conference announced to be held by the principal powers interested, strengthened this hope. The situation seems to demand a guarantee that Turkey shall protect Christians within her territory, prevent outrages against the common

humanity, and grant certain rights of self-government to the discontented provinces. Precisely how this guarantee shall be furnished is the momentous question. Russian occupation might furnish it; but this England might not allow, except to a limited extent. There is a suspicion as prevalent as ever that Russia means ultimately to possess the territory of European Turkey; while at the same time England means to prevent all attempts at Russian aggrandizement in the East which will in any way endanger her supremacy in India. Constantinople, it is said, must be free. Questions of empire are so mingled with questions of humanity that it is difficult to determine by what motives governments are actuated in this state of affairs. The several heads of the governments most directly concerned in the solution of the problem publicly protest that they intend to keep the peace, and shall do so as long as their rights and the rights of humanity are left unimpaired. They counsel moderation and a resort to friendly mediation. Accompanying these declarations there are the usual menaces that if the use of force becomes necessary, it shall be with terrible energy and persistence. These menaces, together with the continuance of warlike preparations during the Turkish armistice, are the elements which disquiet Europe. But will the international sentiment of the age permit any nation to precipitate the horrors of what would probably be the greatest war of modern times without the existence of something more than a mere pretext? Must not a plain necessity be shown? Intervention is at all times hazardous when unsolicited; it is doubly so in the complicated condition of affairs which confronts us in the East. But there is room for a peaceful adjustment, if all parties are willing to be just. The people of America, although not so deeply interested as those of Europe in the peaceful settlement of the Eastern Question, in all its forms, are yet sufficiently so to heartily deplore a resort to war; for the highest good of each nation is the peace and prosperity of all the rest.

IT IS A MATTER upon which the nations ought to congratulate themselves that, amidst the rumors of and preparations for war, there are signs of progress in international law reform and arbitration. The annual conference of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, held at Bremen, and that of the American branch, the International Code Committee, held at Philadelphia, form a step in the movement which was initiated a few years ago by jurists, statesmen, and philanthropists, on both sides of the Atlantic, and which has for its object the reform of the law of nations and the establishment of a system of arbitration, more or less complete, for international differences. The unsettled condition of Europe is at present unfavorable to the calm and unprejudiced discussion of many international questions; but there seems no good reason why the progress of international legal science should be materially retarded by political disturbances. It would seem, rather, that the efforts of statesmen and jurists should be redoubled, at such a time, to procure the improvement and settlement of the law of nations.

General FRANCIS A. WALKER's review of the "International Exhibition—its Mechanism and Administration" will appear in the MAY number of this *Review*.

Professor CHARLTON T. LEWIS will offer some important suggestions on "Life Insurance" in the MAY *Review*.

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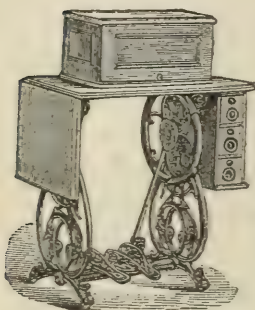
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THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT GRANT.

TWO months after General Grant had taken possession of the office he now holds, a journal of his own State, which had been among his most able and influential supporters, had this to say of him :

“When General Grant was inducted into the Presidential office on the fourth of March last, he was stronger in the respect and confidence of the people than any other man who has filled that high office during the present generation. The only predecessor comparable to him in this regard was Mr. Lincoln, but Mr. Lincoln never saw the day when he was free from the active, determined hostility of a powerful political party. This party, when General Grant was inaugurated, had not only been crushed by defeat, but conquered by a latent admiration of the cool, silent, surefooted antagonist who had overthrown them on so many and such diverse fields of action. The Republican party, so lately torn asunder by the impeachment trial, was again united and irresistible in its loyalty to its elected chief. On that day it may be safely said that President Grant was the strongest man in Christendom, for his power was rooted in the affections of a free people.”

This statement was not overdrawn ; it was perfectly true. Not only was the opposition broken and powerless, but it had accepted defeat with a grace and cheerfulness quite uncommon in political history, and it was disposed to assert and prepared to believe that the leader of the victorious party, who was well known to be no partisan, would govern in a spirit of moderation, and would oppose his determined will to any extreme measures that might be proposed by his supporters. The inaugural was well calculated to strengthen the President with both parties. He gratified his sud-

porters by urging the adoption of the fifteenth amendment, which they regarded not merely as a measure of justice and protection to the freedmen, but also as necessary to the permanent ascendancy of the Republican party in the Southern States. The President's pledge, to have no policy to enforce against the will of the people, was also satisfactory to the party that so long had given a large share of its attention and resorted to so many schemes to thwart the policy of his predecessor. On the other hand, the opposition had come to look upon impartial suffrage as a foregone conclusion, and they could therefore neither be surprised nor displeased at the President's declaration regarding it, nor could they have anticipated a disposition on his part to cultivate other than friendly relations with Congress. What was specially gratifying to them was the President's recommendation that the questions growing out of the civil war should be "approached calmly, without prejudice, hate, or sectional pride, remembering that the greatest good of the greatest number is the object to be attained." The reasonable Southerner, desirous of peace and security for his section of the country, could desire nothing more, and the Democracy, if successful, could promise nothing better.

General Grant is about to retire from his high office, and it is fitting at this time to inquire how he has fulfilled the expectations of the people, and to what extent he has kept the promises of his inaugural. The nation whose plaudits welcomed him to the chair of state is now asking this question, while its institutions are being shaken to their very foundations, and while a feeling of distrust prevails which scarcely had a parallel during the existence of civil war.

The first official act of the President was the nomination of his constitutional advisers; and in this he gave to the country the first of that series of surprises which at length taught the public that prophecy in respect to his official action was wholly useless. The list which was presented for confirmation was not only a surprise, but to many of his most earnest admirers it caused a shock which seriously and permanently disturbed that supreme confidence in his possession of sterling good sense and in his knowledge of men which, in his military career, were supposed to have stood him in stead more effectually than his military genius. Here, on the first occasion when his good sense and his insight into the characters and capabilities of men were put to the test, his failure in wisdom was so signal and so nearly complete that men of all parties

received the announcement with astonishment. With possibly a single exception, the list contained not a name which, in public estimation, was entitled to be placed in the first rank among the statesmen of the country. The gentleman selected for the leading position was indeed well known: he had been a useful member of Congress, and had been active in opposing schemes which he did not approve; the country had confidence in his integrity, but it was not known or believed that he had any such knowledge of our foreign relations, or of the condition, resources, aims, and affiliations of foreign nations, as fitted him for the bureau which must have in charge our diplomatic intercourse. It was a plain case of a useful man invited to the wrong post; and he seemed himself to recognize his deficiencies, and was transferred immediately, doubtless at his own request, to another position. For the bureau of the Treasury—perhaps at that time the most important of all—a gentleman was named whose sole prominence consisted in his standing as a merchant and importer, but his very pursuit disqualified him by law from accepting the position. The Secretary of the Navy was unknown beyond the city of his residence. He acted for a time as nominal head of the department, under the real direction of a naval officer, but, without having demonstrated his capacity for the place, he soon retired to make way for a lawyer almost as much unknown as himself. For the appointments named, it was difficult to assign any but personal reasons: Mr. Washburn had been the warm friend and faithful supporter of the President, and had perhaps done more for his advancement than any other person; to Mr. Stewart and Mr. Borie he might be supposed grateful for favors he had received from them, and it would be only charitable to infer that his gratitude had influenced his judgment to an extent of which he was totally unaware. Two other names on the list were those of military officers, and of these it is but just to say that their official conduct won for them the favor of the country, and one of them is specially deserving of esteem and gratitude for his intelligent and persevering labors to put an end to the abuses in the public service. The nomination for Attorney-General was in every respect unexceptionable.

The subsequent history of the Cabinet is as remarkable as the original formation. Though the changes were frequent, there never was a time when, as a whole, it could be said to be a body of such ability, character, and fitness as the President might, had he desired it, have called around him. Mr. Fish was made Secretary of State,

and as he has retained this position to the present time, the place has always been well filled. To the secretaryship of the Treasury a gentleman was summoned who had no special fitness for the place, whose statesmanship had never risen above the plane of a narrow and extreme partisan, and who, when he was transferred to the Senate, made way for another of still narrower capacity, who, in the year following his appointment, was compelled to retire in disgrace, because of having permitted, or at least not prevented, certain contracts made by his assistant in fraud of the government. Following this was the appointment of Mr. Bristow, which met with the general and hearty approval of the whole country. Within two years, however, having in the mean time signalized his administration by a most vigorous, determined, and successful war upon revenue frauds, Mr. Bristow found it necessary to retire from a cabinet where his presence was no longer acceptable, and was succeeded by a senator whose partisanship was so extreme and so indiscreet that he was found capable of taking an active part in the presidential campaign of 1876, bringing into it his official character, and giving out in a semi-official way that his assurances from abroad justified him in the statement that upon the retention of his political friends in office depended the credit of the country in foreign markets! And this too at a time when the probabilities favored the election of the opposition candidate.

The post of Attorney-General was creditably filled for little more than a year. A Southern politician was then appointed to it, who was scarcely known as a lawyer before, and has been little heard of since. A year and a half later he was succeeded by Mr. Williams, of Oregon, the reason for whose appointment must as yet be regarded as a mystery. His incompetency was notorious; he distinguished himself by nothing but his failures and by some questionable expenditures in his department. Early in 1875 he was followed by Mr. Edwards Pierrepont, who had been among those who had laid the President under obligations for pecuniary favors. Mr. Pierrepont, like Mr. Taft, who succeeded him in 1876, was respectable, but not remarkable either in point of natural ability or of legal attainments.

Of the other cabinet offices the story is soon told. A Secretary of the Interior, who accepted in good faith the President's declaration in favor of a reform in the civil service, and entered with patriotic spirit and energy into it, found himself in an uncongenial atmosphere, and, in a little more than a year, retired to make way

for those who could make promises equally fair and violate them apparently without compunction. He was followed by Mr. Delano, under whom the civil service, so far as it was within his supervision, was disgraceful beyond all former precedent; and when the country could tolerate him no longer, he was succeeded by Mr. Chandler, whose fitness for his position was supposed to consist in his skill as a party manager. With him the country has had its first experience of a cabinet officer giving his time, attention, and energy to the management of the party "machine," as chairman of the party executive committee; and for the honor of the country—not to say for the perpetuity of its institutions—it is to be hoped it has had its last. His duty required him at the very time he was so acting to take part in cabinet councils, in which was to be decided the very delicate question of how the military force should be employed and stationed during the elections, and it required more than human charity to believe that his judgment as an officer would be secure against being influenced by his anxiety as a party manager. The Secretary of War died before the expiration of his first year's service. He was succeeded by a military officer unknown to the country when he took office. He made himself conspicuous by a dispatch in approval of the action of another military officer in one of the Southern States, who had recommended that one section of the people be declared "banditti" and turned over to him for military trial and punishment, and he finally resigned his office in haste, to escape punishment for the sale of a post tradership. His successor was known to the public only as the son of one of the most wily and unscrupulous political managers in the country. In 1874 great satisfaction was given to the country by the exchange of Mr. Creswell for Mr. Jewell, as Postmaster-General. The latter bore at his appointment, and still retains, the general confidence, but he was not permitted to retain the office. He was thrust out early in the campaign of 1876, to make place for an Indiana politician of little note, who was popularly supposed to have been appointed for his skill in managing local elections. He was appointed not to see that the mails were carried, but to see that Indiana was carried.

Such were the leading political appointments of a president who, not being, as he well understood, a statesman himself, but called to the head of the government at a period demanding the highest order of statesmanship, was confidently relied upon to bring to his assistance the best that the country afforded.

The earliest of the diplomatic appointments were generally creditable, and some of them in the highest degree praiseworthy. Of the latter was the appointment of Mr. Motley to the mission to England. But like most of the President's unexceptionable appointments, this of Mr. Motley was not permitted to be permanent. He was a man on whose integrity and honor no suspicion ever fastened, and he was supplanted by one who allowed his official character to be used to float a questionable speculation, and who was finally compelled to resign, to confront—but unsuccessfully—the censures of Congress. Like Mr. Motley, he became an author: the one was the historian of the great struggles for liberty in the Low Countries, and the other explained to foreign peoples the mysteries of the favorite game of the Mississippi gamblers. If the one was eminent, the other was at least notorious. Some other appointments were discreditable; that of minister to Spain particularly so. It was that of a politician bankrupt in character and reputation, of dissolute habits, and who, if he possessed a single qualification for the position, never manifested it.

As regards the judicial office, the President exhibited most unmistakably either an inability to appreciate the qualities demanded by it, or complete indifference to its being properly filled. The appointment of Mr. Richardson to the Court of Claims was an illustration of this truth; the facts which required his withdrawal from the Treasury left him subject to serious suspicions, but he was immediately transferred to that court where, of all others, perhaps, integrity is most likely to be assailed, and a want of vigilance most likely to be taken advantage of by schemers. But this appointment was a small matter in comparison with the treatment of the Chief-Justiceship. When that exalted position, which had always been graced by gentlemen of the very highest ability and the strictest integrity, was left vacant by the death of Mr. Chase, the country was astonished and its indignation aroused by the nomination to it of a person who, as Attorney-General, had discredited his position by the narrowest partisanship, by signal incompetency, and by a doubtful if not an illegal use of the public moneys. But this was a nomination that even partisanship could not sanction, and the President's influence proved utterly futile to secure its confirmation. When this became certain, it was followed by the nomination of Mr. Caleb Cushing. Here at least were respectable ability and eminent attainments; and Mr. Cushing, though formerly extreme in his Democratic notions, had managed,

with a facility in accommodating himself to circumstances for which he was noted, to obtain favor and be considerably employed in official circles in Washington. The accidental discovery of a letter from him to his old friend and associate, Mr. Jefferson Davis, written after secession had been inaugurated, saved the country from his confirmation, and left the way open to a third nomination, which was so much better than the others that the country drew a long breath of relief and accepted it with general satisfaction.

Two of the appointments to the bench of the Supreme Court have often been attributed to a purpose to secure the reversal of the decision made by the court against the legal-tender act; but the charge was never proved, and the circumstances surrounding the nomination tended to disprove it. It acquired credence with many from the facts that, with the court divided as it was shown to be by the decision, the votes of the two new judges would control on a new hearing, and that the administration immediately became active in securing a rehearing. Why it should have been desired by the administration is not apparent. The act, in its application to pre-existing contracts, had done infinite injustice, and it was not clear that any corresponding good had resulted. It was an extreme measure, which forced people to take discredited paper where they were entitled to gold, and it could only be justified, like any forcible appropriation of private property, by a national extremity too desperate to admit of choice. The decision that had been made had produced no mischief, and if suffered to stand there was reason to believe it would have a valuable influence in restoring the normal condition of things in financial affairs. At any rate, it was in the direction of giving strength and vigor to the public credit, and it gave assurance to both public and private creditors that the laws of trade and the obligations of contracts were not to be set aside by laws of Congress. Such an emergency as had produced the act was not again to be looked for, and if it arose, the known illegality of any particular action would not prevent its being adopted and enforced for the emergency if it seemed imperative. But the understanding that all arbitrary action is illegal is the chief protection against its being taken at such times; it forces legislators, from a prudent regard to their own fortunes, to search diligently for lawful methods before those which are doubtful are tried. No man's property would be safe in times of excitement and alarm if it were known that the law permitted it to be taken and gave the owner no redress.

The diplomatic intercourse of the administration was managed by the able and accomplished Secretary of State with skill, and in general with satisfactory results. The government acted wisely in resisting the clamor for an interference in the affairs of Cuba, at a time when internal dissensions rendered Spain powerless to protect her distant possessions. The difficulties which sprung up between the two countries were settled in a manner satisfactory to the people, and in the main honorable to our sense of justice. The Burlingame treaty with China has had results the benefits of which are in dispute, but the welcome which the country gave it is a full justification for its acceptance. With Germany, satisfactory negotiations were had, recognizing, in the language of Mr. Bancroft, "the right of emigration as an inalienable and natural right, not limited by any duty to the original government, except where the performance of that duty had been formally initiated." The extension of arrangements for the extradition of fugitives from justice was kept continually in view in our foreign negotiations, the only thing in that connection which was fairly the subject of criticism being the interruption of relations with Great Britain, which it would seem ought to have been avoided by a frank acceptance of the principle that the person extradited can only be tried on the charge to which he was surrendered. The settlement of the difficulties with Great Britain, which grew out of the civil war, and those connected with boundaries on the Pacific, was the most satisfactory of all the negotiations, and was sufficient of itself to justify awarding to Mr. Fish a high rank among diplomatists and statesmen. The treaty concluded in 1871 was a full and frank acceptance by Great Britain of the American view regarding the obligation of neutrals to use due diligence to prevent their territory, ports, or waters being made use of as a base of hostile operations, and to prevent the departure from their jurisdiction of vessels which there is reasonable ground to believe are intended to cruise or carry on war against a friendly power. In the tribunal of arbitration which the treaty provided for, the United States was represented by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and with counsel of corresponding ability; the management of the arbitration was every way honorable to the United States, and resulted in conclusions likely to establish permanent relations of peace between the two countries.

In contrast with the British negotiations may be placed those for the annexation of San Domingo, in which the President interested himself personally, pushing them with a perseverance it was diffi-

cult to account for. Every feature of these negotiations was remarkable. They were had with a revolutionary leader who had seized upon the government, but whose retention of power was extremely frail and uncertain, and actually seemed to require, and certainly received, the naval support of the United States while the negotiations were pending. They were conducted on the part of the United States not through the ordinary channels, but through a military officer who had been retained by the President as a member of his household; a man in whose integrity the country early lost confidence; who soon became suspected of jobbery at the expense of the government; who was afterward indicted for frauds upon the government, and again for an attempt to fasten a simulated crime upon a private individual, and, though in each instance the verdict of the jury discharged him, was never relieved in the public mind from the damaging suspicions which connected him with these offences. The treaty which was agreed upon by the President's agent contemplated an annexation to the United States of a part of an island whose people were in almost perpetual warfare with those of the other part; it proposed to confer the rights of American citizenship upon a half-civilized people of mixed Spanish and negro blood, superstitious in a high degree, who had never exhibited any hopeful capacity for self-government, or any intelligent appreciation of the benefits of settled institutions. From the stand-point of a people unfit to govern themselves and needing the strong hand of a master something might be said in favor of the proposition; but it is scarcely to be supposed that it was in this light the people of San Domingo were prepared to welcome it. From the stand-point of our own interests it required no little courage to attempt the task of pointing out advantages; but this courage the President possessed. When the public sentiment had manifested itself in the most unmistakable manner in hostility to the scheme, the President urged it upon the Senate in a special message which, in its extraordinary assumptions, has no parallel. According to this message the semi-barbarous people of the island "yearn for the protection of our free institutions and laws, our progress and civilization." The possession of the country by the United States "will in a few years build up a coastwise commerce of immense magnitude, which will go far toward restoring to us our lost merchant marine. It will give to us those articles which we consume so largely and do not produce, thus equalizing our exports and imports. In case of foreign war it will give us command of all the

islands referred to, and thus prevent an enemy from ever again possessing himself of a rendezvous on our very coast." "San Domingo with a stable government will give remunerative wages to tens of thousands of laborers not now upon the island. This labor will take advantage of every available means of transportation to abandon the adjacent islands, and seek the blessings of freedom and its sequence, each inhabitant receiving the reward of his own labor. Porto Rico and Cuba will have to abolish slavery, as a measure of self-preservation, to retain their laborers. San Domingo will become a large consumer of the products of northern farms and manufactories. The cheap rate at which the citizen can be furnished with food, tools, and machinery will make it necessary that the contiguous islands should have the same advantages in order to compete in the production of sugar, coffee, tobacco, tropical fruits, etc. This will open to us a still wider market for our products. The production of our supply of these articles will cut off more than \$100,000,000 of our annual imports, besides largely increasing our exports. With such a picture it is easy to see how our large debt abroad is ultimately to be extinguished. With a balance of trade against us, including interest on bonds held by foreigners and money spent by citizens traveling in foreign lands, equal to the entire yield of the precious metals in this country, it is not so easy to see how this result is otherwise to be accomplished."

When the local notoriety of Buncombe County attains the height of his ambition and takes his seat in Congress, we are prepared to expect talk of this sort, and are not likely to make the mistake of supposing that it is addressed to any other audience than that of the intelligent constituency which has chosen him its representative. But when the President addresses the Senate in this language, and with an appearance of seriousness advances the idea of paying our national debt by buying a country that fails to pay even the salaries of its officials, conjecture regarding the motive is likely to be wholly at fault, and we can only listen in wonder while the advantages to flow from annexation are summed up, closing with, "a rapid stride towards that greatness which the intelligence, industry, and enterprise of the citizens of the United States entitle this country to assume among the nations." Assume, indeed! It is clear enough, one would suppose, that any "greatness" to be attained by thus buying a country of a revolutionary autocrat, who was being propped up and kept in position by a show of force long enough to enable him to go through the forms of a sale, must be

altogether a greatness "assumed" rather than achieved or conceded. The President's eloquence, however, proved wholly inadequate to convince the Senate; and if the unhappy people of San Domingo continued to "yearn" for the blessings of our institutions, their desires were never sufficiently demonstrative to attract attention, and they soon consoled themselves with a new revolution in which the ruler who had endeavored to sell them was driven from power.

The eagerness with which this scheme was pushed by the President induced him to look coldly upon some of his most able and powerful supporters, and with Mr. Sumner the coldness ripened into a breach that was never healed. That accomplished statesman, who, more than any other living American with the possible exception of Mr. Seward, understood whatever the wise management of our foreign relations required should be known, and who was known and esteemed by the statesmen of foreign countries, was at last forced from his position as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate, and the place supplied by one who, in character, standing, and familiarity with the duties of the place, was perhaps less fitted to fill it than any other prominent member of the body. Mr. Sumner, in length of service in the cause which the Republican Party represented, in devotion to its principles, in the earnestness and unselfishness with which he had advocated them, and in the ability which he had displayed in doing so, was at that time the leading personage in the Senate and in the party, if we leave out of view Mr. Chase, then on the bench. The President's demand for his humiliation was one of the many proofs which he gave to the country that personal loyalty to himself was a condition of his favor, and that apparently he looked upon a party as he would upon an army, as an organization to be moved by a single head and subjected to strict rules of subordination. Of the party as a thinking body of men, actuated by certain great principles which they proposed to make effective in the politics of the country, Mr. Sumner was the leader; but of the party as a working machine the President and his personal favorites took control, and Mr. Sumner, with Mr. Schurz, Mr. Trumbull, and many others of the most faithful and useful members, were shown the outer door.

Something akin to the Dominican negotiations was the affair of sending an executive agent to the Samoan Islands to carry out some scheme which was neither revealed to the country nor to the other branch of the treaty-making power. The agent according to his own account was "hailed with great enthusiasm by the natives,"

and he proceeded to give them a "constitution" under the protectorate of the United States, and to have himself elected prime minister for life. The constitution provided for representative institutions and free schools, and it might possibly have answered in an admirable manner the purposes of a people who had some idea what free institutions meant; but in the absence of intelligent notions on that subject the "enthusiasm" subsided, and the protectorate, which never had a particle of authority and was the subject of derision in the United States, was allowed to disappear.

The dealings with the Indians may properly be mentioned in this connection. We wish it might truly be said that a reform was inaugurated in the Indian policy of the government, but truth forbids this. The first important measure of this administration was the appointment of a Peace Commission, composed of men whose principles placed them in opposition to all wars, and with whom charity abounded to an extent that led them to believe that even the savages, if justly treated, would gradually abandon their savage nature, and learn to accommodate themselves to civilized ways. This well-meant attempt proved a speedy failure—and perhaps failure was inevitable—but the commissioners seem to have believed that they were not properly supported in certain official circles. Then the President adopted the policy of apportioning the Indian agencies among the religious denominations. This he must have done either on the ground that those who professed certain religious beliefs and attached themselves to certain organizations were more likely to deal fairly and honorably than others, or that the agents, in their official action, would operate more cordially and effectively with the missions than would others. If the policy is sound, it is equally applicable to all officers in any way connected with Indian affairs—the governors, judges, and marshals of the territories, the Indian Commissioner, the Secretary of the Interior, the Committees on Indian Affairs in the two Houses of Congress—nay, even the President himself—for why should certain qualities be required in a subordinate and not in the superior who directs and may control and reverse his action? But such a policy once accepted could not be limited by its reasons to one branch of the public service: if sound at all, all appointments ought to be made on due inquiry into religious professions and denominational affiliations, for in all offices the qualities which we understand to be present in a genuine Christian character are important. Unfortunately, religious professions usu-

ally give us but slight insight into the real character, and they would speedily become a mere mask for the character and cover for knavery if it were understood that valuable places were only obtainable by means of them. Moreover, the spirit of our institutions and of the Constitution itself forbids that religious tests should be admitted as a qualification for official positions, or that religious denominations should be known to the law for any purpose whatever except for the protection of their rights and the preservation of their liberty of religious thought and action. To give them special privileges is to invade the liberties of others, for our system is one of complete equality of right and privilege.

It still remains the policy of the country to furnish supplies to Indians as tribes on reservations, instead of requiring of them some individual exertion for their own support. This furnishes the occasion for a number of valuable post traderships, and it leads to a great many valuable contracts. Nothing but the most careful, thorough, and conscientious supervision on the part of those having the service in charge can prevent corruption; for the opportunities for fraud are numerous, and the contracts are performed where supervision is difficult. The opportunities have been as diligently cultivated during this administration as ever, and the character of the supervision during a portion of the time was such as tended to encourage corruption rather than to check it. That under Secretary Belknap the post traderships were jobs was notorious, the Secretary himself participating in them, and Mr. Orville Grant taking his share, with grateful expressions towards his brother for pointing out to him the opportunities for making money without investing either capital or labor. The management of Indian affairs by Secretary Delano and Commissioner Smith became the subject of such general suspicion and of such specific charges that at last the President felt compelled to take notice of them, which he did in the somewhat extraordinary way of turning the charges over to the Secretary for investigation. The Commission appointed by the Secretary for the purpose made a friendly report, which was nevertheless damaging, and the Secretary and the Commissioner retired from office. Whether affairs have been better managed since that time, the public probably know as little as does Mr. Secretary Chandler. Both have for the past year been too busy with election matters to give much attention to Indian affairs.

An Indian treaty may be said to be a bargain concluded between the United States as the first party and certain tribes or bands,

acting through parties whom it is convenient to recognize as their representatives, as the second party, by which the latter are made to surrender something and to make certain promises which at their peril they must fulfil, but between the lines of which may be read an understanding that the first party is to observe it so long—and no longer—as suits the purposes of those in power. If an Indian treaty were not so often a fraud, it would be usually a farce ; for the Indians who can be treated with are very generally mere needy dependents, who must do what is required of them. Moreover, chieftainship among them is determined by no definite rules ; authority depends on a public sentiment, which is only expressed by submission ; and in order to determine what this sentiment is, what jurisdiction it concedes, and how far it extends, the commissioners who undertake to negotiate with the tribes need the keen insight into the thoughts and unexpressed purposes of others, and the unfailing judgment of a returning board. A law passed in 1871 wisely put an end to the farce of dealing with the Indians as States ; and though some intimations have since been thrown out that the Senate would treat the law as unconstitutional, we must assume that this is unlikely. It is decidedly the best measure in Indian policy that the eight years can show : it is in the right direction, and ought gradually to lead to considering the Indian as an individual, who, if he is worth sparing and worth feeding, is also worth being made to care for and feed himself.

The Indian war of 1875-6, in which was sacrificed a considerable force led by the most daring and chivalrous cavalry officer the civil war had produced, was the direct and inevitable result of a treaty, and of allowing the same to be openly violated by our citizens. Custer and his brave men were sent to the slaughter, where only common honesty and the observance of treaty stipulations were requisite to prevent the spilling of blood. The war will end with appropriating the lands upon which our people had trespassed ; but the land would under any circumstances have been taken when the public sentiment on the frontier demanded it. The frontier people will never recognize the title of an Indian to land until he is found in the occupation of it and is obtaining his living upon it like a civilized being. Occupation and improvement will command respect for his title, but nothing short of these will.

When Mr. Morton announced to Gen. Grant his election to the Presidency, he informed the latter that “the friends of liberty throughout the world” cherished the highest hopes that during his

administration "the work of reconstruction will be accomplished, the wounds of civil war healed, and that our country will take a new departure in progress and prosperity." Mr. Morton and his party were not alone in these hopes, but the country at large, and particularly that portion of it then under treatment for the wounds of civil war, cherished them also. Gen. Grant himself had been sent south by President Johnson early in the administration of the latter, and had reported favorably upon the condition of public sentiment. It was not believed that he cherished extreme views, or that he harbored vindictive feelings. Nor is it probable that those who relied upon the President's disposition to deal fairly and even liberally with the Southern States were at all mistaken in that regard; but his ignorance in civil affairs, which in some cases, and particularly in his first choice of a cabinet, was conspicuous and mortifying, seems very early to have thrown him into the hands of managing politicians, and these were mainly of the extreme type, who made up in bitterness what they lacked in breadth. The politicians from the South who were most about him were generally adventurers, who found the power of the government a convenient instrument for the furtherance of personal schemes, and who did not scruple to make use of their influence with the President to that end. Among these was one of the President's brothers-in-law, who amazed the country by his daring disregard of the rights of the State which he had chosen as the scene of his operations. The northern politicians who surrounded the President were largely of a similar stripe: Mr. Cameron, Mr. Creswell, Mr. Chandler, Mr. Delano, Mr. G. H. Williams, Mr. Butler, Mr. Boutwell. Was it to be expected of such men that they would deal generously with a fallen foe, or was it within the compass of partisanship like theirs that their opponents should be treated with judicial fairness? Republican leaders who were disposed to amnesty and a real oblivion for past offences were elbowed out of place, and at last driven to the rear. Mr. Trumbull as a leader made way for Mr. Logan, Mr. Schurz for Mr. Clayton and his like, and even Mr. Greeley was compelled to take position in the rear; while Wendell Phillips, who had abused the President in coarse language previous to his election, now advanced to the front, ready to lavish praises on the southern policy in proportion as it ventured on questionable ground, and eager to demonstrate that, though he had talked liberty for forty years, he had still no conception of the

fundamental principles by the maintenance of which alone can constitutional liberty be possible.

The labors of reconstruction were nominally completed in 1870. Had the course of the managing men of the party in power been wise and conciliatory, had it been actuated by high motives and statesmanlike views, and had the men who represented the party in the Southern States been men who were laboring for the good of their section rather than for the advancement of their own personal interests, it is not to be doubted that the administration would have been able to attach to itself the support of a majority of the Southern people. The colored people were naturally its friends. The patronage of the administration was large, and it would have drawn a strong support to the party had it been distributed wisely and from an evident desire to accomplish only the purposes for which offices are created. Moreover, the Southern people needed peace and quiet to recuperate their exhausted interests, and while many hotheads were disposed to be violent and troublesome, the best and most influential of them, of whom the late vice-president of the Confederacy was an example, were disposed to accept with gratitude such advances of their late enemies as promised to render peace possible and permanent. But as, unfortunately, all were not of this class, the persons who had the President's ear, and who assumed to speak for the party in Congress, found it convenient for their purposes to present the impracticable and the violent as the proper representatives of Southern sentiment, and to speak of and deal with the Southern people as unrepentant rebels who were to be held down by the strong hand. That the white people of the South were alienated from the Republican Party was not surprising. It was almost a matter of course that the control of the Southern States should pass to the Democratic Party, for it was quite impossible to retain all the freedmen in one party, while their late masters, the persons upon whom they now relied for employment, were mainly to be found in the other. The "color line" was drawn when the narrow policy of extreme partisans among the Republican leaders arrayed against them Southern whites; the drawing of it indeed left some white leaders among the freedmen, but it did not prevent a still greater number of the latter following the political fortunes of those with whose material interests their own were so closely identified; and the political ascendancy of the Republican Party in the Southern States was lost permanently.

The breach between the administration and the white people of

the South reached its climax in 1873, when the federal officers were permitted to make use of a government vessel and the army to set up a State government in Louisiana which the people believed had been defeated at the polls, and when a military officer was allowed to judge of the election of members of the legislature, and to seat one set of claimants and eject the others from the legislative hall. The spirit in which this was done may be understood from the telegram of the Attorney-General to the parties who proposed to lay their grievances before the President, that their visit would be unavailing, and that the President's decision was already made. This condemnation without a hearing was never opened, and the government set up by force proceeded to perpetuate its power by establishing a returning board, in whose hands every thing was possible, and against whose action protests and ballots might alike be in vain. This most daring and unconstitutional employment of the military to control the civil government, which will find no previous parallel in American history, and none in English since the desperate struggle between prerogative and liberty in the first half of the seventeenth century, was repeated in South Carolina in 1876, a military officer being again made the judge of the election of members of the legislature, and a majority of one house, whose right to their seats no one disputed, being kept by military force from their seats, while a minority went through the forms of legislation and of the election of a senator.

This was the crowning act of a campaign which in some respects was the most remarkable that the country has ever witnessed. The Republican nominating convention of 1876, passing by the party leaders who were identified with the policy of the administration, nominated a gentleman of moderate views, and placed him upon a platform of reform in the civil service, and of pacification and peace at the South. No sooner, however, was the convention adjourned than the administration took the canvass in charge, the Secretary of the Interior acting as chief manager, and the old war-cry was raised on every stump in the country. The Southern people were denounced as rebels, ready on any new pretext to rush into revolt, and the people of the North were summoned to "vote as they fought" and save the government from the hands of traitors. The platform of the convention and the letter of acceptance were alike ignored by the most active and acceptable speakers, and a campaign of detraction and hate was carried on in a manner calculated to impress upon the people the idea that in proportion as the

wounds of civil war were torn open and made to bleed anew would the interests of the country be subserved. In this manner it was that the administration fostered peace and promoted reconciliation.

The prominent feature of the financial policy has been the collection of heavy taxes, and by means thereof reducing the national debt. Meantime an inflated currency, and the enormous gifts made by the government to corporations, and the wild speculations and schemes to which these naturally led, were followed by a great financial collapse in which the business of the country was prostrated. More than three years have since elapsed, and business seems still prostrate, while enormous burdens, mainly in the shape of customs duties graduated to aid particular interests, are heaped upon it. The resumption of specie payments has been left to be determined in the course of time by circumstances. For a while a notion prevailed at the Treasury Department that there might be temporary expansions of the currency by government issues to meet the wants of trade and enable the crops to be moved, but this passed away when Mr. Bristow took office. The President deserves credit for a stubborn resistance to the schemes of the inflationists, who, though most powerful in the opposition, were also numerous in his own party, and seemed at one time likely to obtain control. But no effectual steps were taken in the direction of fulfilling the promise to pay which is made by the treasury notes. A statute promises specie payments in 1879, but in preparations for meeting them we are no farther advanced than we were in 1869. A discreditable occurrence in financial management was the displacement of the Barings as the foreign bankers of the government. The Barings had been government agents so long, their credit was so firm, and their dealings with the government had been so honorable and so liberal, that the country had a right to expect that some very substantial reason would be assigned for the change. No such reason was ever heard of. Investigation uncovered a job, and showed that though the parties officially responsible may have been honest in the transaction, there was corruption in the movers, to whose schemes the officials had weakly yielded. It surprised few people when the American house which had secured the agency, by means to which a strong house would never have descended, was compelled to suspend payments.

It is in the matter of a reform in the civil service that the disappointment of the country with General Grant has been greatest of all. In order that the extent of this disappointment may be

distinctly presented, we reproduce from a journal which gave him hearty support a portion of an editorial which appeared just previous to his election, but after the election had become reasonably certain, and which fairly expressed the prevailing sentiment :

"Grant is not a regular politician. He will be the first President the country has had for many a long day on whom old party doctrines as to spoils and claims will have no influence. He has been bred in a very different and a very much better school—a school in which honor and merit are still words that mean something, and that still stand for forces in human affairs. He has shown, too, in his administration of the army, that he knows a good man when he sees him, and that as soon as he sees him he clasps him to him with hooks of steel. He is by education and temperament the foe of jobbers, intriguers, and flatterers, and will undoubtedly apply to the civil service, in so far as he can, the rules of selection and promotion by the aid of which he has given such splendid illustration to American military annals. We may therefore look for, at his hands, in the first place, if he gets a fair amount of support from the Senate, the formation of a cabinet in which knowledge and ability will count for a great deal, and the claims of localities and party usages for very little. . . . The attempts to reform the whole civil service in which Mr. Jenckes and Mr. Patterson are engaged, and which will be renewed when Congress meets, will undoubtedly receive from him an amount of hearty support such as no regular politician would give them. He, like all military and naval officers, will, when brought into actual contact with the diplomatic, revenue, and postal service, be sickened by the spectacle of disorder and corruption which they offer, and will do what he can to make them what the army and navy are—a credit to the country instead of a shame and a scandal."

For a time the President gave evidence of an intention to fulfill these expectations. Mr. Cox, who was made Secretary of the Interior, was earnestly and intelligently in favor of a thorough and effectual reform. The President himself advocated such a reform, and, under legislation permitting it, a commission, composed of persons fully possessed of the public confidence, was appointed to initiate it. But long before the President's first term had expired it was made perfectly evident to all but those whose hopes led captive their reason, that all expectation of a reform with the assistance of the President was visionary. The men who chiefly had his confidence hooted at and ridiculed every scheme that was proposed. The earnestness of Mr. Cox made him to the leaders an unwelcome member of the cabinet, and he felt himself compelled to retire from it. The scandals in the customs service grew every year more numerous and shocking. A young army officer, having no claims to favor except such as might be found in his intimacy with members of the President's military household, was enabled to obtain control of the bonded warehouse business in

New York, and to retain it for some years in spite of the protests of commercial houses, and of others who, from their connection with commerce, were entitled to have their wishes consulted. Political assessments upon officers of every grade were openly made and enforced. The collection of sums due to the government was farmed out to private parties, under contracts which were enormously profitable, and in some instances the contractors were permitted to make use of the same governmental machinery for the collection of public dues for their own benefit which should have made the collection for the government itself. When it was found that a general dissatisfaction was conducting many Republicans to the ranks of the opposition, a new interest in reform was feigned for a time, but after the election of 1872 few of the leaders troubled themselves with the matter until the exigencies of another campaign seemed to render advisable the renewal of dishonored promises. A leading senator declared that our civil service was the best the world ever saw; and the President, if he did not accept this assertion as strictly true, was plainly enough satisfied to abide by it as good enough for him.

The most widespread and alarming manifestations of corruption in the public service were met with in the administration of the internal revenue laws, mainly in connection with the tax on whisky. When Mr. Bristow was called to the Department of the Treasury, he set on foot a thorough investigation of this service, and, with the efficient assistance of Mr. Bluford Wilson and Mr. Elmer Washburn, he was not long in discovering that in some sections of the country robberies of the government were being perpetrated to an enormous extent, at which the officials connived, sometimes actively participating, and always, probably, sharing the plunder. The exposure of the frauds was like a shock of an earthquake, so widespread were they, and so sudden and unexpected the developments. Many of the accused parties stood so fair before the community that the charges for the time were received with the utmost incredulity, and when, under the stress of the conclusive evidence against them, one and another came forward to confess their guilt, it seemed as though all confidence in honor and integrity was about to give way. At length some persons who had been the President's intimates were indicted, and it began to be whispered that the authorities would not venture to punish them lest it might lead to disclosures which would compromise persons high in authority. It was under such circumstances that the President was induced to give his famous order to "let no

guilty man escape," which for a time satisfied the public mind that he was earnestly in sympathy with Mr. Bristow in his war upon official speculation and dishonesty. At last the President's private secretary was indicted. This was the same man who had manipulated the scheme for the annexation of Dominica, and who after it failed was connected with a company which leased the Samana harbor, and obtained from the revolutionary ruler concessions which could possibly be of no value except as a means or an excuse for inducing intervention by our government at some future time in the internal affairs of that country. His connection with improvements which had been made in the city of Washington under the administration of two District governors had led to suspicions that he was not properly guarding the government against frauds; and for this and other reasons, which it is not now important to go into, he had lost the confidence of the country. A coldness between the President and Mr. Bristow is traceable to the time of this indictment. A confidential circular to the government prosecuting officers was allowed to fall into the private secretary's hands, and was effectively employed on his behalf, and subordinate treasury officials openly gave him their countenance and support without incurring the President's displeasure. Leading friends of the latter subscribed to a fund in his aid, and the case was made to assume the appearance of a prosecution which the administration desired should be unsuccessful. His acquittal, which followed without relieving him from the imputations in the public mind, left a breach between the President and Mr. Bristow which it was impossible to heal.

When Mr. Bristow left, a tide of executive clemency set in in favor of the convicted thieves, and a tide of disfavor equally strong pursued those who had been active in convicting them. The latter one by one retired from public office or were dismissed; the former one by one came out of prison to confront them. One man who had pleaded guilty, and who had handled a quarter of a million of moneys stolen from the government, was pardoned after a nominal imprisonment on the payment of \$10,000—less than five per centum of what he had stolen. Thus miserably was brought to a conclusion a war upon fraud and official speculation which for a time seemed to promise us a purer atmosphere in the official service, by which integrity and official honor would be invigorated and strengthened.

Perhaps in no particular was the contempt of the administration for civil-service reform more conspicuously manifested than in its open assumption that the government was to be conducted in the

interest of the party which had elected it. All through the two Presidential terms, cabinet officers were prominent in politics and employed their official positions, as if they supposed the country they were to consider was that portion of the people which supported the administration by their votes. Even Mr. Taft, after the election of 1876, seemed to understand that it was a part of his official duty to furnish opinions in aid of the party; sometimes, as in the case of ineligible electors, on questions which only for party purposes could be before him. The conduct of the canvass was in open defiance of all just rules of civil service, and probably the assessments for political purposes, though now forbidden by law, were never more relentless. At the nominating conventions, at the political gatherings, and at the polls the office-holders were present, prepared to express the "public sentiment" which was communicated to them from head-quarters, to work up the enthusiasm and to keep the doubtful in harness. Like an army with banners, they were manœuvred by the word of command, and no body of men ever knew better than they did that, politically, theirs was but "to do or die." Nothing in recent politics justified a single one of them in supposing that his position would be secure for a day if he failed in giving efficient support to Mr. Chandler. And it is exceedingly significant as showing the notions that prevailed in official circles, that while a military officer was dealing as he pleased with the government of one of the States, the President could treat the whole matter from the stand-point merely of party interest, and wonder if he could be expected to do that which would defeat his party. So low in the estimation of some persons had fallen the rights of a State in the American Union!

Who is responsible for this degradation and corruption of the civil service? Not the President primarily, that is certain. The service was corrupted when he came to it, and he only added to the corruption. But the leading members of Congress are far more blamable than himself. Had they insisted upon a reform, the President would have been powerless to resist; but the President in attempting it was moving upon a new field where he must rely almost entirely upon the advice and direction of others. If this advice was unfriendly to the reform, it required more aptitude for civil affairs than the President ever displayed to enable him to act wisely in spite of it. And this was precisely the character of the advice the President, in the main, received. A few influential persons talked reform and meant it; others equally influential talked it

and did not mean it, while still others openly ridiculed and scorned it. Offices were the perquisites of members of Congress: they claimed appointments as a matter of right; they got their own nominations and elections by means of them; they found them an important means of party discipline and a fund by means of which to control elections; in short, the very evils of which "theorists" and "men of letters" and "schoolmasters" complained, when demanding civil-service reform, constituted the chief advantages which attached the "practical men" in Congress to the system. The reform therefore continued to be blocked, because the interest of those who must bring it about stood in the way; and senators continued gravely to go through the farce of considering the merits of, and giving the "advice and consent" of the Senate to, appointments which they themselves had dictated, and which were made to advance their personal interests.

But the resistance of members of Congress to a proposed reform can not relieve the President of a large share of responsibility and blame. His want of familiarity with civil affairs could not excuse the notion, upon which he seemed constantly to act, that somehow he had a sort of property in his office which it was proper he should make use of to gratify the wishes and advance the interests of his friends. Only in this way can we account for the fact that he appointed to public stations many of his near relatives and other intimates who had no special fitness for their positions, and adhered to them persistently after the public dissatisfaction was manifested. Casey at New Orleans, Leet at New York, Babcock and Shepherd at Washington, Delano in the Interior Department, and Richardson in the Treasury, were conspicuous illustrations of the pertinacity with which he clung to discredited officers while they were "under fire" of an adverse public sentiment. He would have made Williams Chief Justice after his incompetency as a law officer had been thoroughly demonstrated, and he would have set at defiance the public sentiment that demanded the removal of Shepherd from the control of District affairs, if the Senate could have been induced to sustain him. When the President's chaplain desired to visit foreign lands, he received from the President a nominal appointment "to inspect consulates," and went off to enjoy himself and write a book of travels at the expense of the government. But why give instances? What wonder that the counsel for the Secretary of War, after he had been driven from his office by the discovery of his sale of an appointment, could make use in his defence of lan-

guage like the following: "That the present Chief Magistrate has taken large gifts from his friends is a fact as well known as any other fact in the history of the country. He did it openly, without an attempt at concealment or denial. He not only received money and lands and houses and goods, amounting in the aggregate to an enormous sum, but he conformed the policy of his administration to the interests and wishes of the donors. Nay, he did more than that; he appointed the men who brought him these gifts to the highest offices he could bestow in return. Does any body assert that General Grant was guilty of an impeachable crime in taking these presents, even though the receipt of them was followed by official favors extended to the givers? Do we not all regard him still as one of the greatest heroes and sages the world has produced? Instead of being impeached and ignominiously removed from office, he was flattered and re-elected. This all happens justly upon the legal principle which commands you to presume every thing in favor of innocence. General Grant's wealthy friends in New York gave him money, not with any evil design upon his integrity, but because it was a pleasure to themselves; and the President appointed them to office afterward, not because they had bought his favor, but because he thought the public good required it. This is the just and legal conclusion in every case where there is no proof of a bargain and no distinct evidence of an intent to influence or be influenced corruptly. Is the law a respecter of persons? Does not a presumption which applies to the President in the plenitude of his power apply with equal force, and even with stronger reasons, to his fallen minister?"

In early times the people of the towns sometimes sold the office of collector at public auction, and cast their votes for the man who offered to perform the service for the least money. It was not a creditable transaction, but what the officer deducted from the legal compensation was at least saved to the town. The federal offices are now sold openly and unblushingly, and members of Congress are the auctioneers. The questions to the bidders are, "What will you and your friends do to advance my political fortunes? What skill have you in managing the conventions? What strings of influence can you pull, what papers can you influence, what sums raise, to aid me and keep the party in power?" Probably the direct payment of money is sometimes secretly demanded for public appointments, but this is thought dishonorable, and would be condemned by the men who sell offices for influence. Why should it be? The

one transaction is no more dishonorable than the other; in either case what is given is at the expense of the government; and in this the transaction differs from a sale by the town of its collectorship. If the appointment is paid for in service, the government service suffers; indeed, in many cases the understanding has been found to be that the appointee shall perform nominal service for the government and substantial service for his patron and his party. The assessments he pays in money are only an indirect tax which the party in this manner levies upon the government it runs. One political committee actually made its assessments on official compensation, not on the basis of what the law allowed, but of what might illegally be exacted; assessing one officer who might honestly collect \$6000 on an official revenue of \$50,000. This seemed scandalous, but the committee exhibited righteous indignation when payment was refused. They were right if the theory of the civil service which prevails in official circles is right. It is just as honest and just as legitimate to cheat in money as to cheat in service. But the present system not merely robs the government of service; it gives it poor service. A change in the member of Congress changes the local officers; for each leading politician has his own blowers and strikers with whom he bargains. When a Presidential election takes place, all the officials understand that their own heads are a part of the prize for which the enemy is contending, and they naturally struggle with desperation when they know that on the result depends the subsistence of their own wives and children. A large portion of Washington, when a change in administration takes place, sets up a wail of despair, which one or more families will repeat in every hamlet of the country. What business have we to wonder and feel indignant when election frauds are committed by officials with whom every thing is thus at stake?

It is painful to an American citizen to be compelled to employ words of condemnation in speaking of an administration which was so cordially welcomed, and which might easily have been popular and have performed acts of signal value. But the full truth would not at all relieve the picture which has been presented. The administration has failed to contribute to the healing of the wounds of civil war. It has failed to restore our currency to a sound condition, and has kept afloat the discredited and depreciated notes of the government. It found the Indian service corrupt, and it will leave it so. It found the civil service corrupt, and it has added steadily and greatly to the scandals. It has given to the country lessons in

the arbitrary employment of military force in civil affairs such as Jackson never ventured upon, and the like of which in Great Britain would have brought condign punishment on every person responsible therefor. If we could conceive as possible a similar advance in the direction of a discretionary use of authority for another eight years, we might be certain that a revolution had been accomplished, and that the rights of the States, instead of being what had been agreed upon in forming the Constitution, had become such only as the President with a squad of soldiers should think proper to concede to them.

Over against the mischiefs above enumerated are to be placed the maintenance of peace with foreign nations, the settlement of many troublesome controversies with foreign countries, and the steady refusal to favor the schemes of a set of noisy fellows who for various reasons, none of them creditable, demanded that the currency should be further inflated. The last was simply common honesty, but let it have full and hearty commendation when it is remembered that it took place while the public sentiment was uncertain, and when so many who forecast carefully the political probabilities, with a view to govern their own action thereby, were either uncertain or were inclining to expansion. With the management of foreign affairs the President probably had less to do than with any thing else, and nothing else was managed so well.

Mr. Monroe once wrote a little book to demonstrate that the people are the sovereigns. General Grant, though he entered upon his office with the declaration that he should have no policy to oppose to the will of the people, has evidently never accepted this Monroe doctrine. During the whole of his administration, the power of those who control the eighty thousand or so of federal office-holders has been steadily increasing with his assistance, and though in the press and in conventions the will of the people has unmistakably been manifested that this power should be reduced by cutting off the corrupting patronage, the demand to that effect has never been recognized in the executive mansion. The popular voice to-day reaches the rulers who regard themselves as constituting the government with more difficulty and in weaker tone than ever before.

Is this our darkest time just before day? It is surely dark enough when three months after the Presidential election it is not known who will be President in March. That fact of itself is a reproach to the administration whose vicious management of the

canvass alienated so many Republicans in the doubtful States. But if we do not know what is coming, we at least know what is passing away. Whoever comes to the front will at least be a man trained in civil affairs, and who must know that free institutions can not long endure a civil service in which appointments are the perquisites of individuals, and a practice of bringing in military force for the settlement of disputed elections.

In the preceding pages it has been shown that the cabinet of President Grant has in the main been composed of men who were not statesmen. In this particular the contrast with the cabinet of Mr. Lincoln is very striking. But the fault is only in part that of the President. Mr. Lincoln brought his party into power, and naturally called the best men around him. General Grant came in after the party had for eight years been wielding immense patronage, recognizing claims on personal as well as on political grounds, and taking lessons in the art of putting offices where they would do most good to the individuals who controlled them and to the party. This is not a field for statesmanship, but for intrigue and cunning. John Marshall or John Quincy Adams, though in their time good Secretaries of State, would have failed in it ignominiously; Webster, who was placed by circumstances outside the system, perhaps more ignominiously still. It requires talents of the sort displayed by men of whom Cameron is the representative; and naturally these men come to the front while statesmen are relegated to the rear. Grant was responsible for his first cabinet, but the system was more responsible for what followed. The system dwarfs statesmanship; for men will cultivate the talents which bring success. The principle that brings men of the sort of Cameron to the front is one of natural selection, and it is vain to protest against the result when the cause is left to operate in full vigor. If we cultivate the tree, we must be content with the fruit it naturally produces. While the country concedes that "to the victors belong the spoils," it must be content to be despoiled, not merely in a pecuniary sense, but in its highest and best possibilities.

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN ARCHITECTURE.

THERE is probably no art which has experienced a more irregular and uneven development than that of house-building. The first of the arts which man needs to learn, it is the last to attain to any fixed standards. The architecture of a period may be regarded as an expression of the needs and the tastes of a people, as well as of the conditions, natural and artificial, of their daily life. A people housed in hovels to-day may need palaces a century hence, while the descendants of those who dwelt in palaces a century ago, may be found to-day building hovels amid the ruins which are all that remain to them of ancestral glories. For this reason, we can judge of the architectural practice of the time only with reference to our present needs and the conditions of our social life. If we judge it by any other standards, we are likely to reach conclusions of little practical value to the world, and without weight as influencing the progress of reforms which are at once practicable and desirable. Mr. Ruskin may have good reasons for asserting that "every brick in London is a lie;" but the practical man of business, who is comfortably domiciled within four substantial brick walls, seldom troubles himself to inquire why Mr. Ruskin thinks as he does. Another and less eminent of our self-constituted autocrats in matters of taste, may be justified in denouncing the brown-stone front as "the last ditch of architectural impudence;" but the man whose name is on the door-plate is none the less satisfied with his house because its plain front, incongruous cornice and uncompromising rectangularity are wholly devoid of beauty to the eye cultivated to appreciate the subtleties of a broken sky-line, or the beauty inherent in correct proportions and harmonious ornamentation.

Probably it is well that the masses of the people are not so much interested in these matters as to be made unhappy by the many departures from the correct principles of art in construction and decoration which are constantly forced upon their notice. However anxious we may be to follow the teachings of those who expound the laws of beauty or set the fashions in matters of taste,

there are comparatively few of us who really understand the Eastlake movement or honestly admire bric-à-brac. Because of this very general indifference to art principles, of which most of us are ignorant, the work of the architect has become rather more of a business than an art. He is a maker of plans, and sometimes a general superintendent of construction. Only once in a great while do we expect him to venture the somewhat hazardous experiment of a departure from the prevailing styles. We want houses which shall be as commodious and elegant as they can be made for the price we are prepared to pay; but our ideas of beauty and appropriateness are largely drawn from our neighbors' houses. We are willing the architect should be original, but we have ideas of our own as to the extent to which he can with safety depart from the beaten paths. The prevailing style is, all things considered, the safest to follow under the circumstances; and when the architect has received his final instructions, he rarely has any thing to design for us which he can not find ready made to his hand. He need not even trouble himself to calculate the strength of his materials. This the engineer has done for him, and he can turn from one book which gives him a dozen plans complete, to another which furnishes him the data for the few simple calculations necessary. It is for these reasons that the educated architect finds himself brought into competition, in the practice of his profession, with a class of men equally able to make the plans for an ordinary house and to superintend its construction, but who have none of the special training which was formerly the indispensable condition of success in that profession. Out of this competition have grown nearly all the incongruities of our prevailing styles of city and rural architecture, which have so excited the critics. It is not just, however, to hold to too strict an account for these inartistic productions, those who have a claim to recognition as educated architects. We afford them but little opportunity to cultivate the art which may be in them, and we, the people, are the severest and not always the most intelligent of critics. We do not always know truth and beauty when we see them; and while we are quite ready to accept as satisfactory the familiar and the commonplace, a bold departure, even though it be in the right direction, is quite as likely to excite derision as approbation, especially when placed in striking contrast with commonplace ugliness. It is not so much because our architects can not give us what the critics sigh for, as because those who employ them do not really want it. That we do not

always get it when we do want it, as in our church architecture, is not to be wondered at. To reach a high standard of artistic excellence at a single stride, is more than we have a right to expect even of genius. If we compel the architect to follow the trade of a house-maker, we can not expect him to possess the Protean power of making himself an artist to order.

Let us pause here for a moment to shift our position, so that we may look at the question from a different and more practical standpoint. It is necessary that our architecture should have certain definite characteristics of its own, adapting it to our climate, our social life and our present needs. These we find to have received the careful and intelligent attention of our architects. As a people, we live in more comfortable houses than are found in any other country of the world. None appreciate this so fully as those who have traveled observingly in foreign countries and studied the home life of other peoples. Our dwellings of the better class are finished and fitted up with a completeness and a regard to comfort and convenience, which astonishes foreign architects. In the sundry items classified under the general name of "modern conveniences," our architectural practice has fairly kept pace with the development of the various industries connected with the building trades; and even in the dwellings of the middle classes we find evidences of an intelligent regard for the comfort of the occupants not seen in dwellings of the same class in any part of Europe.

There is a reason for this. During the brief period of our national life the building trades have necessarily been among the most important of our great national industries. To provide homes for our rapidly-growing population, we have been compelled to build more houses than have probably been built in all Europe during the same time. We are, moreover, a home-loving and an inventive people, and have given a generous encouragement to well-directed efforts to improve our house-fixtures. A glance over the annual reports of the Patent Office at Washington, will show that a very large percentage of the inventions patented are labor-saving appliances, designed to find a place in the domestic economy. Generally speaking, we have, as a people, very sensible ideas of comfort, and are not much hampered by either custom or precedent in these matters. We do not, like the conservative Englishman, retain the open fireplace because of its traditions, and from a mistaken notion that comfort and health are incompatible in house-warming. We discarded the open fire a generation ago, and adopted the more eco-

nomical and efficient iron stove; now the stove is giving place to the hot-air furnace, and this, in turn, will be pushed aside by the steam heater in first-class work. This restless desire for improvement has kept the inventive talent of the nation directed to the changing requirements of the building trades, and has enabled us to attain, even in cheap construction, a degree of comfort which in other countries would be deemed extravagant luxury. On this score, at least, the critics have no just quarrel with the architects.

But while convenience and comfort are certainly desirable in an eminent degree, they are not the only qualities to be sought in house-building. These we demand, and properly; but out of the limitations, which those who build houses and those who buy them, have fixed to the intimacy of the relations of science and art to architectural practice, have grown other and far more serious evils than those of which our art censors complain so justly. We may divide these evils into two general classes—those which are just beginning to attract the attention of the hygienic physicist, and those which have long received the thoughtful consideration of the economist.

In the first of these general classifications we may include the evils inevitably attendant upon a disregard of hygienic laws in house-building; in the second we include the evils resulting from cheap and flimsy construction, and a neglect of the means by which even the most combustible materials employed in construction can be rendered practically fire-proof. We shall consider these two classes of evils separately, and in such detail as the space at our command may permit.

It is a fact which, unfortunately, does not admit of intelligent contradiction, that in the architectural practice of the time very little attention is paid to the laws of health. What is known as sanitary science is still to some extent empirical; but from experience we have learned something of nature's laws and nature's penalties, and we certainly have a right to expect that our architects shall not, by disregarding the former, force us to incur the latter. Let us begin with our heating apparatus, already noticed as contrasting so favorably, on the score of comfort, with the primitive fireplace of Great Britain and the clumsy, inefficient appliances employed on the Continent. Owing to the length and severity of our winter seasons, the furnace is one of the most important of the permanent fixtures of a well-appointed house. Now, it is by no means probable that the system of heating by the distribution of air-currents moderately warmed by contact with the radiating surfaces of a fur-

nace, is objectionable on hygienic grounds. It is the abuses of the system which give rise to the evils commonly charged against the system itself, and in these abuses we find a marked difference between scientific theory and every-day practice in architecture. It is probable that every well-informed architect is familiar with the fact that there is a vast difference, as regards its healthfulness, between a system of heating in which a large volume of moderately-heated air is employed, and one in which dependence is placed upon a small volume of air raised to a high temperature. The very common abuse of the system consists principally in the use of furnaces too small for the work they have to do. As the consequence, we must drive them in cold weather to such an extent that the air passing through them is vitiated and rendered unfit for breathing. Some years ago this subject was very fully and carefully investigated by the French Academy of Sciences, and the results were given to the public in the valuable treatise of General Arthur Morin, Director of the Paris Conservatory of Arts and Trades. The conclusions reached by the Committee of the Academy, and confirmed by experiments subsequently conducted by General Morin, show very clearly the danger to health resulting from the poisoning of air-currents brought in contact with red-hot iron surfaces. There is, however, no good reason why our furnace radiators should ever become red hot, provided their capacity is proportioned to the work expected of them. The temperature at which cast-iron is red in the dark is about 700° Fahrenheit. We keep within the limits of safety when we do not permit the temperature of the radiating surfaces of a furnace to rise above 400° or 500° Fahrenheit. When they do not much exceed this temperature, the currents of pure air passing over them will not be vitiated. In these remarks we have taken no account of the possible presence of carbonic oxide and sulphurous gases in the air-currents flowing from the registers. They have no more right to be there than smoke or flame, and never will be when well-built furnaces with tight joints are used. We can not expect the average householder to understand these matters, and we must look to the architect to lead the progress of reform which shall give us wholesome heating without sacrifice of comfort.

Intimately connected with the problem of healthful warming is that of ventilation. Here the difference between theory and practice in house-building—between what we know should be done and what we do or attempt to do—is certainly very marked. The subject of ventilation has a voluminous literature of its own, with which

the well-read architect can not but be more or less familiar. Probably he appreciates more fully than any one but the specialist in practical hygiene, the importance of good ventilation in dwellings; but in not one in a hundred of the dwellings he builds is any provision whatever made for ventilation. What is simple and comparatively easy of accomplishment at the hands of an intelligent architect when he plans a building, becomes difficult and often practically impossible of accomplishment after the house is finished, without costly and troublesome reconstruction. That the average architect is practically ignorant of the mechanical means by which adequate ventilation can be secured in cold climates without unnecessary waste of fuel, is no more to be wondered at than that he so often fails in his essays in the domain of high art. With us it is not yet a part of the business of house-making, and we do not give him an opportunity to learn from practical trial the fact that, to secure good ventilation, it is only necessary to remove impure air; and that, with the whole volume of the atmosphere exerting on all sides a pressure equal to about fourteen pounds to the square inch, it is as idle to pump fresh air into a building as it is to pump water down hill. Hence, when we call upon the architect of average skill to exercise the functions of an engineer of ventilation, he is more likely to fail than to succeed. We see this illustrated in the bad ventilation of our churches and public halls—if that may be called ventilation which does not ventilate—and if we pursue the experiment long enough, and without regard to expense, we are likely to reach results almost as unsatisfactory as those secured in the effort to ventilate the House of Representatives at Washington. We blame the architect for the impure air of our dwellings and places of assembly, but when he undertakes to give us good ventilation and fails, all he is really to blame for is over-confidence in essaying a task for which he has neither the education nor the experience. In such a climate as we have in New York, we can not have both economical heating and good ventilation, unless we build our walls and floors with non-conducting filling. As we do build, however, we are content to do without the ventilation; and, to secure both comfort and fuel economy, even the scanty supply of fresh air which comes in around our doors and window-sashes we cut off in the early autumn with list and weather-strips. We are not only content to do without ventilation, but we positively do not want it in any form in which it has yet been given to us. Some years ago a wealthy and philanthropic land-owner, in

one of our principal cities, conceived the idea of erecting a number of healthy houses, which should be built on scientific principles. Ventilation was especially sought, and the best talent at command was engaged to provide the necessary appliances; but when the houses were finished, the owner found himself unable to retain his tenants except upon the condition that he would seal all his ventilators. Probably the tenants were not so blind to their own interests as might appear at first glance. No doubt it was impossible to keep these houses warm enough for comfort, owing to the loss of heat by absorption into the walls and its escape through the ventilators. In ventilation, comfort and health are almost synonymous, and when we can have the benefits of pure air without a ruinous consumption of fuel or the discomfort of low temperatures, we shall no longer object to it. Indeed, we shall demand it.

That the educated architect should thoroughly understand the principles and the methods of ventilation, is too obvious to need the support of argument. It is not, however, an art which can be acquired easily or from mere generalizations. Nor will it help him much to master the details of a "system," however good that system may be, for the reason that no system can be devised which will admit of successful application under various conditions. A system which would work well in one house might fail in part in another house; and fail utterly in a public hall; while a system applicable to a church or a lecture-room would probably be little better than no system at all in a theatre or a hospital. There are, however, certain principles which apply to the ventilation of all classes of buildings which are so simple and, when learned, so obvious, that the architect rarely attempts to apply them until he has tried all other plans unsuccessfully. It is a curious fact that those who give attention to ventilation rarely avail themselves of the experiences of their predecessors. Beginning where they began, they go through pretty much the same course of trials and failures, and it is generally an easy matter to tell how much experience a man has had by ascertaining what "system" he tried last. When the importance of good ventilation is better understood by the public, and the architect is required to provide it in our dwellings, he will probably find it to his interest to call to his aid the specialist who has made ventilation his study, and who has learned from experience how to meet all the conditions which complicate the problem so seriously.

In the defects found in the average plumbing work of the time,

we see another instance of the wide difference which exists between the measure of our scientific knowledge and the methods of our architectural practice. No fact rests upon a broader and more substantial basis of truth than that the gaseous emanations from decomposing sewage, commonly called sewer gas, are a fruitful source of disease. Whatever the agency by which sewer gas works, we know that it comes armed with the power and potency of death. Escaping into the free atmosphere, its deadly power is quickly destroyed by the oxidation of its organic poisons; but when it mingles with the confined air of our unventilated living and sleeping rooms, it retains its terrible power for mischief long enough to do its deadly work effectually. Dr. Mapother, of Dublin, an eminent authority, states that there occur annually in England 140,000 cases of typhoid fever, of which 20,000 terminate fatally, which are clearly traceable to defective drainage and sewer-gas poisoning, and yet typhoid fever is only one of a long list of prevalent zymotic diseases. England and Scotland together gave in the five years ended January 1st, 1870, deaths from zymotic diseases amounting to 21.9 of the total mortality, as shown in returns made by order of Parliament in 1871. The variation of the zymotic ratio in the sum of causes of mortality, ranges from ten to thirty-seven per cent of the total deaths. From such imperfect statistics as have been gathered in this country, it is safe to conclude that zymotic diseases cause, directly or indirectly, about one half the deaths occurring in our great cities. In the vital statistics of New York for the past eleven years, zymotic diseases, as now classified, are charged with about thirty-two per cent of the deaths from all causes.

The figures are as follows :

Year.	Deaths from Zymotic Diseases.	Percentage of total Mortality.
1866.....	8,788.....	32.77
1867.....	6,583.....	28.41
1868.....	7,456.....	29.96
1869.....	7,676.....	30.50
1870.....	8,314.....	30.60
1871.....	8,964.....	31.01
1872.....	11,815.....	36.19
1873.....	9,505.....	32.98
1874.....	9,715.....	33.82
1875.....	10,964.....	35.52
1876.....	8,538.....	29.25

In some of our principal cities the percentage is higher than in New York; in others it is much lower, as will be seen from the following comparison :

Name of Place.	Average Ratio of Deaths from Zymotic Causes to total annual Mortality.	
Pittsburg.....	35	per cent.
Chicago.....	34	"
Brooklyn.....	33	"
Boston.....	33	"
Cincinnati.....	33	"
Milwaukee.....	31	"
Baltimore.....	28	"
Washington.....	25	"
San Francisco.....	22	"
Philadelphia.....	20	"

If it be assumed that the relation of deaths to the number of cases of sickness induced by zymotic causes is about the same here as in the case of typhoid fever in England, the effect of filth-poisoning upon the public health will with difficulty be realized. If we look for the cause of this large mortality from diseases of the zymotic type in our cities, we find it principally in sewer-gas poisoning. Other causes operate to swell the total, but to bad plumbing work we may attribute the prevalence of pythogenic pneumonia, peritonitis, inflammatory rheumatism, typhoid and malarial fevers, croup, diphtheria, and many kindred diseases which are almost epidemic in our large cities.

Unfortunately for the progress of hygienic reform, the difference between good and bad plumbing work is usually so slight as to escape the notice of any but the trained expert; but it is commonly great enough to exert an active and far-reaching power for mischief. We expect to find in the houses among which we seek homes for our families, all the conveniences which are rendered possible by the vast systems of hydraulic engineering which find their consummation in the water service and drainage of a city house. The bath, the water-closet, stationary wash-basins with hot and cold water, laundry-tubs, the butler's pantry and the kitchen water-system, are no longer regarded as luxuries, but as necessities in all well-appointed modern houses. There is no good reason why we should not have all these conveniences, but we often pay a fearful price for them. Let us follow the intelligent sanitary inspector in an examination of the pipe systems of an average New York house of the better class.

Beginning with the water service, we find that the pipes are of lead, notwithstanding the fact that the architect has ready to his hand several kinds of pipe quite as convenient as lead and much safer than those made of a metal which, under a great variety of conditions, parts with poisonous salts to the water passing through it. All conscientious architects familiar with the literature of chemistry, will admit that lead should be discarded as an unsafe metal for service pipes, and tin or black iron used instead; but lead is still called for in ninety-nine out of every hundred specifications. In the drainage system and its appurtenances, we find evils of a different and more serious character. We see dependence for the suppression of gases, often held under considerable pressures in the sewers, placed upon supposititious half-inch water-seals in traps of such shape, and so placed, that they are likely to be emptied from one cause or another every hour in the day, and to stand empty at night. We find that the foul sewer is provided with breathing-holes into our houses; that in dark, unventilated recesses adjoining our bedrooms are cheap and flimsy water-closets, wrong in principle and wholly unsatisfactory in operation, which retain so much of the filth passing into them that they become pestilent nuisances; in short, we find every condition so favorable to sewer-gas poisoning that we no longer wonder at the great mortality from diseases of pythogenic origin in our sewer-drained cities. As the plumbing work of our houses is commonly done, it would be better for most of us if we had to bring our water in buckets from a public hydrant, and carry our waste to the culvert at the nearest street-corner.

Where shall we place the responsibility for this most terrible of the evils which characterize the architectural practice of the time? We know from experience that very few of our architects have given the problems of hygienic house-drainage the careful attention they deserve, but it is not because they do not know the consequences of cheap and defective plumbing work in houses, nor because they consider these defects irremediable. The evils to which we have called attention exist and multiply simply because the architect in general practice can not insist upon a due observance of hygienic laws in house-construction, and compete successfully with those in the profession who are less conscientious in these matters. If his clients neither know nor care whether a house is well or badly drained, why should he drive away business by demanding that we shall pay for good plumbing work, when others will furnish us

equally acceptable plans and specifications which can be followed in construction more cheaply? Consequently, the architect rarely troubles himself to learn the theory of plumbing, save in the most superficial way. His specifications of pipes and fixtures are usually so loosely drawn as to be susceptible of the most liberal interpretation by those who bid upon them. As the lowest bidder commonly secures the contract, we may be sure that every advantage will be taken of the incompleteness and ambiguity of the specifications, which are rarely specific except as to the number and kind of fixtures to be supplied, and the weight of lead pipe to be used. The shrewd practical plumber knows just how much regard it is necessary to pay to the stereotyped phrases which provide that his task shall be consummated "in a workmanlike manner, and to the satisfaction of the architect and owner." The architect gives the work only the most cursory supervision, at most, and the owner is commonly satisfied if the fixtures are all in the right places and look as he expected. A stain in a marble slab, or a thin spot in the silver-plating of a basin cock, is far more likely to give dissatisfaction than a soil-pipe of paper thickness, put together with mason's cement or glazier's putty, instead of substantial pipe weighing (if of four inches diameter) not less than twelve pounds to the foot, and put together with well-calked lead joints.

The specialist in the field of practical hygiene naturally blames the architect for the existence of evils so prejudicial to the public health; but there is a divided responsibility. The architect shifts his share upon the builder, the builder upon the parsimonious owner unwilling to pay the price of good work, and the owner upon the rascally plumber who "scamped the job." But it does not rest here. The plumber replies that he works for a profit, and means to make it when he can. If the owner expected to get a thousand dollars' worth of materials and time for five hundred dollars, he is the only party to the transaction who is deceived—and that because he deceived himself. There is something of truth in each of these specious disclaimers; but perhaps the architect has a larger share of the moral responsibility than he is willing to admit. If he would let discreditable work go to those more anxious for present gain than for an honorable professional reputation, we should be better able than we now are to draw the line between the two classes composing the profession.

The evils of our average architectural practice which belong in the second of our very general classifications, bear a more inti-

mate relation to those already considered than might appear at first glance. The first of these is the flimsy and unsubstantial construction of the time. Badly-built houses are not likely to be healthy houses, for the reason that we do not commonly seek excellence in one item and neglect the others; and our progress toward a higher standard of general excellence in house-building will be characterized by a closer attention to all the details of construction and internal fitting. Probably we build as well as we can afford to. We are still a young nation with a large territory to occupy, vast resources to develop and but little accumulated wealth available for investment in costly dwellings. With our attention preoccupied with the problem—not always easy of solution—how to earn a living and better our condition, we accept with but little thought of the future the makeshifts to which the builder has recourse in his effort to secure the most satisfactory results at the least cost. Were it not that we need so large a part of our capital in developing our resources, carrying on our productive industries, extending our railway system and reclaiming for habitation the waste places of the continent, the methods of cheap, speculative building, which meet our present wants to our present satisfaction, would be robbing the future; but, when we consider all the circumstances, it is evident that had we followed any other system, a very large part of our population would have fared much worse than they do now. It is with our house-building as with our railroad extension. Had the engineers who projected their surveys into the wilderness, and opened in advance of the need for them our highways of travel and trade, paused at every valley to fill in with stone, and at every stream to build substantial bridges of iron; had they insisted upon easy curves and grades, and demanded the best rails procurable in the market, we should probably have seven thousand miles of road in operation instead of seventy thousand. As it was, they pushed forward with what seemed to Old World engineers a reckless disregard of rules and formulæ. When capital was exhausted, credit was strained to the limit of its elasticity, and many of our roads were built and equipped for a third or a half the cost per mile of English and Continental roads. It would have been better to have built better, had we been able to do so; but it was better to have built as we did than not at all. Out of the earnings of the lines thus opened we accumulated the capital with which to build them properly. The road-beds were gradually improved, curves were straightened and grades flattened, clumsy and insecure wooden

bridges were replaced by light and strong bridges of iron, steel rails were put down as iron rails wore out and were taken up, additional tracks were provided to accommodate increased traffic, and we reached at last a standard of excellence in construction and equipment which would have been impossible of attainment had we sought it in the beginning. So it is with our town and city architecture. The needs of the future will be somewhat different from those of the present, and we shall contribute our full share to the progress of civilization if we begin what succeeding generations must consummate.

As the transition from primitive expedients in house-building to the more permanent construction of the future is necessarily slow, we find that there are certain definite limitations to the excellence of the average construction of the time. We must for the present live in cheap houses, but we are not content that they should look cheap. Consequently the architect is forced to accept, and the builder to resort to, all sorts of expedients to disguise the real quality of materials and workmanship. Our only cause for complaint is with ourselves, in having encouraged these shams until they have been carried too far. Still it must be confessed that we prefer a pretty sham to an ugly reality in architecture. The brown-stone veneer suits the average householder in comfortable circumstances better than the honest brick front, and he is content with foundations that settle, walls that crack, floor-timbers that spring, and ceilings that cling to the lathing with a precarious tenure, if for what he sacrifices in these items he can have plate-glass street-doors, black-walnut stairs, marble hall-floors, high ceilings, imitation bronze or ormolu chandeliers, and "all the modern conveniences." The poor man who could do without the necessities of life but must have the luxuries, differed from most of us who live in cities only in being more honest in giving expression to his sentiments. When we can afford both the necessities and the luxuries in architecture, we shall have both. In the mean time there is some satisfaction in knowing that, as regards dwellings, our average construction is better than that of Northern Europe. New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and indeed all of our principal cities of the North, are better built than those portions of the principal British and Continental cities which have grown up within the past quarter of a century. From this we may except Paris and the principal Swiss and Italian towns. The newer portions of London are made up chiefly of interminable rows of flimsy dwellings with

slight division-walls, eight and ten inch party-walls being the rule. The newer portions of Berlin and Vienna are but little better. We have much to criticise in the work of our own builders, but they can plead the excuse of conditions which certainly do not exist in Europe.

Of the evils incident to cheap and temporary construction, the most serious are our heavy annual losses from fire. The valuation of the property annually destroyed by fire in the United States may be roughly averaged at one hundred millions of dollars. In addition to this enormous destruction of values, we must bear the cost of fire-protection systems and of insurance. As regards fire-proof construction, there exists no very close relation between the knowledge we have gained from experience and the methods and materials we commonly employ in house-building. That so many buildings popularly considered fire-proof were destroyed in Chicago and Boston, and that in the furnace-breath of those great conflagrations even the most incombustible materials fell in crumbling ruin, can not be accepted as proof that it is useless to seek security from fire.

Before proceeding further, however, it is important to understand what we mean by the term fire-proof as applied to buildings. Its literal meaning is perhaps somewhat broader than its meaning in technical usage. A house absolutely indestructible by fire could be built, for we can build metallurgical furnaces which withstand for years temperatures impossible of attainment in the open air; but neither the methods nor the materials of blast-furnace construction are applicable to house-building. We do not seek such a standard of indestructibility even in our most costly experiments in fire-proof construction; and if we did, our dwellings and public buildings would be essentially lacking in adaptation to the uses for which we employ them. Again, we have no materials sufficiently refractory to be considered absolutely fire-proof, which are otherwise available for the uses of the builder. In the intense heat of the Chicago and Boston fires, great blocks of granite and sandstone burst and crumbled and well-baked bricks were in some instances fused. Given conditions similar to those attending the destruction of most of the well-built warehouses and dwellings consumed in those cities, the architect is powerless to meet them; but in a city in which due attention has been given to fire-proof construction, such conditions can not possibly exist. Now, in fire-proof construction we do not expect to reach the standard of absolute infusibility.

All that is necessary or practicable in this country, and at this time, is to so build that a fire beginning in one room or floor shall be confined to the place where it originates; and that, unless it be of exceptional intensity and duration, it shall not seriously impair the strength of the structure, nor necessitate any more extensive repairs than are needed to restore plastering, sashes, window-casings, and door-frames. We must always expect to suffer more or less damage from smoke and water; but this is all we need insure against, provided we have in our house-building systems even an approximation to fire-proof standards. Theory teaches, and experience has shown, that we can go thus far in the direction of fire-proof construction without much, if any, increase in cost. The public do not understand this, and they have, as yet, only a very limited appreciation of incidental advantages and economies resulting from fire-proof construction. If it be within the scope of the architect's opportunities to raise the standard of general excellence in construction, by the judicious employment of such of the materials and methods ready to his hand as will give us practically fire-proof buildings, a conscientious regard for the best interests of his clients should prompt him to do so.

It has often been said that, because of the easy facilities for cheap insurance growing out of the sharp competition of the companies, the public are practically indifferent to the fire risk of unscientific construction. This is true to a limited extent, but, judging from what any one may see of the building practice of the time, we should say that our architects and builders are even more indifferent to fire-proof construction than are the property owners. Even in the best construction of the day we often see evidences of empiricism, which show that our architects have not in all cases intelligently studied the conditions under which buildings constructed principally of incombustible materials are so frequently destroyed by fire. Distrustful of wood, they turned their attention to iron, and there are to-day thousands of brick, stone, and iron buildings in the country, with iron columns and floor-beams, and brick filling. These are generally supposed to be fire-proof, but when subjected to the fire test they sink in shapeless piles of *débris*. The trouble arises from mistaking incombustibility for indestructibility. Even an inconsiderable flame about an iron post, or under an iron floor-beam, is sufficient to heat it to redness and render it little better than wax to resist the strains upon it. A building may be constructed wholly of incombustible materials, but if its integ-

rity depends upon the stability of unprotected iron members, the heat of its burning contents suffices to bring it down like lead in a ladle. It is for this reason that so few of the buildings in our cities which belong to the so-called fire-proof class, are able to withstand the burning out of a single room well filled with combustible matter. There is no objection, theoretical or practical, to the use of iron in fire-proof construction, but in all cases it should be protected from both heat and water by a non-conducting covering. Plaster of Paris is a cheap and excellent material for this purpose, and its more liberal employment should be encouraged. The slight expansion it undergoes in setting, causes it to adhere to its position very strongly, and when old it is much harder than the mortars and finishing coats commonly employed. The idea of filling the spaces between floors and in walls with an incombustible and non-conducting material was, if we remember rightly, first applied to the fire-proofing of wooden houses by Earl Stanhope, and no better way of building has since been devised. The efficiency of this method of protecting iron has been repeatedly shown in practical and experimental tests, and it has the additional advantage of making wood almost, if not quite, as safe as iron. Floor-timbers laid in plaster or cement are practically incombustible, and so long as we have such materials available for general employment we have only ourselves to blame for the enormous aggregate of our annual losses from fire.

It was not the intention of the writer at the outset to venture any discussion of the ways and means by which the desirable reforms in our average architectural practice could best be secured. The architect may give ear to non-professional criticism in matters of taste, but he will scarcely look to the same source for suggestions as to the best methods of construction. The question of fire-proof building, however, is just now one of great public interest, and is naturally exciting much discussion. The recent appalling disaster in the Brooklyn Theatre, where a wretched and mistaken economy in the cost of construction was offset by the loss of more than three hundred lives, has done much to prepare the way for progress in right directions, and it is to be hoped that those who must lead the movement will not neglect the opportunity of turning this calamity to good.

When security from fire is sought in buildings erected with more regard to thorough excellence than to cost, the resources of the builder's art enable the architect to attain the desired result without difficulty. The splendid building of the Delaware and Hudson

Canal Company, in New York City, is a notable example of this kind of construction, which need not be described in detail. To attain to the standard of measurably fire-proof construction in cheap buildings, to be used as dwellings or warehouses, is quite another thing. To keep the cost within the prescribed limits, the architect must have recourse to very different and much cheaper materials and methods, and must often exercise considerable ingenuity in bringing the work within the somewhat limited range of the intelligence and ability of the average builder. In an article of this kind we can, at most, only offer a few suggestions based upon a somewhat careful observation of, and a limited experience in, fire-proof construction.

Let us suppose that the problem presented to the architect is the fire-proofing of an average brick dwelling or warehouse, the cost of which can not much exceed, if at all, the average for buildings of the same class. The floors, being the weakest points, will first receive attention. These he can make fire-proof, even though he use wooden beams. In itself wood is capable of resisting very considerable degrees of heat without material loss of strength, if protected from the air. Encased in plaster of Paris, cement, or any substance equally non-conductive and incombustible, its strength remains unimpaired even when exposed for a long time to fierce flames. This is even more true of wood than of iron, for reasons well understood. The encasement of the floor-timbers may be accomplished by several methods, but the principle is the same in each case—the complete surrounding of the timbers or beams with a continuous protecting coating, cored to secure lightness, strength, and economy of material. This coating must cover sides, edges, and ends, leaving no unprotected spot. The flooring can be bedded in the top coating of the timbers or beams, and the ceilings can be spread directly on the under side of the cored filling. The flooring should be closely scribed up to the front and side walls, and beams should be supported on ledges and not rest in sockets in party-walls. Floors thus made are light, stiff, strong, and indestructible, provided, of course, the strains have been properly calculated. This, however, will not make a structure fire-proof. As now built, our houses consist of two shells between which is an intricate system of wood-lined flues and air passages. These must be closed. Flooring and lath must be discarded, or else we must coat the wooden members of the frame in such a way as to protect them. The same is true of wood partitions, but it will be found better in

most cases to use the cheap partition-blocks to be had in the market. With fire-proof floors, walls, and partitions, the stairs of a dwelling are not commonly dangerous; in warehouses they should be provided with traps or doors. In theatres and public buildings they should, of course, be fire-proof in every part. The flues may be made as provided in any well-devised code of building laws, or with soft burnt-clay pipes set in brick. The roof must be protected with plaster or cement from below, and from above with metal, slate, or other approved fire-proof covering. The service, waste and gas pipes should be carried up in recesses of the side wall, and not through the floors. This principle of construction will not give us absolute indestructibility, but if generally followed it would render great conflagrations impossible, and would protect the individual building from fire within, and from every thing but a furnace heat without.

In the fire-proofing of theatres the intelligent architect encounters no practical difficulties. The audience-room may be fire-proofed by any of the methods followed in good practice, and the builder does not need to employ an ounce of inflammable material in any part of it. For further security, the stage may be cut off from the auditorium by a brick wall with fire-proof doors, and an iron curtain which can be kept wet when desired. There is, however, no necessity for such a curtain, and the objection that to lower it might precipitate a panic in the audience is not without weight. The light woodwork of the stage machinery, the scenery, and the draperies can be so prepared at small cost as to be incapable of transmitting flame. The method of treating them with a solution of tungstate of soda is only one of a number of processes which have been known for years. Such materials can be so easily and cheaply rendered incapable of bursting into flame, that there is really no reason why the danger from fire should be any greater on the stage than in the lobbies; and when this absolute security against quick-spreading fire among the stage properties is attained, a drop-curtain of any suitable fabric, rendered incombustible by proper treatment, will answer as well as one of iron, and better than one of iron which can not be kept wet in every part. A very small fire on or under the stage, would warp and twist a screen made of thin strips of sheet metal, and quickly heat it to redness. When the public demand security, and the owners of theatres shall honestly seek it, our architects and builders will not be at a loss for methods and materials; and if the public knew how easily and cheaply complete security

from fire can be had, our architects would not have long to wait for opportunities of reducing their theoretical knowledge to practice.

It is too much to expect that there will ever be, in our average architectural practice, a close approximation to the measure of our scientific knowledge. If it follows, even a long way behind, the footprints of invention and discovery, it will be as rapidly progressive as we can hope to see it. Generally speaking, we gain knowledge a good deal faster than we can apply it practically, and our progress towards higher standards in architecture will, and should, be characterized by a judicious conservatism. The material interests involved are large, and must be carefully guarded by the conscientious architect. We can not, therefore, expect that he will make haste to utilize every new fact which may be added to the sum of the world's knowledge; but we have a right to insist that he shall not carry his conservatism too far, and cling to systems and methods entailing evils from which we naturally and properly look to him for protection. In these matters there should be a much closer relation than now exists between theory and practice in house-building, and if the conscientious architect will first educate himself in those branches of his art in which the disparity is greatest, he will find it an easy task to bring about the desired reforms. In thus educating the public by placing before them the results of his own education, he will open for himself a broader and nobler field of usefulness, with fewer restrictions and limitations than now hamper him.

TWO PAST AGES.

IN that old pump-room, as I stood alone
Beside "the Bath," the "waters of the sun,"
I thought of two past ages. All were gone
To evening haunts of pleasure and of fun:
When all went off to dine and dance and sup,
The Bath began to teem with modish ghosts,
A reach of Lethe, sending bubbles up
From bygone dandies and forgotten toasts.
Then for relief, I turn'd to see and hear
An older Past, with Fancy's eye that takes
Fond retrospects, and Fancy's ear that makes
A sound of her own longings. Ofttimes here,
A home and grave the peaceful Roman found,
And little Caius coo'd on British ground.

GERMAN COMIC PAPERS.

IN making the tour of Germany, the traveler can hardly escape the varying impressions which a country distinguished by strong contrasts produces. After having journeyed amid the monotonous and sometimes cheerless landscapes of the North, of which sandy, lake-dotted plains form no small feature, he finds himself in a land crossed by mountains and streams, his eye is charmed at the sight of romantic valleys, rich farms, and blooming gardens. The difference does not stop with this, but extends to the climate and to the temperament of the inhabitants. The people of the North are more reserved and formal in their manners, those of the South more open and frank, and while the former usually have a serious cast of character, the latter delight in pleasantry and merry-making. How different are the two sections of the "Heart of Europe" may be shown by the failure to naturalize in the large cities of the North the wild revels of the carnival. The citizens of Berlin are irritated because, with all the pains they have taken, their celebration does not approach the brilliant successes achieved in the cities of the South. The Berliner is bent on having the Carnival in all its splendor at home. It is true that he has little talent for it, but, by a peculiar element of his nature, he considers himself capable of anything, and sets out with the firmly-rooted assumption that everything may be attained in Berlin and for Berlin. Rahel, among the most noted *femmes spirituelles* of whom good Berlin society at the beginning of this century could boast, wittily expressed this characteristic of her native city in the saying, "The Berliner knows how to make himself everything—now he is about to make himself a site withal," a matter which, considering the exceptionally unattractive situation of the capital of the German empire, has a difficulty all its own. The Berliner, however, thinks he has a very excellent right to make the carnival a feature of his city, and he points for evidence to the fact that the most prominent, the wittiest, and the keenest of all the humorous sheets in Germany—Austria being left out of the account for the moment—the *Kladderadatsch*, is a Berlin product, and that the South has never succeeded in matching

it with a worthy rival. That this is the state of the case, that it is the North, and not the South, of Germany that gives the tone in the domain of humorous journalistic literature, though, according to the temperament and talent of the two great families, the contrary relation would sooner be expected to subsist, is to be explained at the outset by the utterly different kinds of political development which the two chief geographical divisions of Germany have had. The north of Germany has grown to be a great political community; Prussia, with Berlin as a central point for every intellectual and moral tendency, while the south, broken into several petty states, is without the bustling centres and the influences which would unite and condense its life and culture.

Every one knows that Prussia is not at all the eldest political *Culturstaat* in Germany. On the contrary, the beginnings of our parliamentary and political development lie in the south. Some thirty years ago, when absolutism still reigned in Prussia, and when there was a want of all public political life, the little Grand Duchy of Baden was the German state which stood far in advance of all the others in political development. All Germany, in those days, watched with intense interest the proceedings of both houses at Baden, where alone what stirred the hearts of the best men of the nation was uttered and brought into the light of day, and the then famous names of Hecker, Struve, Itzstein and Welcker stood in the foreground, as objects of universal attention. Little Carlsruhe was the intellectual capital of Germany, while Berlin idled in contemplative quiet. In spite of its high significance politically, the south of Germany even at that time was never able to unite in itself the conditions for a humoristic mirror of the varied struggles of the day. The one attempt which it made in this direction, resulted in the *Fliegenden Blätter*, a still existing journal, founded in 1844. We shall have occasion to speak of this enterprise further on. Appearing, not in Carlsruhe, but in Munich, where the gay spirits and jolly humor of the artist world were then flourishing and striving for expression, this sheet, as was to be expected from its harmless origin, hardly ever trod the ground of politics or of the history of culture, at the most merely grazing it now and then with some light jest sent from afar.

An organ of greater quickness to seize on events and their contrasts, to use the lash of censure, and to employ ridicule and indignation in the field of politics, first appeared when in 1848 the revolutionary movement, then prevailing throughout Germany, reached Prussia, and lit the fires of insurrection even in Berlin. In a few days,

all previous limits to free speech were actually, though not by legal recognition, swept away, the most unbounded freedom of the press was restored and at once established itself in the streets in the form of the so-called "*fliegender Buchhandel*." The wits of Berlin thronged around Mr. Hoffmann, a young bookseller, who though but slenderly provided with funds, was very enterprising, and who now is the publisher of the *Kladderadatsch*. From a small public house came the first political comic sheet, *Die Ewige Lampe*, soon to be followed by another the *Krakelnler*, which was well furnished with rude illustrations. Both journals took with the public, utterly unaccustomed as it was to such reading matter, which formerly had had to be imported into Germany from abroad. This hardly anticipated success operated so as to combine several men of remarkable and eminent literary powers in the serious attempt to found a journal that should satisfy still higher demands. These, in addition to Mr. Hoffmann, the publisher just mentioned, were L. Kalisch, then clerk in a banking house, but later on well-known as a clever comic poet, two young scholars, E. Dohm and R. Löwenstein, and a distinguished artist, Wilhelm Scholz, even then holding a well-earned rank as designer for illustrated works. Of these founders of the *Kladderadatsch*, the first number of which came out on the 7th of May, 1848, two, Kalisch and Löwenstein, have during these latter years, departed this life. Since 1848, the journal has had a brilliant development, the survivors remained attached to it, and Dohm is now chief of the editorial staff.

From the very beginning, a propitious star has presided over the *Kladderadatsch*. The piquant, ready wit that it revealed, the capital hits which it dealt out right and left without mercy, soon rendered it a favorite with all those Berliners of ever numerous circles that know how to value a *bon mot* above all things, and are eager to set themselves right with every new situation, with every somewhat startling occurrence, by means of a witticism. This trait, which runs through all strata of Berlin society up to the highest, and furnishes a sort of neutral ground where all are equal and even the bitterest foes may meet, laying aside old grudges, worked, strangely enough, a miracle of first importance for the prosperity of the young journal: it procured it favor in high places. It soon being no secret that the king was among its most eager readers, the barriers were completely broken through, which might have denied it entrance to the party of the court, nobility and army, ever powerful in Germany. The *Kladderadatsch* was from that moment forth received in the salons of the most exclusive society, and it has at all times and amid all changes

sustained with tact and circumspection the double character of a people's journal, ever truly devoted to liberty and to healthful progress, and of an organ at once feared and admired, even in the highest circles, by reason of the exquisite piquancy of its wit.

King Frederick Wilhelm of Prussia, was, as is well known, a monarch of high mental gifts. Here is not the place to undertake to delineate his character, and we merely venture to recall the fact that with a romantic fancy for mediæval political forms and class organization, by which he came into the sharpest contrast with the aspirations at that time prevailing in popular life, he possessed all the liking of the genuine "child of Berlin" for racy, disintegrating wit. Only this latter quality, which strangely contrasted with the otherwise affectionate and poetic disposition of the monarch, explains how he could feel attracted by a sheet which in the direction in which it delighted to give full play to its ridicule, must have almost roused in him a downright antipathy. Thus, the most remorseless derision pursued all efforts and all persons who aimed at putting new life into feudal institutions, the privileges of the nobility, and so forth, while especial ridicule was poured upon the class arrogance of the military party by means of the irresistibly droll characters of the Barons of Prudelwitz and Strudelwitz. Here belong some of the best and most sparkling pages of this witty sheet. That it succeeded in this in a state where the significance of the military organization is so conspicuously great that the nobility, in filling the higher positions in the army, is only too much inclined to regard itself as the first and most privileged estate in the kingdom, is assuredly a most meritorious achievement in the sense of progress.

To appreciate duly the influence of the leading German comic paper and to comprehend its popularity, we must here examine the stereotyped characters it has created and point to the originals in social life for which they are meant. These characters are seized and held with a so extraordinarily happy grasp, they are so typical, and notwithstanding the caricaturist's exaggeration which of course marks them, so true, so striking in their likeness, that they have stood, up to the present day, without growing stale, and must be looked upon as model achievements in this field. Thanks to these, the *Kladderadatsch* may have a claim to being not a mere jester, but an organ for seriously meant satire, in the best and most appropriate sense of the word. We have already mentioned the comic characters of the Barons of Prudelwitz and Strudelwitz who from time to time exchange in the columns of the paper, epistolary effusions

apropos of the events of the day. They form a constant quiz on certain peculiar features which, though far from being always noticeable among the nobles and higher military class of Prussia, are still very common, and so inherent and unpleasantly striking, that to these may be traced the strong dislike which Prussian appearance and actions are pretty sure to encounter in the rest of Germany. If any one finds this surprising, he must again be reminded that the army forms one of the most prominent features of the Prussian political system, the one in fact which outwardly shows itself the most and which, too, with the prevailing universal obligation to serve, makes itself the most keenly felt among the people. The Baron of Prudelwitz or Strudelwitz forms the real original of what is popularly understood by a Prussian "Junker," the most extreme presumption on noble lineage and military rank, together with total lack of brains, as shown in an affected language mixed with bits of French, in forcible and exaggerated phrases, and in all sorts of far fetched expressions overlaid with misunderstood allusions which are meant to appear bright and witty, but only serve to distort true wit. For instance, he never assures you "'pon honor," "on my word,"—that way of speaking is for him far too cheap,—but rather, "on my waist," "on my hip." Anything remarkable, distinguished for size, he calls not simply great, but "pyramidal," and he even talks about "pyramidal" or "nihilistic wits." When Count Arnim aimed his famous pamphlet "*Pro Nihilo*" at Bismarck, Prudelwitz expressed his delight to Strudelwitz in the following fashion.¹ "Cher Baron, you know my sentiments, accordingly can sentence, how 'Pro Nihilo' delectates me. Manna in the political wilderness, fine-salted and coarse-grained as Schierikoff's Caviar, bears' paws with *sauce piquante*, game-ragout with Cayenne pepper, literary truffle-pie, in short, real genuine delight, tickling of my senses, or as Latin remarks, jaudium. Devoured with cupidity, and sipped the words as though they were sack."

Prudelwitz puts j in the place of g in *gaudium*, and does so in accordance with the peculiar way of speaking prevalent in the March of Brandenburg, the original Prussian kernel of the kingdom, and in Berlin, of course, where the g is constantly pronounced as j. As all the

¹ "Cher Baron! Kennen Gesinnung, mögen als beurtheilen, wie mich "*Pro Nihilo*" delectirt. Manna in politischer Wüste, fein gesalzen und grobkörnig wie Caviar von Shir-okoff, Bärentatze mit *sauce piquante*, Wild Ragout mit Cayennepfeffer, literarische Trüffelpatete, kurz, wahrhafter genuss, Sinneskitzel, oder wie Lateiner sagt, jaudium. Habe mit Begier verschlungen und Worte geschlurft, als ob Sekt wäre." (Kladderadatsch, Nov. 21, 1875.)

peculiarities here noticed are most clearly marked in the inhabitant of this region, the types of the Prussian nobility and military class represented are, when introduced, always made to use his dialect. Here also belong the absurd and affected ways of forming sentences, particularly the trick of despising the pronoun as superfluous, as is shown at the immediate beginning of the above quotation. The political creed of the Prudelwitz was always in the sense of the narrowest reaction, privilege of the nobility, sworn enmity to all progresses in state and society, obscurantism in all fields of intellectual life, arrogant contempt for all other ranks, and especially for the leaders in science, without, attentions the most devoted, within, the sentiments of the rake. His favorite organ is the representative of the feudal party, the *Kreuzzeitung*, which, till a short time since, might pass for the one which alone gave adequate expression to the views of the whole conservative party in Prussia. The very latest time has now brought to pass a mighty change in this. Since the breach between Prince Bismarck and the so-called "*Kreuzzeitungspartie*" which has a strong following in the Prussian upper house, the *Herrenhaus*, and a portion of the clergy and the army, the conservative party has split. The ground continually maintained by the faction headed by that paper, that it singly and alone shielded "throne and altar from the dangers of revolution," became untenable when Prince Bismarck contested it, and this could not fail to change the attitude, and to exert a decomposing influence upon the views of the Prussian noble and military class. Of course this must now have its effect also upon the correspondence of the Barons of Prudelwitz and Strudelwitz, and *Kladderadatsch* has succeeded in very cleverly turning the fact to account. As heretofore, these gentlemen are at one in their sentiments and in the real essence of their opinions, but yet they now are at variance in their attitude. "To be or not to be," now means for them, "Shall we go with Bismarck against the *Kreuzzeitung*, or stand by the old party colors and defy the Prince Chancellor of the Empire?" In a speech made in the Reichstag no great while ago, the latter had stigmatized the attitude of the *Kreuzzeitung* as nothing less than contemptible and unpatriotic, and had besides declared that a respectable man would avoid subscribing for it. Against this public attack on a journal, a protest was soon issued by the most decided adherents of the old conservative party who daily had their signatures printed in its columns as a vindication of its course. Hereupon our Barons split, and came to a difference of opinions which is brought out in the following ludicrous fashion:

Epistle of Baron Prudelwitz to Baron Strudelwitz:¹

"Cher Baron! Why protest of *Kreuzzeitung* not yet signed? What's the world to think if *your* name is missing? *Quant à moi*, can't conceive that it's left out of the list, although as a matter of course one of the first signers and actual *auteurs* or *acteurs* in chief of the idea. Please to enquire (*recherchiren*) whence happens; whether mere oversight or *redacthörichte* neglect. Will be named, prize it as an honor if placed on the proscription list by the imperial denunciator, called Anzeiger (the official journal of the Empire). Will provoke the chancellor, see who can stop me from subscribing to *Kreuzzeitung*. Have subscribed for one hundred copies for next quarter by post; circulate them gratis in the environs, etc."

Baron Strudelwitz replies:²

"Because will not expose myself, because like to take reflections, because have broken not verily with the conservative party, but with eccentric principles, do not run my head through walls and into abyss with eyes open, finally because don't see what more can attain than already effectively enjoy—therefore have not protested. The more joyfully as *Johanniter*—or is it *Samariter*—bind up the heart-wounds of friend. *Dieu des Dieux*, cher ami, that can never yet see how everything turn out for our advantage! *We everywhere* again on top! *We* greater than ever! What shall say, even though a couple of bourgeois in ministerial seats. With state functionary more depends on *sitzfleisch* than on complexion."

¹ Cher Baron! Warum Protest von *Kreuzzeitung* noch nicht unterzeichnet? Was soll Welt denken, wenn Ihr Name fehlt? *Quant à moi*, so begreife nicht, dass auf Liste ausgelassen, obgleich doch selbstverständlich Einer von erste Unterzeichner und eigentlich Auteur oder doch Hauptacteur von Idee. Bitte zu *recherchiren* wovon liegt: ob bloss Versehen oder *redacthörichte* Nachlässigkeit. Will genannt sein, schätze zu Chre, wenn von Reichs-denunciant, nomme Anzeiger [the official organ] auf Proscriptionsliste gesetzt. Will Kanzler ärgern: will doch sehen, wer hindern kann, auf *Kreuzzeitung* zu *abouniren*! Habe für nächstes Quartal 100 Exemplare auf Post bestellt. Werde gratis in Umgegend verbreiten, etc.

² Lieber Baron! Weil mich nicht bloss stellen will, weil Rücksichten nehme, weil zwar nicht mit conservativer Partie, aber mit excentrische Grundsätze gebrochen habe, weil nicht mit Kopf durch Wand und mit offene Augen in Abgrund renne, weil endlich nicht einsehe, was noch mehr erreichen können, als jetst factisch geniessen—darum habe nicht protestirt. Desto freudiger kann als barmherziger *Johanniter*—orde heisst es *Samariter*?—Seelenwunden von Freund verbinden. *Dieu des Dieux*, cher ami—dass noch immer nicht einsehen wollen, wie alles nur zu unsern Besten ausgeschlagen! *Wir* überall wieder oben auf! *Wir* grösser als je! Was will sagen, wenn auch Paar Bourgeois in Ministerstühle? Bei Stadtbeamter kommt ja mehr auf Stärke von Sitzfleisch als auf Farbe an. Daher Diplomatic fast ausschliesslich unser Rayon, und in jede andere Beziehung wieder in alter, ja noch grösserer Macht. Sellen denn nicht wir auf Umkehr zu romantische Pracht von *Wlittelalter*.

Very ludicrous, also, are the art criticisms of this pair. With Richard Wagner whose *Tristan and Isolde* was the chief musical event of the winter of 1875–1876 in Germany Baron Prudelwitz feels some sympathy, but simply because the composer as sworn foe of the Jews, happens to share the sentiments of a portion of our nobility and higher officers. Otherwise he prefers Offenbach. Among his critical opinions is this:¹ “And what shall I announce respecting *Tristan and Isolde* at which certainly interest was strained? If must be quite frank, must say: understand *gar nichts*. To me another world, *un autre monde*, *terre inconnue*, fable-land, musical China. Surely no doubt it’s a grandiose work of art; but surpasses my horizon. Really understood only the second act and must not fear that with these words am unfair to Maëstro Wagner,—so would say that second act is to be compared only with the Song of Jewish king, Solomon; the song of love is intoxicating, sense captivating, of real oriental glow! Willing to believe that have a spoilt taste, yet must add however: Offenbach’s Jewish music suits me better. Will not think about music nor *musiciren* about thoughts: of the *opera* demand *melody*, piping the *Cancan*, dancing the *March* and blowing so as to drive my blues to the d——l.”

By the side of the types of the noble and military class, to which on account of their great significance, we have devoted an extended description, stand three other types of which we shall speak more briefly. One is the representative of Jewish *chante finance*, Banker Zwickauer. In this humoristic figure, L. Kalisch has caricatured his former principal, the banker Heipziger, whom he has thus immortalized for Germany at least. This delineation, which is as like as a portrait, makes the most of all the features which distinguish a certain inferior species of Jewish plutocracy, indigenous in some of our smaller towns where not seldom it gives the tone. Zwickauer is an art-enthusiast, and in his own opinion a connoisseur, for he thereby shows his

¹ Und was soll über *Tristan und Isolde*, woraus doch gewiss sehr gespannt, melden? Wenn ganz offen sein soll, so muss sagen: verstche gar nicht! Ist mir *un autre monde*, *terre inconnu*, *Fabelland*, *musikalisches China*. Dass grossartiges Kunstwerk, gewiss kein Zweifel; aber übersteigt meinen Horizont. Verstanden habe eigentlich nur zweiten Act; und musste nicht fürchten, dass mit dieser Bemerkung Maëstro Wagner beleidige—so würde sagen: zweiter Act ist nur mit Hohelied von jüdeschem König Salomo zu vergleichen; ist das Hohelied der Liebe, berauschend, sinnbestrickend, von echt orientalische Gluth. Glaube gern, dass verdorbenen Geschmack habe; aber muss doch sagen: judische Musik von Offenbach gefällt mir besser. Will über Musik nicht denken und über gedanken nicht *musiciren*; verlange von oper *Melodie*, die pfeifen *Cancan*, den tanzen, *Marsch*, den blasen kann, um alle grillen zu Treufel zu treiben und *Lied*, das in Frinkstube mit Kameraden oder in Cabinet à part mit holdes Mägdlein singen kann. Voilà mon opinion.

"culture" and his claim to shine in the foremost ranks of society. He never misses an important representation at the theatre, and criticises whatever comes before with infallible certainty. His criticism, by the by, is inadequate in expression, for, on the road from the post of a needy clerk to the rank of a wealthy banker, Zwickauer has of course had no time for thorough study, but still it often hits the nail on the head, and is distinguished by that realism and that cool acumen which are universally peculiar to the Jewish race. Considering the prominent rôle constantly filled by the Jewish element at the *residenz* so long as those sharing in the more highly developed intellectual life had confidence in it,—we would only call to mind the names of the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, of Rahel Levin and Henriette Herz, who in the early part of the century were centres of witty society, and of the composers Felix Mendelssohn, Bartholdy and Meyerbeer, not to speak of the painter Meyerheim, who still lives,—a comic figure like that which Kalisch created in Zwickauer, and to which he gave features drawn from Jewish character and modes of thought and expression, must be pronounced a very happy stroke and a necessary complement in the typical representation of the most important *Kulturelemente*.

A further complement of the same kind is furnished in the letters passing between two pupils of higher educational institutions, Carlchen Miesznick and Adolar von Stint. This correspondence quizzes most amusingly, and brings out many absurd features of the half education and over-education, the feeding with grand words, the premature hot-bed forcing which nowadays so often threatens to stifle all discipline resulting in solid and safe development. Both writers though still members of the lowest classes of the gymnasium have of course long been strangers to any really childlike way of looking at things; they entertain each other with all possible events of the day, and like genuine *enfants terribles* tattle about what, in the social circles to which they belong, (the one is of the *bourgeoisie*, the other of the *adel*), is indeed hinted, but not directly spoken. Finally we may here notice the types which recur in every number under the names of Schulze and Müller. These two have reached immortal fame in all North Germany, for they represent the thoroughly popular element, the lower *bourgeois* class, with its coarseness, its unwieldiness, its motherwit, its healthy instinct, its persistently liberal temper. Bearing as they do the commonest names in Berlin, they talk in a style that savors of the local idiom as well as of a hearty humor and a certain irrepressible audacity peculiar to the

vulgar Berliner. This and the characteristic portrait in which they are represented have rendered them the favorites and common property of a wide circle.

Not less than in the field of jest and humor, where the types of social life so far introduced especially move, this leading comic journal distinguishes itself in the province of sober, political satire, or wherever it is important to raise a severe and dignified opposition to overweening pretensions. In the latter case, it not seldom rises to a pathetic force of expression which very well corresponds to the dominant feeling in Germany. As proof of this, we quote a poem addressed to Victor Hugo. The famous poet, in an address sent to the Peace Congress, employed one of those exaggerated expressions of which he is a recognized master, and had, with other things, said: "Germany and France! Both would create a world. What Germany wished to create was Germany, what France wishes to create is Europe. To create Germany is nothing less than to found the Empire, that is, *Night*. To create Europe means to bring the Democracy into life, that is, *Light*. The future has already made its choice between these two worlds." The answer of *Kladderadatsch* to this runs thus:

Des Weltalls Licht—so steht zu lesen
In deinem Brief mit ptolemäischem Wort—
Ist Frankreich immerdar gewesen,
Der Freiheit sicherer Schirm und Hort.
Seit wann?—Gerechte Zweifel schwirren
Mir um das Haupt. Du bist der Mann,
Der's sicher weiss—ich kann mich irren;
Dum, bitt' ich, sag' mir nur, seit wann?

Ich hört' einmal von einem Lande,
Das man mit ehernen Ruthen schlug,
Und das der Knechtschaft Smach und Schande
Viel hundert Jahre stumm ertrug;
Von lust'gen Kön'gen und Maitressen,
Die frech dem Volke sprechen Hohn.
Wie hiess doch gleich—ich hab's vergessen—
Wie hiess doch gleich die Nation?

Ich hört' einmal von wilden Rotten,
Die auf des Königs Wink und Macht
Sich stürzten auf die Hugenotten
Zu feigem Mord in finst'rer Nacht;
Von Schändung, Plünd'rung, Raub und Flammen.
Ist das bei euch geschehn?—Nein, nein!

's wird wohl ein Märchen nur der Ammen,
Nur ein erlogten Märlein sein.

Ich las von einem Volk, das nächtlich
Ins Reich des stillen Nachbars kam,
Und ihm;—das ist doch sehr verächtlich
Gewaltsam Land und Leute nahm,
Ihm Hof und Heerden frech entrissen.
Ich find den Namen nicht sogleich;
Du, Victor, wirst ihn sicher wissen—
Wie hiess das Volk und jenes Reich?

Ich las einmal von dem Despoten,
Den einst Lätitia's Brust gesäugt,
Vor dem die Republik der Rothen
Sich, als vor ihrem Gott, gebeugt.
Des Krieses Brand schwang er verwegen,
Ver derben bracht'er aller Welt.
Wie hiess doch gleich der Freiheitsdegen?
Nenn' mir den Namen, wenn's gefällt!

Ich sah wie auf den Thron geklommen
Ein Parvenu—wie hiess er doch?
Ein ganzes Volk hiess ihn willkommen
Und trug schier zwanzig Jahr sein Joch.
Die Freiheit trat er keck zu Boden,
Das Licht der Wahrheit löscht'waus;
Und doch ward in Begeisterungs-Oden
Gefeiert ER sammt SEINEM Haus.

Ich' seh wie jetst zum Ketzer-Braten
Der Pfaff' den Scheiterhaufen schürt,
Ich seh' ein Volk, das Von Prälaten
Zu Wunderquellen wird geführt;
Seh' rings nur schwarze Pilgerheere,
Und höre, wie der Bischof spricht:
Zum Satan mit der freien Lehre!
Von Roma kommt allein das Licht!

Ist das die Leuchte, die ihr zündet?
Ist das die neue Wunderkraft,
Mit der die Freiheit ihr begründet
Und eine neue Welt erschafft?
Ist das die Zukunft hoch erkoren?
Dann mit der "Völker-Harmonie"
Larst mich, ich bitt'euch, ungeschoren!
Ich hab' genug davon! Merci'!¹

¹ The "Light of the Universe"—so runs your letter with haughty phrase—hath France

A specimen of another sort is offered in the following piece, which appeared of late in the *Kladderadatsch*, when the editors of a Frankfort journal were sentenced to imprisonment for having refused to give the name of the author of an article which they had published. *Kladderadatsch*, alluding to a saying of Frederick the Great's "Newspapers are not to be interfered with," proceeds :

Nein, man genirt sie nicht ! Ganz ungenirt
Kann jede Zeitung, wie sie will erscheinen.
Dass man sie dann mitunter confiscirt,
Läcst mit der Freiheit sich gar leicht vereinen.
Man fasst nur den, der schlecht gesinnt und böo
Und schont den Gutgesinnten, Braven, Netten ;
Und wäre nur erst Jeder officiös——
O welche Lust zu schreiben für Gazetten !

Der Zeugnisszwang wirkt freilich unbequem ;
Doch warum schweigt ihr auch, anstatt zu zeugen ?
So leicht legt sich ein Zeugniß ab, mit dem
Zedwedem weiteren. Unheil vorzubeugen !
Wie lächerlich, als ob die Schreiber auch,
Die Literaten wirklich " Ehre " hätten !
Was ist gegebenes Wort ? Nur Schall und Rauch !
O welche Lust, zu schreiben für Gazetten !

at all times been, for she is Freedom's certain rock and shield. How long? Well-grounded doubts swarm about my head. I may be wrong; but you, who are the one to know the truth, tell me, I pray, how long?

Once I heard of a country that they smote with brazen rods, that dumbly bore for many a hundred years the shame and dishonor of servitude; I heard of merry monarchs and mistresses who saucily derided the nation—what was its name? I have forgotten.

Of wild dragons, that by royal command fell upon the Huguenots, murdering them dastardly in the gloom of night, of rape, of pillage, of robbery and of burnings—of these things I've heard. Did they occur in your country? No, no! This is some old wives' tale, a mere lying story!

A nation stole by night into the realm of a peaceful neighbor, and base deed! wrested from him land and people, seized his home and hearth. I don't recall the name; but you, Victor, surely will know the name both of the nation and of the realm.

I once read of the despot whom Lætitia nourished. Before him, as before its God, bowed the republic of the reds. Frantically swinging the firebrand of war, he spread ruin far and wide. Who then drew the sword of freedom? His name, if you please!

I saw how a parvenu (named —?) climbing to the throne, was welcomed by a whole people that for full twenty years bore his yoke. He insolently trod Freedom to the earth, extinguished the light of truth, and yet he and all his house were celebrated in rapturous odes.

I see how the priest is already stirring the fire for heretic-roasting. I see swarms of black-robed pilgrims, led to miraculous founts where prelates cry: To Satan with free speech! From Rome only comes the light!

Is that the lamp ye are lighting? Is that the wonder-working power wherewith ye establish Freedom and create a new world? Is that the future ye would have? Then in such a "Harmonie des Peuples" I beg to be excused! Enough! Merci!

Nun, Wenn ihr's wollt, so ist dort ein Quartier,
 Das wird nur auf sechs Monat überlassen ;
 Die Miethe spart und sonst noch Manches ihr
 Und kömmt ein Ruh' dort, was ihr wollt verfassen.
 Marsch ! Marsch hinein ! Eh' die sechs Monat um,
 Kann auch nein Gott aus diesen Zellen retten.
 Da gehn sie hin ! Nicht wahr o Publikum ?
 Welch' eine Lust zu schreiben für Gazetten !¹

In addition to the *Kladderadatsch* there now appear in Berlin these illustrated comic journals: *Die Wespen*, *Der Ulk*, *Die Berliner*, *Fliegenden Blätter*, *Der Eulenspiegel*. They are, however, merely gratuitous supplements to political sheets, and are destitute of independent significance as well as deficient in polish. The *Wespen*, edited by Julius Stettenheim, takes higher rank, and in many respects competes successfully with the *Kladderadatsch*, which it sometimes excels in freshness if not in point. The *Wespen* has, for instance, taken up the interviewer, a figure known to us only from America, and with no little skill and humor turns him to account in describing meetings with famous personages. Further, it lashes with exceedingly cutting satire the freaks of the socialistic Labor party, and the crusade which it openly preaches against the property-holding classes.

Turning from North to South Germany, we meet at once the *Fliegenden Blätter* already spoken of, which appears in Munich, the capital of South Germany. Being, as above remarked, not a genuine political comic paper, the *Fliegenden Blätter* cultivates a stingless humor, but is none the less a favorite, and deservedly so, on account of the much respected names of its contributors, its abundant and cleverly-executed illustrations, and the pithy, homebred humor of real German stamp which is always to be found in its columns. The period when this sheet was most brilliant, lies some twenty-five or thirty years back. Founded by Kasper Braun, the excellent artist

¹ No, they are not interfered with! Every journal is at perfect liberty to appear. Meanwhile they're confiscated,—a thing quite compatible with Freedom. Only the ill-disposed and naughty are seized; the well-disposed, worthy, nice ones are spared. What fun to write for the papers if every fellow were only semi-official!

To be compelled to testify is indeed uncomfortable, yet why not testify when it is so easy to give evidence and thus prevent any further trouble. How laughable! As if the *literati* had real honor! Plighted faith is but sound and smoke. What fun it is to write for newspapers!

Now, if you like, yonder is a six months' lodging where you save rent and many another thing, have repose, whatever you want to write. Forward! March in! Ere the six months come round, not any God can rescue you from those cells. Is it not so, dear Public? What fun to write for newspapers!

who is at present its conductor, and by the bookseller Schneider, its first appearance in 1844 was for Germany, as yet without any comic periodical, an unheard of innovation, and made an incredible sensation. Munich was the very city to supply such an enterprise at once with first-rate artistic forces, less bent on money-making than on having a good place to give vent to their fancies. Thus we find among the contributors to the undertaking Kopisch, J. Kerner, Vogel, Count Franz von Pocci, the famous Munich humorist lately deceased, and, furthermore, Hermann Dyck and Stauber. Yes, even the master, Ludwig Schwanthaler, the heir to Thorwaldsen's fame, was not too proud to devote many a leisure hour to this comic enterprise. Under these circumstances there was and could be no lack of successful hits. A series of most amusing types reflected the temper and life, the ways and actions, more prevalent in that political dead-calm of thirty years ago than in the Germany of to-day, and did it with so vivid a light that in South and North the Munich paper soon grew to be a favorite. Two or three of the most successful figures of this series, which, though created in that earlier period, are not yet forgotten, can here be introduced. One, the *Stadtshämorrhoidarius* is a creation of Count Pocci's, marked by classic humor and inexhaustible vigor, for the original still lives, though in fewer specimens than thirty years ago, among German bureaucrats, and, we suppose, not among them alone. This original is that living, quill-driving machine, that bureaucrat of the purest water, who grows grey behind bundles of paper and in the dust of documents, knows nothing higher than the bureau, the desk at which he spins out his thread of life, the public service which for him means the universe; no one more awful than his superior, in whose pleasant or angry looks his fate stands written, since from him comes the recommendation to a higher post or to an order which, as his noblest ideal, satisfies the longings of his heart. The vigorous lines of Count Pocci's capital sketches have immortalized this hardened specimen, met everywhere in the official class, and, above all, where he lives in narrow, needy circumstances. The figure thus delineated is so true to life and so full of humor that it might serve for a companion piece to Jean Paul's "*vergnügte Spulmeisterlein Wutz*." In perfect keeping with the innocent humor which prevailed in Germany before the exciting times of '48 were the zigzag journeys of Dr. Eiöete and his protégé Baron Beisele. This invention of Braun's gained great applause and universal renown for its ridiculing in a good natured way the peculiarities and strange freaks of the German race. The year 1848 was reflected in the *Fliegenden Blätter* in the

droll forms of Wühlhuber and Heulmaier. Both represented the great contrasts at that period prevailing especially among the *bourgeois* class. Wühlhuber, a man of the times, wants to undermine, alter or upset everything, throne, altar, the political constitution and social arrangements, which appear to him "*urfaul*." To be sure he does not exactly know what ought to take the place of the old, and in this respect the agitators of the present day, as distinguished from those of 1848, have far clearer ideas, but enough that everything must be changed. His friend and colleague Heulmaier, on the contrary, fears the most serious misfortunes from this continual turmoil, he can not get over his anxiety, and is forever lamenting and bewailing. Hence his name, for *heulen* is the cry of anguish and distress. At last the twain can not bear to live any longer in Germany, they go to America, and there, in many journeyings, their principal acquisition is a practical way of viewing things which finally brings them, now in better circumstances, back to Germany. The characters of Heulmaier and Wühlhuber were the only attempts on a larger scale which the *Fliegenden Blätter* made in the field of political satire. As the *Kladderadatsch* was founded about this time and took sharper hold of the events of the day, the Munich journal withdrew more and more into the province of mere humor, where it has maintained down to the present moment an almost undisputed mastery. Here we can only refer to the amusing "Lehrreiches Thier ABC;" an invention of Wilhelm Busch, who is one of the most prominent contributors of the most recent period. The author of innumerable drolleries, he shows genius both as a caricaturist and in the field of comic poetry.

Munich formerly possessed still another pretty widely-circulated comic journal, *Punsch*, which however was discontinued after a tolerably long life. Now there are only two other papers of this kind in the South German capital, one the *Bremse*, edited by Dr. Sigl, one of the most jealous and wrong-headed supporters of the ultramontane cause, and the other a liberal journal of not much point, called the *Deutsche Mich'l*. Both are hardly known beyond the limits of upper Bavaria, and can never claim any particular attention. The slight importance to be attributed to this ultramontane sheet, goes to prove how poor in wit is the party which it represents. If anywhere in Germany, it must be in Bavaria that we are to find the place, where, in the so-called *Kulturkampf* now raging, the struggles and antipathies, the wrath and zeal of the ultramontanes have risen high enough to enable them to wield in the battle the mighty weapon of ridicule and satire. For the stronghold of that party is undoubtedly in Ba-

varia. On this piece of German soil it still retains a really powerful support in the Catholic portion of the population, and though its influence in the cities is for the most part broken or on the decline, it takes the firmer root in the minds of the numerous inhabitants of the country districts. In spite of this, the leaders of the party, who, as is known, are wont to be anything but niggardly with their money whenever the attainment of an objective point in their war on the government is at stake, have never succeeded in calling into life an organ which should cope with the far-reaching influence of the liberal comic journals. It is above all to be noted as a peculiar phenomenon that in Germany political wit, satire, and humor always appear in league with liberal and national thought, or at least, show a sound development, and bear fruit only when so placed, while they sicken and die off if on the opposing side. When in 1862 the reaction in Prussia took a new start, the then all-powerful, conservative feudal party, to break the influence of the hated *Kladderadatsch*, tried to set on foot an organ of its own, named the *Kleiner Reactionair*. All attempts were vain. The contrast in acuteness and wit was so marked that the party was disgusted with its own organ, which, after its support had sunk enormous sums of money, had to be discontinued. This unlucky attempt which cost so dear, has never since then been repeated. In other places, the consequences have been similar. As Bavaria has been above designated as the stronghold of ultramontaniam, so on the other hand, we may consider the kingdom of Saxony as the home of the particularistic tendency in the empire, of that political opinion which calls for the greatest possible independence in the separate states, and is disposed to leave as little as possible to the central power in the realm represented by Prussia. The same opinion, though with a decidedly democratic tinge and hence very hostile to the forms of monarchical government and the empire, is strong in the city of Frankfort, which, once free, had in 1866 to yield its political independence to Prussia, and has not yet consoled itself for the loss. Yet in these two hotbeds of particularism the periodical press includes only one organ which makes an effort at least to hold its own in the humorous field, and to profit by the weaknesses of the opposing party in using them as material for satire. This, the *Frankfurter Latern*, is edited by Friedrich Stolze, a wit of undoubtedly high gifts, who handles with particular mastery the local dialect. But this sheet also, formerly much read, is at present failing, and sees its circle of readers diminish more and more. In Dresden, moreover, the artistic and populous capital of Saxony, the

comic papers to be had confine themselves to the scantiest local tattle. All attempts thus far made to furnish political satire on the larger scale have long since been abandoned.

In Germany the condition of the press has gradually grown more tolerable, and this must be very essentially ascribed to the influence exerted by the comic periodicals. The many vexations and petty annoyances, to which German papers used to be treated by the superintending authorities, have grown somewhat less. This lies, in some measure, in the difficulty experienced by the police at all times in the business of prosecuting the comic journals. The *Kladderadatsch*, for instance, was banished from Berlin in 1848, the editor had even to take refuge abroad, but the favorite had already become so great a necessity that it was smuggled into Berlin in bales. The police soon comprehended that the exclusion was not to be maintained so easily, and after the lapse of a few months *Kladderadatsch* returned in triumph to Berlin, while its credit of course grew apace. Gradually it came to be a settled practice to let the comic papers alone by preference, and to insure them greater license in expression than had otherwise been the custom in Prussia. But this must necessarily benefit the other journals more or less, because it was hardly fair to measure one paper with one rule, another with another. In this way, during the last twenty years, if we except occasional persecutions, the press has experienced milder treatment from the police, though our laws are unhappily even now very Draconian.

At the close of this study, two points may deserve an especial mention. One, is that our prominent organs have so far constantly cultivated a decidedly becoming attitude, that they have scorned to work with indelicate or obscene jests. Particularly to the *Kladderadatsch* is this praise due without reservation, and its attitude has remained as an example in a domain where it is so easy to fall into the danger of making up for the want of point by tickling a fondness for the *equivoque*, and so coming more or less near vulgarities. The other is that the illustrations in our comic papers have remained in a certain stage of imperfection, which fact distinguishes them, and by no means to their advantage, from most foreign journals of the kind. A comparison is here very easy. It touches the Austrian comic journals at which we wish now to throw a hasty glance. With them it stands quite otherwise as regards the two points last adduced. Taking up a number of the *Floh*, founded in 1869, which appears in large size once a week, we find ourselves in certain measure on French

soil. The bold portraits and groups which do not at all yield to the best things done abroad, the nudities reappearing in every number which belong to the favorite pictures of the *Floh*, the personal attacks directed commonly at railroad and bank directors, and at the great manufacturers,—all stand in sharp contrast with the genuine German comic journals. The *Bombe*, which has existed since 1871, is still more marked in this regard. It is even a shade farther “advanced” in its jokes, and is an especial favorite in the boudoirs of the *femmes entretenues*, of the regular *cocottes*, and of those stage ladies with whom art plays a secondary part. The edition of this journal must attain four or five thousand copies. The same *genre* is cultivated by the *Neue Humoristische Blätter*, first issued in 1873, a paper occupied with the revelation of boudoir secrets and the scandals of the *coulisses*. To the more decent sheets belongs the *Figaro*, the oldest humoristic journal that has appeared in Vienna since 1848. Founded in 1857, it in our time has lost much of the circulation it had for ten full years. It has never ceased to combat political and social errors. Finally, there is the *Kikeriki*, which comes nearest the *Kladderadatsch* in popularity, tone, and circulation, if not in the point and elegance of its wit. It has a circulation of twenty-five thousand copies. Less caustic and not so biting as the *Kladderadatsch*, and also less inoffensive than the Munich *Fliegenden Blätter*, it understands how to follow the popular breath, and to give expression to the prevailing mood. The political *moment* does not take as leading a part in the *Kikeriki* as in the Prussian, or rather German organs, most of its blows being leveled at the abuses of the church, at the bigotry shown by the zealots, and at what is known as *Spiessbürgerthum*. Taken as a whole, it must be recognized as holding a high and independent position. O. F. Berg, the author of many pieces which have had great success among the people, has been editor of this most important Vienna comic journal ever since its foundation in 1861. We ought also to make mention of the fact that in the majority of these Austrian journals, a place is set apart for the reception of financial communications. Events in the banking world are treated *seriously*; but the financier with his serious and important aims, ought not to have the same organ as the humorist who merely desires to attack abuses with the arms of wit. The comic journals of the German press have so far preserved their independence, and it is to be hoped that they will avoid a connection which would surely imperil their integrity.

TWO NORSE SAGAS.¹

NORSE history is the most cosmopolitan of all histories. It embraces, at some period or other, some part of the history of every great civilized nation; and the histories of the great nations of Europe would be fragmentary and incomplete if the Norse factor were left out. Especially is this true of England. The Norse or Norman invasion is the alpha and the omega of English greatness; or, as Emerson puts it, the "*Heimskringla*, or the Sagas of the Kings of Norway," is the Iliad and Odyssey of English history.

It was the flower of Norse manhood which followed Rollo on his viking cruises, which conquered Normandy, and, after Normandy, England. It is upon the Norse corner-stone that the British state of to-day rests, and a Norman pedigree is still the pride of the first families of the land. Under the leadership of Robert Guiscard, the Norsemen planted colonies in Sicily and Naples, and long before they had found their way to Constantinople, where they formed the body-guard of the Greek emperors. During the ninth and tenth centuries we find their nests of vikings scattered along the shores of the Baltic; they penetrated into the heart of Russia (*Gardarike*), and, as the saga records prove conclusively, crossed the Atlantic and discovered America (Vinland), some four centuries earlier than Columbus. A race with such a vista of great deeds behind it must, it is safe to assume, have some abiding virtue of its own which distinguishes it from the bulk of humanity; and a closer scrutiny of its internal history, its literature, laws, and social institutions, will abundantly justify this assumption.

¹ "The Story of Burnt Njal; or, Life in Iceland at the End of the Tenth Century." From the Icelandic of Njal's Saga. By George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L. With an Introduction, Maps, and Plans. Two volumes. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1861.

"The Story of Gisli the Outlaw." From the Icelandic. By George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L. With Illustrations by C. E. St. John Mildmay. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1866.

The literary monuments of the Norsemen, the so-called sagas, are very numerous, of grand proportions, massive in structure and bold in conception, as one would expect with such a simple, vigorous, and large-souled race. What they may lack in artistic finish is amply compensated for by strength of individualization, homely directness of style, and fierce bursts of primitive passion. It is the cold, fresh air of the North which blows against us out of these pages, and hurries the narrative on toward its tragic *dénouement*. The events which the sagas describe are large, simple, and weighty, and the motives which lie behind them are plain and easily deciphered. Love and hatred, the sacred duty of vengeance, avarice, and the thirst for honor are the psychological facts with which the sagaman has to deal, and the more intricate complexity of motive which meets us in the modern romance is utterly unknown to him.

It is easy enough to dispose of the civilization here described, as the intensely Gallic Taine has done in the introduction to his "History of English Literature," by calling it rude and barbarous. Of course it was rude, and it would have been strange if it had been otherwise. But for all that, there are certain phases of it which do not class themselves readily under this category. In their staunch love of liberty, in their recognition of the rights of the citizen in his relation to the ruler, and, above all, in their legal institutions, these barbarians were considerably in advance of the feudal states of Southern Europe. In Hakon Adelsten's Gulathing's Law, as well as in the later Icelandic Code, the English Magna Charta is foreshadowed, and the structure of the Icelandic state is the embryo which the centuries have developed into the constitutional monarchy of to-day.

By far the noblest and most artistically perfect of the Norse sagas, with the exception of Snorre's great work,¹ is the Njala, or Njal's Saga, which Dr. George W. Dasent has rendered into admirable English under the title "The Story of Burnt Njal." Its authorship has never been definitely settled, and probably never can be, although the chronology and other internal evidence vaguely point to Sæmund hin Frode, from whom the elder, or Sæmundar Edda, derives its name. The author, whoever he was, must have been a man of broad culture, measured by the standard of his age, and an artist of no mean rank. His style has a grave stateliness

¹ "*Heimskringla* ; or, The Sagas of the Sea-Kings of Norway." Translated into English by Samuel Laing, Esq. London. 1844.

and dignity which scorn the flimsy ornament of metaphors and superfluous rhetoric. A deep-chested, masculine tone pervades the book from beginning to end. The coloring is sombre throughout, varied, though not enlivened, by sword-gleams of grim humor, and the lighter scenes and passages trace themselves in lurid relief upon this gloomy background of unending woe. Compared to the *Njala*, the *Antigone* and the *Seven before Thebes* assume almost the character of comedy. A tragedy of denser texture and deeper dye hardly any literature has ever produced.

The characters are probably all historical, and their genealogy is traced with painstaking minuteness. The scene is Iceland; the time of the action falls between the years 960-1016; and, as the saga must have been reduced to writing at a very early period, before the incidents related therein had yet faded from the memory of those who had known the heroes themselves or their nearest descendants, there is every reason for assuming that we are dealing with actual history. Moreover, the moral code of Iceland prescribed the utmost conscientiousness in relating the deeds of the dead, and any deviation from the truth was deemed highly culpable and exposed the offender to the vengeance of the surviving kinsmen. The present saga furnishes some striking instances of the extravagant importance attached to mocking songs reflecting upon another man's honor, and death was not thought too heavy a penalty for him who had thus abused his talent. Thus the scald Sigmund Lambi's Son pays with his life for his mockery of *Njal* and his sons. Honor was the god whom all men worshiped; the instinct of self-preservation made every one anxious to guard his fair name; for the Norsemen were well aware how dignity suffers where the laugh is turned against one.

The saga opens, after some preliminary remarks about the wealth and power of the chieftain Fiddle Mord, with a little domestic scene which impresses one like a gleam of sunshine preceding the first wild burst of the thunder-storm. Hrut, the son of Dalakoll, pays a visit to his brother Hauskuld, whose little daughter, Hallgerda, is playing on the floor before him. Hauskuld calls his daughter to him, takes her playfully by the chin, and kisses her; then, in his paternal pride, he invites his brother to admire the loveliness of her face and her fair form.

"What dost thou think of this maiden?" he asks. "Is she not fair?"

Hrut holds his peace, and when pressed for an opinion he

makes bold to answer, "Fair enough is this maid, and many will smart for it; but this I know not, whence thief's eyes have come into our race."

This causes an alienation between the brothers, and for a time they see little of each other.

Additional significance is attached to these words of Hrut's by the fact that he is gifted with second-sight, and it is needless to say that his prophecy is abundantly fulfilled. Hallgerda is the heroine and the evil genius of the saga. She is described as hard-hearted and lavish, but withal so fair of face that no man could look long upon her and believe her evil. She was tall and stately of growth, and had so much hair, of a bright golden hue, that she could wrap herself in it as in a garment. According to the custom of the time, she was given "to be fostered" to a man inferior in birth and station to her own father. The foster-father seems in this case to have been an inmate of the house, although it frequently happened that chieftains sent their children away to some friend or dependent, to be reared by him until they reached the age of manhood or womanhood. Thiostolf, Hallgerda's foster-father, was an unruly, quarrelsome, and suspicious man, whose influence upon his foster-child was none of the best. She marries against her will a man named Thorwald, and provokes him, by her lavishness and ill-temper, to strike her on the cheek, which offence Thiostolf avenges by slaying the husband.

It does not appear that any special odium attaches to Hallgerda in consequence of this deed, and in a few months she marries another man, Glum Olaf's Son, who also strikes her, and is slain by Thiostolf. Now, the old Icelandic law stipulates that "every man shall owe the same duty to his wife as he owes to himself," and to strike her, even for a grave offense, was regarded as a mean and cowardly act. If he struck her in public, he owed her the same satisfaction as he would have exacted from another man if he had offered her the same insult; and if the offense was thrice repeated, it was legal ground for divorce. Respect for woman, as Tacitus affirms, seems to be an inherent characteristic of the whole Germanic race, and her position in Icelandic society was by no means so unfavorable as, judging by the many barbarous customs of the age, we might be justified in assuming. Any grievance on the part of the wife, if she were of free birth, would be sure to be resented and avenged by her mighty relatives, a circumstance which served as a wholesome check on the husband in case he was inclined to treat her with harshness and injustice. During the age of paganism

a divorce was procured without great difficulty, if both parties were agreed in demanding it. The marriage portion of the wife had then to be returned to her, unless she had been guilty of adultery or plotted against her husband's life. The divorce had to be proclaimed thrice in the presence of witnesses, and each time the cause assigned: the first time before the marriage-bed, then before the principal entrance to the house, and at last at the *Thing* (the general assembly). Probably some of this formality might be dispensed with, if it was the husband who with legal reason demanded the dissolution of the marriage. Legal reasons, besides adultery, were incompatibility of temper, barrenness, desertion, refusal of the bed, etc. The law also recognized difference of religion as valid ground for separation. And finally, if the husband showed signs of effeminacy, as, for instance, if he wore a shirt cut low in the bosom, or any other garment used only by the other sex, the wife was at liberty to leave him. With the introduction of Christianity, the code was gradually amended, according to the spirit of the new religion, until at last only unfaithfulness and relationship in the forbidden degrees could dissolve the marriage union.

But to return to the *Njala*. The story now gathers a fresh interest by the introduction of its hero, Gunnar of Lithend (*Hlidhar-endi*), whose character is well worthy of a closer analysis. In him the national ideal has crystallized itself, as that of medieval Germany did in Siegfried, and that of ancient Greece in Achilles. It is a distinctly Germanic ideal, and has as such many features in common with the hero of the *Nibelungen Lied*; Siegfried, however, as the medieval poet represents him, has been refined by a later age, and moulded in conformity with the chivalrous fancy of the twelfth century, while in Gunnar the ideal Germanic virtues shine in all their primeval strength and grandeur. It was probably this very feeling which induced Wagner to reject the more modernized tale of the *Niblungs* as a plot for his musical trilogy, and adopt in its stead its ruder and withal far more dramatic form as preserved in the Icelandic *Völsunga Saga*.

We quote the characterization of Gunnar as showing the traits, physical and mental, which the saga age especially valued: "He was a tall man in growth, and a strong man—best skilled in arms of all men. He could cut or thrust or shoot, if he chose, as well with his left as with his right hand, and he smote so swiftly with his sword that three seemed to be flashing through the air at once. He was the best shot with the bow of all men, and never missed his

mark. He could leap more than his height, with all his war-gear, and as far backward as forward. He could swim like a seal, and there was no game in which it would avail for any one to strive with him; and so it has been said that no man was his match. He was handsome of feature and fair-skinned. His nose was straight and turned a little up at the end. He was blue-eyed and bright-eyed and ruddy-cheeked. His hair was thick and of good hue, and hanging down in comely curls. The most courteous of men was he, of sturdy frame and strong will, bountiful and gentle, a fast friend, but hard to please when making them. He was wealthy in goods."

The accomplishments here enumerated constitute "the liberal education" of that day. They were, besides a knowledge of runes, what every youth of rank had to acquire, as all honor and gain, and even life itself, depended upon them. Notice, again, the characteristically Germanic antitheses of strength and gentleness, fidelity in friendship and slowness in forming it—traits which recur in nearly every man whom the saga holds up for admiration.

The next chapters are occupied by the account of a lawsuit which Gunnar undertakes in behalf of his kinswoman Unna, who has been separated from Hauskuld's brother, Hrut. This brings him into contact with Iceland's greatest lawyer, Njal, and is the beginning of an enduring friendship. He then goes sea-roving, fights with other vikings, visits Norway, Sweden, and the lands around the Baltic, and at last returns to Iceland laden with honor and precious booty. With a large body of retainers he rides to the *Althing*, as it was the custom for every freeman to do, but his fame spreads before him, and at the *Thingvellir* (the plain where the assembly met) throngs of men gather about him to see him and ask the tidings he had brought. And among those whose imaginations are fired by the rumor of his beauty and his great deeds is Hallgerda, who is at the *Thing* with her father, Hauskuld. Straightway in her proud independence she goes forth to meet him, tells him her name, and bids him recount to her the tales of his viking cruises. Gunnar has no choice but to obey; he sits down at her side and relates what he has seen and heard abroad.

The sagaman has nothing to say about Hallgerda's design in thus boldly accosting Gunnar; but with the *finesse* of a modern Frenchman he goes on, instead, to give us a description of her toilet, which, it is needless to say, is very magnificent. Gunnar is deeply stirred at the sight of her great beauty, and when his tale is at an end he asks her if she is unmarried.

"That I am," she answers, and adds, with a burst of candor which was no doubt more dangerous to him than the subtlest coquetry, "but there are not many who would run the risk of that" (namely, of marrying her).

"Thinkest thou then none good enough for thee?"

"Not that," she says, "but I am said to be hard to please in husbands."

"How wouldst thou answer were I to ask thee?"

"That can not be in thy mind," she says.

"It is, though," says he.

"If thou hast any mind that way, go and see my father."

Here is the key-note to the tragedy: the true-hearted, generous, unsuspecting Gunnar betrothed to the hard, imperious, and treacherous Hallgerda—another case of Lydgate and Rosamond, with the costume and manners of nine centuries ago. Warnings and prophecies of evil are not wanting; Hrut even takes the chance of offending the suitor by declaring that the match is not an even one, and when asked for an explanation he answers, with a noble disregard for the honor that would come to himself from such a kinship, "Thou art a brisk, brave man, well-to-do and unblemished; but she is much mixed up with ill report, and I will not cheat thee in any thing."

Njal, too, foresees that much danger will come to their friendship from this marriage. But Gunnar, with the ardent self-trust which his love inspires, sees life opening its fair vistas before him, and is determined to bend the course of destiny in accordance with his hopes. The wedding is celebrated with much feasting, and Hallgerda moves to Lithend. She immediately quarrels with Njal's wife, Bergthora, and as Gunnar refuses to take up any quarrel with his friend, she hires her bailiff, Kol, to slay Njal's servant, Swart. Bergthora responds by having Kol slain, and thus they continue for some time killing off each other's servants and retainers, while their husbands still stand by each other faithfully with counsel and deed, and give mutual atonements, as the law required, for every fresh manslaughter. This equanimity and cool superiority, which does not even condescend to scold or fret, tries Hallgerda's temper to the utmost. She is jealous of so pure a relation as that existing between her husband and Njal; and although she can not comprehend it, she is resolved to break it off. She goads on her kinsman, Sigmund Lambi's Son, to mock Njal and his sons in some well-turned verses, and the result is, as already hinted, that Njal's sons take his life. Allu-

sion is frequently made to the fact that Njal is beardless, and his sons too, probably, had poor growths of beard, which was popularly supposed to indicate a lack of manliness. This peculiarity Sigmund chooses as the text for his song, and nicknames the old man "the beardless carle," and the sons "dungbeardlings." The scene in which this mocking ditty is reported to Skarphedin and his brothers we can not forbear to quote, as it emphasizes very forcibly the line of conduct which the social code of the North prescribed, and gives us some insight into the real soul-structure of the typical men of the North. Scenes of this kind gain a greater significance from the fact that they are of frequent occurrence in all the larger sagas:

Bergthora spoke and said, as the men sat down to the board, "Gifts have been given to all of you, father and sons, and ye will be no true men unless ye repay them somehow."

"What gifts are these?" asks Skarphedin.

"You, my sons," says Bergthora, "have got one gift between you all. Ye are nicknamed 'dungbeardlings,' but my husband 'the beardless carle.'"

"Ours is no woman's nature," says Skarphedin, "that we should fly into a rage at every little thing."

"And yet Gunnar was wroth for your sakes," says she, "and he is thought to be good-tempered. But if ye do not take vengeance for this wrong, ye will avenge no shame."

"The carline, our mother, thinks this fine sport," says Skarphedin, and *smiled scornfully as he spoke, but still the sweat burst out upon his brow, and red flecks came over his cheeks; but that was not his wont. Grim was silent and bit his lip. Helgi made no sign, and he said never a word.* . . . But in the evening when Njal had gone to bed, he heard an axe striking against the panel so that it rang loudly.

This is invariably the attitude of the Norse hero under physical or mental torture. His words are calm, even though the thoughts may be flaming wildly within him. He does not wail like Philoctetes when abandoned by his countrymen, or like the god Ares when wounded in battle; nor does he weep like Achilles when deprived of his mistress. It is for women to weep, says the saga; men must be silent and endure.

After the death of her kinsman, Sigmund, Hallgerda, for no obvious purpose, except, perhaps, to avenge herself upon her husband for his persistent friendship for Njal, sends her thrall, Malcolm, out to steal provisions from a rich man named Otkel, who

lives at Kirkby. The theft is soon discovered, and Gunnar offers Otkel satisfaction to the amount of twice the value of the goods stolen. But Otkel, listening to the ill advice of his friend Skamkel, rejects the offer, and fresh complications ensue. One day as Gunnar is laboring in his fields, Otkel wantonly rides over him, giving him a serious wound in the ear, and Skamkel in describing the encounter tells that when Gunnar saw the blood flowing he shed tears. The patient and long-suffering hero is now thoroughly aroused; when his honor is at stake, there is no longer time for parleying. He rides out, followed by his brother, Kolskeg, attacks Otkel and Skamkel and slays them, with six of their men. Hallgerda is aglow with pleasure; she is keenly alive to the honor which belongs to her as being wedded to a man of such prowess and strength.

"It is well," she exclaims, when she hears that her husband has started out to vindicate his fair name. "Now they will soon find out whether he goes away from them weeping."

If we were reading a fictitious narrative, we should say that this was a fine stroke on the author's part, betraying a deep insight into the workings of human passions.

The slaying of Otkel leads to a series of complications which the space here allotted us does not permit us to unravel. Again and again atonements are made, but fresh avengers spring up on every hand, and in the end Gunnar succumbs. A large force of his enemies attack him at night in his house, and after a long and brave defense he is slain. As in the midst of the fight his bow-string is cut, he turns to Hallgerda and asks her for two locks of her long hair wherewith to make a new string; but grimly relentless as ever, she answers him, "Now I will call to thy mind that slap on the face which once thou gavest me; and I care never a whit whether thou holdest out a long while or a short."

While his foemen stand gazing upon the dead hero, one of them, Gizur the White, gives voice to the admiration which animates all. "We have laid low to the earth a mighty chief," he says, "and hard work has it been, and the fame of this defense of his shall last as long as men live in this land."

Then addressing Gunnar's old mother, who stands by mourning over her son, he begs her to grant them earth for the two of their companions who had fallen in the onslaught.

"All the more willingly for two," she answers, "because I wish with all my heart that I could grant it to all of you."

"It must be forgiven thee," he says, "to speak thus, for thou hast had a great loss."

Gunnar's two sons with Hallgerda, Högni and Grani, are well-nigh grown, and the duty of vengeance now devolves upon them. One evening Högni, the elder, walks across the fields with Njal's son, Skarphedin. As they pass the cairn where Gunnar is buried, they see the hillside open and the dead hero standing at the gate of his tomb, gazing with a joyous face up to the bright moon. And he sings a song which rings loud and clear through the night. Then the two friends clasp hands, mindful of the token, and promise to stand by each other in life and death until Gunnar is avenged.

The scene immediately following, where the son comes in the night to take his father's war-axe, is tremendous in its restrained dramatic force. Ranveig, Gunnar's old mother, wakes up hearing the steel ringing loudly in the dark.

"Who touches the bill," she cries out in wrath, "when I forbade every one to lay hand on it?"

"I mean," answers Högni, "to bring it to my father, that he may bear it with him to Valhalla and have it with him when the warriors meet."

"Rather shalt thou now bear it," she answers, "and avenge thy father; for the bill has spoken of one man's death or more."

And that same night the slayers of Gunnar must bite the dust.

The blood-feud which Skarphedin has thus taken up craves fresh vengeance and leads to an endless succession of lawsuits, atonements, and murders, in which the sons of Njal now play the principal part.

It must be borne in mind that the taking of vengeance was not a matter of option, but a sacred duty, the omission of which brought everlasting disgrace upon the nearest surviving kinsman of him who had been slain. And a life without honor was to the Norseman more bitter than death. To die unavenged like a thrall was a prospect which even the stoutest heart could not contemplate without quaking, and, as death by violence was looked upon as the normal and most honorable end for a freeman, the children were naturally trained from their earliest years in the use of arms, so that the father might safely intrust his honor to their keeping. The sagas offer several instances of men returning like Gunnar, after death, to spur their sons on to vengeance, and the ghost-scene in Hamlet is therefore no mere dramatic artifice on the part of the poet, but, considering the fact that the scene is laid in Denmark, rather a dramatic

necessity. It is, at all events, strictly in keeping with the spirit of Northern life.

It is self-evident that this system of craving life for life, if pursued to the bitter end, would have resulted in the death of all male relatives both of the slayer and of the slain. To guard against this, a legalized system of atonements was inaugurated which fixed the value of a man's life in accordance with his social rank and position. The avenger was thus at liberty to accept without disgrace an award in money or property for his slain kinsman, and he whose death was duly paid for was not held to have died unavenged. In rare cases, as, for instance, if the slayer was a man whose impartiality was above suspicion, he was allowed himself to name the sum he was to pay, but generally the award was made by some unprejudiced arbiter in whom both parties reposed equal confidence. Thus Njal figures in the present saga as the arbiter in numerous suits for manslaughter, and so great was his repute for wisdom and fairness that his award was hardly ever disputed. As time developed the details of the law, a regular scale of pecuniary damages was fixed for all kinds of bodily injuries. To deprive a man of his arm cost so much; an eye, an ear, or a foot had each its definite value, varying, however, according to the social station of the person who had received the injury.

The introduction of Christianity wrought a slow and gradual change in the moral feeling, and accordingly, also, in the legal code as far as it related to atonements and blood-vengeance. But the sentiment demanding life for life was too deeply rooted to give way suddenly to any new ethical system. The Norsemen, like every primitive race, lived a life densely thronged with stirring deeds; they lived a purely external life, and worldly glory and power were the aims they pursued, and for the attainment of which no sacrifice seemed too great. Contemplation was held to be an abnormal attitude of the mind—a fact which is curiously illustrated by the custom of retiring to bed when a grave matter was to be weighed, covering the whole body with a hide or blanket, and remaining motionless often for more than twenty-four hours without tasting of food or drink. Thus when Thangbrand, the priest, preached Christianity at the Thing, Thorgeir Gode, the pagan speaker, shut himself up in his booth, spread a hide over his head, and pondered for a day and a night on the new doctrines until he had reached a definite conclusion. Then he arose, mounted the Thing-stone, and made a speech in which he impressed earnestly upon his countrymen the necessity of having one law and one religion for the whole land. If the law

were divided against itself, social order, and indeed society itself, would hasten toward its dissolution. The Icelanders then all promised to abide by the law which he should announce, whereupon Thorgeir, probably to the surprise of the majority, declared that every man present should accept baptism at the hands of the priest, and that Christianity should henceforth be the public law of the land. No man should be forbidden to sacrifice to the old gods in private, or to expose his children, but if witnesses were present, he should be punished by exile or outlawry. And it speaks well for the law-abiding character of the people that they all stood by their promise and were baptized. Before a generation had passed, a strong public sentiment had been created against heathen sacrifices as well as the exposition of infants, and these remnants of the Asa faith gradually vanished.

Thus Christianity was outwardly established in the island, while the pagan superstitions lived on, being but slightly tinged and modified by the spirit of the new faith. Notwithstanding its claim to universality, the doctrine of Christ, as it was then preached, was too distinctly oriental to become all of a sudden an organic element in the life of a Northern and Gothic race. It had to be nationalized ere it could mingle with the blood and be absorbed in the vital fibres of a Gothic organism. And this process required centuries, and is indeed even now but half accomplished in the remote North. The present writer has had a hundred opportunities to witness the obstinacy with which the Norsemen cling to their pagan traditions, the source of which has long ago been lost sight of, and which are now frequently associated with some event of Bible history. The customs of the pagan Yule are now transferred, with slight changes, to the Christian Christmas. The sign of Thor's hammer, with which the child was marked at its birth, has now become the cross of Christ; and Christ himself, as he exists in the Norseman's mind, has borrowed many of the attributes of the old beloved Balder. As in the old Saxon Heliand Jesus appears as a noble Germanic chief, gathering his faithful ones about him, uttering his wise sayings in the peculiar gnomic form which the Goths loved so well, so he lives on at the present day in numberless ballads and *märchen* of the North, always attended by one or more of his favorite disciples, speaking the speech which the peasant understands, performing homely miracles which appeal to his heart and his wonder-loving imagination, and mingling in a hundred ways with the life which has been dear and familiar to him from his childhood up. His principal

office in all the various scenes in which he figures is to reveal the secrets of the heart, to reward suffering innocence and punish prosperous wickedness. In all his fundamental characteristics he is still the Christ of the gospels, but his action and his speech have an indefinable national tinge which open for them a more direct pathway to the national heart. Moe's and Asbjörnson's "Popular Tales of the North" and Landstad's Norwegian Ballads will bear ample testimony to the truth of this assertion.

Njal's Saga recognizes fully the ethical antagonism between Christianity and paganism—between the command to forgive and the law demanding retribution. The author, whoever he was, has seen with wonderful keenness the negative element—the element of dissolution—which is inherent in the Asa faith, and of which the Asa faith is indeed itself distinctly conscious, as is proved in the tragic *déuouement* of its world-drama in the prophecy of Ragnarök. Not even the gods are exempt from vengeance. The powers of darkness which they have held in subjection rise against them, and the heroic logic of the Elder Edda prophesies the only possible result—complete mutual destruction. Then is the time for Alfadir's reign, for the new heaven and the new earth. Artistically the present saga admitted but of two endings, either the absolute fulfillment of the work of vengeance or the destruction of the code in which the whole tragedy had its root. Fortunately history has permitted our sagaman to adopt the latter *finale* and enabled him to paint a scene whose simple beauty and pathos are truly irresistible. Flosi Thordson, who is now the bearer of the blood-feud against Skarphedin and his brothers, gathers a great host of men and attacks Njal and his sons at midnight, burning the house over their heads. They offer the old father and the women free exit; but Njal answers, "I will not go out, for I am an old man and little fitted to avenge my sons, but I will not live in shame."

And Bergthora, his wife, replies with scorn, "Young was I given to Njal, and this I have promised him, that we should both share the same fate."

Even in the children this sturdy stoicism finds utterance. Njal's grandson Thord, a mere lad, when urged to seek safety, replies with the genuine Norse *hauteur*, "Thou hast promised me this, grandmother, that we should never part so long as I wished to be with thee; and methinks it is much better to die with thee and Njal than to live after you."

Then Bergthora bore the boy to her bed, and Njal spoke to his steward and said,

"Now thou shalt see where we lay us down, and how I lay us out; for I mean not to stir an inch whether smoke or burning smart me, and so thou wilt be able to guess where to look for our bones."

Thus perishes all the race of Njal except Kari Solmund's Son, his son-in-law, who escapes under the cover of the smoke. And the rest of the saga relates how he tracks the burners from land to land, visiting his dire vengeance upon them where they thought themselves securest. At last there is but one remaining, Flosi, the chief of them all. Flosi, whose conscience has been troubling him since the night of the burning, has in the mean while been in Rome, where the Pope has given him full absolution. Kari, returning from Scotland, steers for Ingolf's Head, where his last surviving enemy is living. But a terrible storm springs up, and the ship is dashed against the rocks and completely wrecked. The avenger and his men, dripping wet and deprived of all, stand shivering and irresolute upon the strand.

"Then they ask Kari what counsel was to be taken; but he said that their best plan was to go to Swinefell and put Flosi's manhood to the test. So they went right up to Swinefell in the storm. Flosi was in the sitting-room. He knew Kari as soon as ever he came into the room, and sprang up to meet him, and kissed him and set him down in the high-seat by his side. Flosi asked Kari to be there that winter, and Kari accepted the offer. Then they were atoned with a full atonement."

And as a further pledge of peace and good-will, Kari takes Flosi's daughter Hildigunna for his wife. Thus the two enemies, now both Christians, meet, as it were, in a new era, under the new reign of the law of Christ. The past is irrevocably past and can never be revived. The closing chord is one of rest, of faith and assurance.

As a vivid piece of narration, Njal's Saga is well-nigh equaled by the Saga of Gisli the Outlaw, which has also been excellently rendered into English by Dr. Dasent. The introduction of archaisms was never resorted to with a more happy effect; for the translator seems to have that rare linguistic feeling which enables him to judge of the relative weight and color of the Icelandic and English words and idioms. The quaint glamour which pervades the original text is thus transferred to the English version, which without being affectedly medieval and difficult to read, like the *Völsunga Saga* of William Morris, still is agreeably tinged with romance.

Gisli, from whom the saga takes its name, is the son of Thorbjorn

Soursop, who has emigrated with his family from Norway. Besides him, Thorbjorn had another son, Thorkel, and a daughter, Thordis. After their arrival in Iceland, the brothers go a-wooing, and are wedded to women of good birth. The wife of Gisli is Auda, the sister of Vestein, and Thorkel marries Asgerd, the daughter of Thorbjorn Sealnip. Thordis, their sister, is married to a man named Thorgrim Thorsteinson. This wilderness of proper names, all beginning with *Thor*, is, to be sure, somewhat confusing; but as duty and affection were so largely determined by kinship in Icelandic society, the reader will progress blindfolded, as it were, through the scenes of the saga, unless he has a tolerably clear idea of how the principal actors were mutually related.

Once the two brothers, Gisli and Thorkel, and their brothers-in-law, Vestein and Thorgrim, ride to the Thing, where their unanimity and friendship excite the jealousy of other mighty chiefs. One of them, who is reputed to have the gift of prophecy, remarks that they will not be of the same mind as to each other three springs hence. Gisli, who is startled at this prophecy, proposes, in order to prevent its fulfillment, that they should all four swear to each other the oath of foster-brotherhood. This ceremony is thus described:

"They went out of their booth to the point of a sandy spit of land, and there cut up a sod of turf in such wise that both its ends were still fast to the earth, and propped it up with a spear scored with runes, so tall that a man might lay his hand on the socket of the spear-head. Under this yoke they were all four to pass—Thorgrim, Gisli, Thorkel, and Vestein. Now they open each a vein, and let their blood flow together on the mould whence the turf had been cut up, and all touch it; and afterward they all fall on their knees, and were to clasp hands and swear each to avenge the other as though he were his brother, and to call all the gods to witness."

But before the oath has been taken Thorgrim withdraws, refusing to assume such a responsibility toward Vestein, to whom he is not related. Gisli, full of wrath at Thorgrim's faithlessness, also withdraws his hand. Thus in the very effort to bring the prophecy to naught lies the germ of its fulfillment. The coldness of the others toward Vestein seems to bind the generous Gisli more closely to him. As he goes abroad shortly after the above occurrence, Gisli takes a coin, cuts it in two, gives one half to Vestein and keeps the other himself. In case the life of either is in danger, he is to send his half to the other, who will then hasten to his rescue.

This custom, as well as the swearing of foster-brotherhood, is frequently mentioned in the more prominent sagas. This deeply-rooted respect for oaths and promises, which always appears at a very early stage of Germanic civilization, is one of the first moral feelings which a primitive society inculcates as a safeguard against its own dissolution. Odin hears the oath, and keeps watch over the spoken promise. It may weaken the force of the above statement as a title to praise, but it is nevertheless not to be denied that this unflinching fidelity on the part of the Norseman was closely connected with his superstitions, his faith in magic and in tutelary spirits. The spoken or the written word seemed to him a fact, almost a kind of birth and a spiritual existence. Thus evil words were a hostile force which had the power to frighten away the good spirits that guarded every man's fortune. And this explains fully the weight attached to mocking and slanderous ditties, to magic runes, and to drawn and carved caricatures. Even to this day the peasants in Norway believe in the power of mystic runes to effect healing and disease, to create wealth and poverty, love and hate.

The brothers Thorkel and Gisli live together in the same house; but the former is lazy and indolent, while the latter attends to the work of the farm, and is vigilant and active. One day Thorkel, while stretching himself in the sun outside the women's bower, hears his wife and his sister-in-law gossiping within. Asgerd confesses to Auda that before marrying Thorkel she had been in love with Vestein, and that in very sooth she loved him still. Then Thorkel, mightily aroused, lifts his voice and sings:

"Hear a great wonder,
Hear words of doom;
Hear matters mighty,
Murders of men."

His jealous mind broods uneasily over the injury which Vestein has unconsciously done him, and he determines to have him killed as soon as he shall return to Iceland. His sense of uprightness, however, does not permit him to live any longer under the same roof with his brother, profiting by his labor, while he is harboring murderous designs against his dearest friend. So, in spite of Gisli's protest, they divide their property and separate. Gisli, in the mean while, divines what Thorkel has in mind, and when Vestein lands he sends a messenger to him with the half coin, and bids him stay where he is. But when Vestein meets the messenger, he is

already far on his way to Gisli, and he is too proud a man to shrink from danger. The result is that he is murdered in the night in his friend's house, and no one comes forward and publicly avows the deed, which omission, according to Icelandic law, stamps it as murder. Manslaughter was looked upon as an honorable and often justifiable thing, if the slayer publicly acknowledged it to have been done by him; but a murder was a foul and cowardly act, unworthy of a freeman. Gisli, who takes his foster-brother's death much to heart, soon discovers that his brother-in-law, Thorgrim, had slain him, probably at the instigation of Thorkel, and he immediately retaliates by killing Thorgrim secretly while he is asleep. Now Thorgrim was the priest of Frey and well beloved of the god, and during all that winter the hill where he is buried remains green and the snow melts upon it as fast as it falls. People thought that this was the god's work, who took care "lest there should be any frost between him and his priest." At a ball-play on the ice, which took place shortly afterward, Gisli's conscience smote him, and in a song he avowed himself the slayer:

"O'er him who Thor's grim vizard wore,
Melt, wreath by wreath, snow-hangings hoar.
Few have the wit to understand
The riddle of this mound of land.
I harmed him? No! I harmed him not;
A mansion bright is here his lot;
The priest unto his god I gave,
And Frey now warms his servant's grave."

Bork the Stout, Thorgrim's brother, and his friend Eyolf, of Otterdale, now ride to the Quarter Thing, where they get a judgment of outlawry against Gisli. They hunt him from place to place; his own brother, Thorkel, forsakes him, and hardly any one dares to shelter him. Only Auda, his wife, remains faithful to him, and her heroic devotion stands out in bold relief upon the sombre background of the saga. Once he slips through the fingers of his pursuers by wrapping himself in a fishing-net and personating a maniac. At last, banished from the company of men, he takes up his abode in a cave in the woods, where Auda and his foster-daughter, Gudrid, frequently visit him, bringing him food and clothing and forewarning him of danger. Eyolf, who suspects that Auda must know her husband's hiding-place, offers her a large bag of silver if she will betray him; she takes the bag, and asks if she may be permitted to do with it as she likes. He answers in great glee that she might;

whereupon she hurls it against his nose with such force that the blood gushes forth, staining his face and his garments.

"Take that for thy silliness!" she cries, "and bad luck go with it. Didst thou ween that I would sell my husband into the hands of such a wretch as thee? Take that, I say, and shame and blame go with it. Thou shalt bear in mind, vile fellow, so long as thou livest, that a woman hath beaten thee."

Eyolf then commands his followers to lay hands on her and slay her, but they refuse to do his bidding; for nothing was more cowardly than to lay hands on a woman.

While this scene is in progress Gudrid, fearing that her foster-mother might be tempted beyond her strength, has hastened to Gisli to give him warning; but he smiles at her fears and sings:

"What! the folk, with wicked whisper,
Say that she will me deceive?
Auda faithless to her husband
Never can my heart believe.
No, her heart is staunch as ever;
Auda plots no guile for me;
Auda wrongs her Gisli never,
Vain the bribe of silver fee."

It is a fine trait in the outlaw that whenever a strong emotion seizes him he bursts forth in song, which, if lacking the elaborate finish of premeditated composition, more than compensates us by its rhythmic spontaneity and fervor. As soon as the flood-gates of the Norseman's soul are opened, the overbrimming feeling wells forth with a melodious rush and sweep which carries every thing before it. Even at the present day the Norse peasant possesses this gift of impromptu utterance in song, and the singing of staves is still a favorite pastime at weddings and festivals in Norway. Dr. Dasent, as will be observed, has retained as far as possible the alliteration in Gisli's improvisations, and has, moreover, striven to adapt them to modern taste by the introduction of the rhyme. From a Norse point of view this is hardly to be commended; for Tegnér and, more recently, Henrik Ibsen have revived the ancient structure of Norse song, and by their success proved that alliteration is not altogether obsolete as an element of modern verse. But in English, alliteration by itself would perhaps have failed to impress the ear as rhythm; it has too frequently been employed as a mere literary artifice, and moreover the rhythmic sense to which the old Saxon bards appealed has been blunted in their descendants by long disuse. At

all events, we do not wish to quarrel with Dr. Dasent's method, which is amply justified by its results. We quote as a specimen the verse in which Gisli, shortly before his death, relates his evil dreams to his wife:

“Wife! what time I rose and hasted
 Forth I wandered on the hills;
 O'er these regions wild and wasted
 Streams of song I poured in rills.
 Then I heard the night-hawk shrieking,
 Then I heard his mournful strain;
 Soon the dew of Odin¹ reeking
 Shall this outlaw shed like rain.”

Having a foreboding that the avengers are near, he leaves the house with Auda and Gudrid, and seeks his hiding-place in the woods. But an evil fate had destined that she who had guarded his life so tenderly should still become the cause of his death. During the night a heavy hoar-frost had fallen, and as Auda's long skirts brushed over the ground they left a trail in the grass by which the pursuers could track them. Standing with his back against a rock, and his good sword “Graysteel” in his hand, he deals out valiant blows, and many men must bite the dust before him. One of Eyolf's band, which numbers twelve men, calls out to him to give up his arms and Auda, his wife. “Come and take them like a man,” answers Gisli, “for neither the arms that I bear nor the wife I love are fit any other man.”

For a long while he stands at bay, defending himself bravely; but at last he receives a terrible wound from a spear, and his entrails fall out. He calmly sweeps them up with his shirt, binds a rope about the wound, and, seeing death before him, he turns to his wife and sings:

“Wife so fair, so never-failing,
 So truly loved, so sorely cross'd,
 Thou wilt often miss me wailing,
 Thou wilt weep thy hero lost.
 But my soul is stout as ever;
 Swords may bite; I feel no smart;
 Father! better heirloom never
 Owned thy son than hardy heart.”

“That was Gisli's last song; and as soon as he had sung it he rushes down from the crag and smites Thord, Eyolf's kinsman, on the head, and cleaves him down to the belt; but Gisli fell down over his body and breathed his last.”

¹ Periphrasis for blood.

"There now ends Gisli's life," continues the saga, "and it has always been said that he was the greatest champion, though he was not lucky in all things."

The character-drawing in the present saga, as Dr. Dasent observes in his introduction, is excellent throughout; in fact, equal to that of any other Icelandic work, perhaps with the exception of the "Story of Gunnlaug Ormstunga," which always has impressed us as being, from a literary point of view, superior to all the other writings of the time. Gisli himself is painted with a boldness and dash which are truly refreshing in these days of minute psychological introspection. It is the Rembrandt style in literature as compared to the painstaking microscopic excellence of Meissonier. The sagaman invariably deals in masses, seizing with an unerring instinct upon the essential features, and leaving the less significant details to the imagination of his listener. Thus Gisli's mental profile stands forth in clear relief against the cold blue of the arctic sky, and no one would for a moment mistake his physiognomy. Bold and generous in all his dealings, skillful in the use of the artisan's tools and the warrior's weapons, impetuous in action, and still sage in council, he forms a striking contrast to his lazy brother, Thorkel, who loves to stretch himself in the sun and to array himself in fine clothes, who broods jealously over imagined injuries, and goads another on to fulfill the vengeance which he is too prudent or too faint-hearted to undertake himself. Then the brave and tender Auda, the fat and stupid Bork, and the vigilant and irresolute Eyolf, all have a sharp distinctness of outline suggestive of the crisp transparency of the arctic sky, and are seldom surpassed in the elaborate psychological novel of our own day.

If we were to measure the sagas by our present canons of literary criticism, we should no doubt find many things which in the nineteenth century would hardly be worthy of imitation. Especially annoying is the frequent introduction of persons who have little or nothing to do with the main events of the story; and it is not to be denied that the occasional hints, anticipating the progress of the plot, oft enable the reader to guess the *dénouement*, and thereby weaken his interest in the intervening events. But these apparent faults, as well as the simplicity and conciseness of the style, naturally grow out of the fact that all the minor sagas were originally intended not for reading, but for oral recital, to shorten the long evenings at the fireside or to entertain the guests (many of whom may have been friends or kinsmen of the heroes) at a merry banquet. This may also in part account for the long genealogies which

occupy so much space in almost every chapter. The listeners all knew the famous families of the land, and many of them were probably connected with them either by marriage or by actual kinship.

But apart from their literary value the sagas have a far weightier claim to the recognition of mankind as a storehouse of historical knowledge. The youth of the Gothic race is chronicled in them with a fidelity which, considering the time of their origin, is nothing less than a phenomenon. Their chronology may occasionally prove inaccurate, and the same event may be differently related by different authors, but in the main their coloring is true, and the picture they present of the early Gothic civilization is as vivid and as complete as that which Herodotus and Thucydides drew of their race and age. Of course we are here referring especially to the Snorre Sturlasson works and the other historical sagas, although the mythical and poetical narratives seem to us to be of almost equal importance. The cosmogony and mythological system of the Eddas are certainly no less worthy of our attention as Goths than are those of Homer and Hesiod. Semi-historical and mythical tales like the Story of the Völsungs, or of Frithjof the Bold, if they do not pretend to supply facts, furnish what may, even to the historian, have a more enduring value than genealogies of kings and records of war and peace. Here, as in a well-written novel, we catch unexpected glimpses of the hidden soul-structure of the ancient Goth; we penetrate, guided by his superstitions, into the remoter recesses of his gloom-fraught and colossal imagination.

In Germany great scholars like Konrad Maurer and Theodor Mommsen have devoted their lives to the study and elucidation of the ancient literature of the North. In Norway Munch, Kayser, and Sophus Bugge have acquired a European fame by their researches in the same direction, and in England the presence of able and learned Icelanders like Gudbrandr Vigfusson and Eiríkr Magnússon seems of late to have aroused fresh interest in this much-neglected branch of historical study. On this side of the ocean Professor R. B. Anderson, of the University of Wisconsin, has recently distinguished himself by the publication of a volume which, in spite of its unnecessarily polemical tone, evinces much genuine ability, and moreover gives a very vivid and complete *résumé* of the Eddaic mythology. Since then, translations of two of the sagas have followed, and many more are promised within a near future. The field is indeed so wide, and so much of it still lies fallow, that every fresh laborer should be greeted with hearty encouragement and recognition.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

WHILE the advocates of republicanism, both in Europe and America, have been waiting for a century past to see that system supplant the monarchical, there have been silently and gradually developing within the monarchical system certain habits or usages tending greatly in aid of popular freedom, which have come to be known as responsible government. Meanwhile, the attention of the thinkers, statesmen, and politicians of our own republic has been occasionally, and of late vigorously, drawn to the fact that it is a government, in some respects, absolute and irresponsible, our office-holders having a clear *carte-blanche* to do, during their term of office, pretty much as they have a mind, subject only to impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors.

That republics should grow more absolute, and that the monarchies of Europe should nearly all grow more sensitive to the popular will, is far from fulfilling Napoleon's prediction that in fifty years Europe would become either Cossack or republican.

This subtle change in the constitution of European monarchies so largely satisfies the popular demand, and this unforeseen development of absolutism in republics so disappoints the hopes of republicans, that for twenty-five years past further conversions of European nations to republicanism have been retarded, and instead republicans are inquiring whether the deficiencies in their own system are inherent or accidental.

We purpose to inquire first, What is responsible government as exhibited in the various national examples in which it has any existence? Secondly, Is the principle indigenous only in monarchies and an exotic in republics? Thirdly, Can the United States get on well without it? And fourthly, If not, how shall we introduce it?

Responsible government is that system wherein the administration is responsible to the legislature and to the people for every thing that is done, and wherein, to make this responsibility just, the legislature and people have the means of removing and changing

the administration at any moment, to conform to the voice of the nation constitutionally expressed. It implies some one officer sufficiently permanent to act, in great part ministerially, as an appointer of cabinets, a dissolver of legislatures, and a caller of popular elections, to the end that the executive and legislative branches of the government may, in case of conflict between them, appeal to the voting constituency or people to say which is right; and having so appealed, and the people having voted thereon, their vote shall so control the complexion of the legislature and of the cabinet that all departments of the government shall bow to the latest expression of the popular will. It is a system under which legislatures and ministries are dissolvable at any moment instead of being elected or appointed for fixed terms of office; under which the people are appealed to only to decide some living issue on which the legislature has not yet acted; and under which political parties divide and vote, not with reference to the utility of something already irreparably done, but to the wisdom of something proposed to be done, and on the propriety of doing which the administration in power thinks one way and the majority of the legislature thinks the other.

This system prevails in the following states in a degree declining in relative vigor or permanency in something like the order in which they are named, viz.: the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Canada, in each of the Australian colonies, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Belgium, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Bavaria, Saxony, Baden and other minor German states, Denmark, Sweden, Servia, Greece, and in the recent constitutions of Spain, Nicaragua, and Paraguay. In Switzerland there is a government by a ministry without any executive; the ministry seem to be appointed for short fixed terms, with certain privileges of rotation, but are without technical responsibility to, or power of dissolving, the legislature.

It is absent from Russia, Prussia and the German Empire, most of the minor German states, Turkey,¹ the United States of America and each of them, Mexico, all the South American republics except Paraguay, Brazil, the Empire of India, China, Persia, Japan, and all barbarous states.

¹ The recent Turkish Constitution provides partially for the substitution of the responsible system of government. The ministry are impeachable by the Chambers, as in Portugal and Brazil, and they have the initiative in framing laws.

In Great Britain the principle has attained its fullest perfection by growth. In Canada, Australia, and probably Belgium, it has arisen under English influence and imitation. In existing France and Italy it has been adopted through very deliberate preference, and in Austro-Hungary it has been resorted to, by experienced statesmen, to accommodate the interests of a somewhat unpopular reigning family to the persistent demands of the people for the control of the government.

In England it seems to have sprung tacitly from the doctrine that the crown is subordinate to the House of Commons. This doctrine in turn grew out of the exclusive right, so frequently vindicated by the Commons, of originating revenue bills and raising money. Its crowning proofs, however, are to be found in the execution of Charles I., in the superseding of James II. and election of William of Orange, and in the various constitutional laws, settling the succession to the crown, and prescribing the qualifications and conditions on which it may be held. The doctrine that the throne is bound to obey the House of Commons, either as it now is, when a question arises, or as it shall be after one election has tested the popular will on that question, has doubtless been tacitly implied, or at least insisted on, by Whig statesmen since the revolution of 1688. Yet we find George III. in 1782-83 assenting to it so reluctantly that, rather than retire Lord North's ministry, which had led the war for the subjugation of America, and accept the new Shelburne ministry, in which Pitt and Fox, the champions of American independence, were to be leading spirits, he declared frequently that his honor would compel him to abandon the throne and return to Hanover, and a royal yacht was actually summoned and in waiting to bear him away. Yet in due time he yielded, content to escape the threatened necessity of having Fox himself, whom he chiefly hated, Premier. So modern, however, is the blunt statement of this doctrine that the king is subordinate to the Commons, that there is a flavor of radicalism in the exclamation of Mr. Roebuck in 1858, "The crown, it is the House of Commons!"

The principle undoubtedly has its rise in the power of impeachment, which seems to have inhered in the House of Commons almost as early as any germs of the existence of that House can be traced. Under the Saxon Constitution (to 1060) there was no House of Commons. The *Witenagemot* (see Freeman's article in November No., 1876) included in a crude way the rudiments of a Council of State, a Court of Justice, and a House of Lords, but

with the informality of a town meeting. It was more like the consultation of an Indian chief with his braves, or of a Czar with the heads of his bureaus. Prof. Freeman's theory, or fancy, that it was a council of all who chose to attend, and that the present House of Lords is the regular successor of the early mass conventions of the common people, irrespective of rank, reduced to paucity of numbers only by the inability and disinclination of the poorer classes to sustain the expense of attending, is barely ingenious. It is at war with the rule that the more barbarous and military the epoch, the more monarchical or aristocratic is usually the organization of society. Local magistrates and county knights may have occasionally sat in the same body as the Lords, but the evidences are rather that, as early as they sat at all, they sat separately as a petitioning body, while the Lords were a legislative body. In 1265, fifty years after Magna Charta, borough representation was first actually witnessed. A century later the House of Commons was strong enough to complain of the king's ministers, and, for the first time, to exercise its power of impeachment. Hallam declares that at the close of the fourteenth century their consent was necessary to the levy of money taxes, and to the enactment of laws, and that they had frequently exercised the power of inspecting and controlling the administration of government. From this period to the present the king's ministers have been held responsible in some degree by the House of Commons, at first rudely through impeachments and executions, but afterward politely through resignations. Yet, down to the reign of Henry V. (1413) the House of Commons, in form, merely petitioned. The king enacted, with the advice and consent of his Lords. An impeachment was in form only the humble petition of the Commons that the king's evil advisers might be arraigned and tried before the Lords. The responsibility which began as an individual one on the part of each minister, became a collective responsibility on the part of "the ministry" after the revolution of 1688. Thenceforward no ministry waited for the jarring severity of impeachment, but when outvoted besought the throne to appoint a new ministry, or if the crown believed the people would sustain the existing ministry, then to dissolve Parliament and order an election. A century earlier Queen Mary had thought it no infraction of the Constitution, to dissolve several successive Parliaments with the view of getting one subservient to her wishes. But since the accession of William of Orange, and especially since the failure of the obstinate course of

George III. towards America, the theory that the king must have no personal policy, but that the House of Commons must fix the policy of the king, has steadily ripened into constitutional law. Sir William Blackstone, writing in the fourteenth to eighteenth years of the reign of George the Third (1774-8), politely and loyally fails to detect the doctrine; Alexander Hamilton, in the sixty-ninth letter in the *Federalist*, impliedly denies any knowledge of the doctrine by asserting that the only reason the king's veto was then in disuse was because the Crown had found it more easy to control Parliament by its arts than by its prerogative. Blackstone may have ignored the doctrine through toryism, and Hamilton may have written sarcastically; but there is more evidence that, in their period, this was a tenet of Whig politics than that it was an accepted doctrine of the English Constitution. History will perhaps award to Queen Victoria's reign the credit of having first displayed the conscientious and admirable non-partisanship, in giving prompt effect to the wishes of either party as it obtained the ascendancy in the House of Commons, which was necessary to engraft firmly into the British Constitution the principle, so emphatically announced by Roebuck, that the crown is the House of Commons. This the Queen has done without seeking to influence personally either the popular elections, by which the complexion of the House should be determined, or the course of discussion by which its majorities should be controlled.

The English Ministry at present consists of thirty-one persons, of whom from eleven to sixteen form the Cabinet, the others being usually heads of bureaus, but not consulting officers of the crown. The Cabinet includes the First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Chancellor, President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, Secretaries of State for the Home Department, for Foreign Affairs, for the Colonies, for War, and for India, First Lord of the Admiralty, First Commissioner of Works, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and generally also the President of the Local Government Board, Vice-President of the Education Committee of the Privy Council, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The selection of the cabinet from among the ministry is not always the same. Generally the Premier has been the First Lord of the Treasury; sometimes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, sometimes both; and sometimes, as in the case of William Pitt, a Secretary of State.

The crown, through its ministry, takes the initiative usually in

legislation, preparing, proposing, and defending in Parliament the bills and measures on which it stakes its success as an administration. So long as these measures are concurred in, by the last-elected House, they are presumed to accord with the will of the voting constituency. By this very step the administration in power becomes responsible, from the outset, for the measures it introduces, and equally for failing to introduce such measures as it needs for the due operation of the government. There is no shirking the responsibility by saying, "We recommended such a measure, but the House refused to pass it. We piped, and ye would not dance." The whole responsibility is thrown on the administration, both with reference to executive and legislative policies, and kept there until it resigns. There can be no deadlock, no checkmate. When the House will not pass the administration's measures, it means that they want a new administration. Parties array themselves, therefore, first in the House of Commons, then at large throughout the country, for or against this living measure. They do not ask whether the ancestors of those who vote with them on this measure, fought for or against their own ancestors, at the Battle of Hastings, or in the Wars of the Roses.

Here begins the contrast with our system in which the administration has no initiative in legislation, except to suggest some measure in a vague way by message, which amounts to nothing until some bill is presented embodying it. When the bill is so presented, it is the work of the member so presenting it only, not of any administration or party. It has no assurance of any support, unless it has previously been agreed on in secret party caucus, and it never can secure a harmonious or majority caucus unless it is germane to, and directly in furtherance of, the one idea on which that party is founded. For instance, the Congressional caucus of a party founded on the anti-slavery idea can never agree on a bill of any kind relating to finance. The caucus of a party formed to vigorously prosecute a war can never agree except on vigorously prosecuting the war. The peace issue of hard and soft money, or protection and free trade, would split it through the middle. The party caucus comes as near as our system admits of, to making a party responsible for a bill; but as it only agrees on dead questions, it is worthless as an element of responsibility. It chiefly represents the *vis inertiae* which causes a party to move on in a given direction, because the track is laid in that line, after the interests of the country require it to advance in some other direction.

The legal status of a member of the British Cabinet is that of member of the House of Lords or House of Commons, the latter being the more effective and usual position; and also member of the Queen's Privy Council, a somewhat indefinite body of eminent persons, including many not in the cabinet or ministry. It is as if the President of the United States should by usage select his cabinet from among the more prominent members of the Senate and House, these members combining to perform their representative functions in addition to their cabinet duties. The chief legislative duty of an English Cabinet officer, after devising measures for the consideration of Parliament, is to defend those measures on the floor of either House. The chief duty of the leaders of the opposition is to carefully avoid opposing a government measure otherwise than by criticism of its details, unless they have something better and more in harmony with the popular will to propose. This induces that habitual moderation, caution, and candor which distinguish English speeches in Parliament.

When the wary and prudent leader of the opposition sees his antagonist adopt a policy on which he thinks he can be overthrown, first in the House of Commons, and then, if necessary, before the people, he attacks the offending measure; and the struggle in debate is not for the empty applause of the galleries, but for the control of the government. Each party puts forward its most powerful, yet most judicious, combatants. It is not a contest of lung-power or vituperation, but of pungent wit, of polite humor, of clear statesmanship, of familiarity with the details of government, of dignity of character, of judgment in jurisprudence, of diplomacy and tact. Such a struggle over a critical question sorts men and develops statesmen, by an analysis far finer than any that can be made by our politicians in national conventions, or by any voters at the polls. The younger Pitt and Fox, by the mastery of genius, both led in these debates when they had scarcely passed their majority. But Gladstone and Disraeli were nearly thirty years in Parliament before they attained to the leadership.

The ministry in power, if beaten in such a struggle, may either resign or advise the Queen to dissolve Parliament, and appeal to the voting constituencies. If the latter course is taken, and the voters sustain the existing ministry, it will be indicated by the return of a new House of Commons favorable to the measure which the last one opposed. It will be therefore carried and become a law. The former ministry will remain in power, and the former

leaders of the opposition in Parliament, if re-elected to their seats, as they are practically certain to be, will remain leaders of the opposition only. If, however, the voters sustain the Parliamentary opposition, then the new Parliament will be of the same complexion as the previous one, and the defeated ministry, without waiting for impeachment, resign their portfolios. The Queen invites the leader of the opposition to form the cabinet, and he, accepting the Premiership for himself, surrounds himself by advisers of his own party, and the retiring ministers re-enter the House of Commons, of which they have all the time been members, and resume their places as leaders of the opposition to the new administration. It is essential to this system that members of Parliament shall run for any borough or county they please, without regard to residence, as in this way only can the country be sure of returning the statesmen whose services are most needed, by assigning the leaders of each party to boroughs or counties whose political complexion will admit of their election.

This is surely the most admirable system ever devised for sorting and assaying Parliament, for bringing out its fine gold and holding back its dross; for maintaining at all times the ablest advocacy of government measures and the most candid and yet scrutinizing criticism; for maintaining in statesmen complete independence of party or locality, and yet for keeping the administration responsible to and in harmony with the legislature, and both responsible to and in accord with the people.

The periods during which administrations have held power have varied from a few months, as under the Duke of Wellington, to sixteen years, as under William Pitt. Parliaments are limited by law to a duration of seven years, and have actually averaged about three and a half. One Parliament may outlast several cabinets, or one cabinet may outlast a series of Parliaments. But every popular election must change the complexion either of a ministry or of Parliament. Thus, the Earl of Liverpool became Premier on June 8th, 1812, and continued such until April 11th, 1827, holding power nearly fifteen years, surviving the demise of his king, George III., and of four successive Parliaments, and retiring during the pendency of the fifth. On the other hand, the Parliament elected November 4th, 1852, saw the Earl of Derby, who was then Premier, succeeded, in the following month, by the Earl of Aberdeen, and in 1855 by Viscount Palmerston.

Disraeli first rose to the Premiership on February 25th, 1868,

resigned his power to Gladstone on December 9th following, the people approving of Gladstone's policy of the disestablishment of the English Church in Ireland against Disraeli's opposition. Gladstone continued in the Premiership until February 21st, 1874, when he was again succeeded by Disraeli, the elections called pursuant to a dissolution of Parliament in the month previous having resulted in the triumph of Disraeli's conservative policy, the people being opposed to the disestablishment of the Church in England and other kindred policies which were involved in Gladstone's continuance in power.

The average duration of ministries since 1800 has been three years and eight months. In short, while the right of appealing to the people on living issues exists every moment, neither elections nor changes of administration, considered singly, are more frequent than our Presidential contests. Both combined work a change either in the administration or in the Parliamentary majority, at the average, once in twenty months. An election in America is as likely to throw the Executive out of harmony with the legislature as not, but under the system of responsible government every election restores harmony between the Executive and legislature, and causes the machinery of government to move on more smoothly.

The revolutions in France for a century past consist of vibrations of the people between Bourbonism, which acknowledges no system of responsibility to the people whatever, either in king or ministry; Bonapartism, which is a modification of Cæsarism or absolutism, acknowledging a certain obligation to popular suffrage, the army and the church, but refusing to make this obligation tangible by allowing the ministry to be held responsible to the Chamber of Deputies; Orleanism, under Louis Philippe and his Minister, Guizot, which adopted and attempted to maintain the system of responsible ministry and dissolvable legislatures, substantially as in England; and republicanism, which in its earlier experiments relied only on short terms of office and impeachment as a means of holding rulers responsible, but which in its last experiment, the existing republic, has established for our example a more permanent executive, a ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, and a dissolvable Chamber. By the Constitution of February 25th, 1875, the President is elected, for a term of seven years, by a majority of the votes of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies united in National Assembly. He is removable only on impeachment for high

treason, but every official act or order on his part must be countersigned by a minister. Each minister is responsible individually for his personal acts to the Chambers, and "The Ministry" as a body is responsible for its measures, which responsibility it accepts by resigning when outvoted in the Chambers unless the President, with the assent of the Senate, shall dissolve the Chamber, in which event an election must follow within three months. It would seem, therefore, that the President and Senate combined might continue an unpopular ministry in power, and this may prove an imperfection in the working of the French system. The President is re-eligible, and has command of the army and the usual incidents of executive power. The Senate is composed of 225 Senators, elected for nine years, by the departments of France and the Colonies, and 75 life-members, first nominated in the joint session of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, known as the National Assembly, and afterward elected by the Chamber of Deputies alone. The Chamber consists of one deputy for each *arrondissement*, and of one for every 100,000 population which any *arrondissement* may contain in excess of the first. The present Assembly was elected in 1871. The system has not yet been tested by a popular election, but, judging from its workings thus far, it is better adapted than any hitherto known to France to secure sensitiveness to the will of the people, and to develop powerful parliamentary statesmen.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, under the Constitution of 1867, presents apparently one of the most complicated and yet skillful combinations, extant, of local self-government, or states rights and federative union, with government by responsible ministers and dissolvable legislatures. Except the Emperor, no official has a certain term of office. The empire is dual in form, embracing the two independent kingdoms of Austria and Hungary, which are united in their sovereign, their army, a part of their treasury, and their foreign affairs, but each of which has its own legislature and its own responsible ministry in all other matters. The Legislature of Austria proper is federal, consisting, in its Upper House, of nobles, archbishops, and life-members nominated by the Emperor, and, in its Lower House, of 353 delegates, nominated by the Provincial Diets (state legislatures) of 17 provinces, and elected by the direct vote of all citizens possessing a very small property qualification.

The Reichstag of Hungary, on the other hand, is itself a local legislature, though it admits into its Upper House 5 magnates in

all, and in its Lower House 110 delegates, from Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania.

The Hungarian and Austrian legislatures unite in choosing "the Delegations," which are a joint Imperial Congress of 120 members, for passing on questions common to the entire kingdom; whose membership is very simply composed of sixty members, chosen by each legislature, twenty by its Upper and forty by its Lower House. Thus Austria has three grades of federally united legislatures—namely, the Imperial, Austrian, and Provincial. Hungary has two, the Imperial and Hungarian. Three of the Emperor's ministers—namely, his Minister of Foreign Affairs for the whole Empire, his Minister of War for the whole Empire, and his Minister of Finance for the whole Empire—are responsible to the Delegations. Besides, there is a ministry in eight departments for Austria responsible to the Austrian Legislature—namely, the Presidency of the Council, and Ministries of the Interior, of Finance, of Education and Religion, of Agriculture, of Commerce, of National Defense, and of Justice.

A similar ministry of nine persons, including a minister near the King's person, *ad latus*, is responsible to the Hungarian Legislature. The sovereign is King of Hungary, Emperor of Austria, and in acts common to the whole empire is styled Emperor of Austria-Hungary. The seventeen Provincial Diets of Austria are without local cabinets, their executive officers being either appointed by the crown or elected by the people and approved by the crown. This admirable compromise, by which complete autonomy is granted to Hungary without lessening the dignity of the empire, is mainly resultant from the statesmanship of Von Beust applied to reconcile the unconquerable resistance of the Magyar race to Austrian subjugation, and the equally persistent determination of the House of Hapsburg not to abandon its Hungarian kingdom. What the Hungarians failed to secure by their gallant revolution under Kossuth, in 1848, they fully secured by passive refusal to send representatives to an Austrian legislature. The history and success of this example of passive resistance would form an exceedingly interesting lesson to all revolutionists, indicating, as it does, that peaceful methods may often be found effective, where warlike methods fail, to disenthral a subjugated and conquered people.

In the states composing the present German Empire, the principle of responsible ministry is avowed by Bavaria, Saxony, Baden, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Saxe-Weimar and Saxe-Meiningen, while

it is rejected by most or all of the other states, by Prussia, and by the Imperial Government itself. The Imperial Legislature consists of an Upper House (Bundesrath) of fifty-nine members, elected by the states, of whom Prussia has seventeen, and a Lower House (Reichstag), 397 in number, chosen by universal suffrage, Prussia electing 236. The ministry of the empire consists of a Chancellor (Von Bismarck), who is responsible only to the Emperor, who in turn rules by divine right, and is responsible only to God. The struggle in Prussia on the organization of the army, in the years 1858 to 1864, was practically a struggle of the legislature for responsible government—that is, for the power to control the crown by refusing to vote supplies; but the King first proved his power to go on and maintain the army at his own standard by the aid of the army itself, without a legislative vote of supplies, and then during a succession of vigorous wars, redounding greatly to the glory of the German name, vindicated the military sagacity of the course he had pursued in abridging the liberties of the people.

The German people are now in fact being schooled in the art of government and educated in its forms, without being all at once intrusted with its real power. A deep reverence for scholarship, and especially for learning in jurisprudence, is manifested wherever the German race bears sway. Learned doctors of the law who have been graduates, and some of them instructors in the universities, and who have given their lives to the study of jurisprudence, are accorded a position in practical legislation and administration side by side with successful generals and noblemen, a position which in America is only to be won by a happy faculty of telling anecdotes on the “stump,” or by expending several thousands of dollars in buying a political convention.

In Russia, where there is no elected parliament whatever, but the entire administration is carried on by bureaus, responsible to the Emperor alone, there is not yet laid even the foundation on which responsible government could be based. In Switzerland there is a system of government by a somewhat flexible and rotating ministry without any other executive than the head of the ministry; but there is no dissolvable legislature, and therefore no other responsibility than results from short terms of office. In Brazil, representation in one Imperial legislature, federally united with many provincial legislatures, has been introduced, but the machinery of government is by far too autocratic to admit of responsibility to the legislature being yet accepted by the Emperor or his ministry,

except that the latter can not plead the Emperor's orders in defense or extenuation if they violate the law.

In at least one colony of Australia (West Australia), during the year 1875, the attention of the people was so directly called to the subject of responsible government as to result in its being substituted for the system of fixed terms of office which they had previously tried.

We have thus cursorily opened up rather than answered our first question, namely, What is responsible government as exhibited in the various national examples now extant? To answer it fully by tracing the workings and results of the system in each would expand this brief article into a political library. In all these governments it operates alike to bring on elections only when the decision of the people is needed on some great issue or policy; to allow no such issue to be decided or acted upon without an appeal to the people; to divide parties only on living issues, thus constantly burying dead prejudices; to educate office-holders into a high and honorable sense of their accountability to the people; to make statesmanship a permanent pursuit followed by a skilled class of men, not a political accident availed of by charlatans and adventurers; in short, to render politics honest and respectable.

Our second inquiry is, whether responsible government is indigenous only in monarchies, and an exotic among republics; in short, does it require a king? Many republics, doubtless, have existed without it. The nearest approach Rome ever made to the principle of responsibility to the people was very unlike in method, and consisted in the theory that no law (*lex*) could be adopted without the consent of the entire people voting in *Comitia*. Among modern republics only France has adopted it, unless we recognize the somewhat dubious experiments in Nicaragua and Paraguay. All these are chiefly significant as showing that of late no new republics are started on our system. Even the recently "convict" settlements of England in Australia, one and all, discard fixed terms and demand responsibility. Much of the absence of this principle from the Mexican and South American republics is due to its absence, in 1780, from the United States. It was absent here because it was not then well matured in England; because our statesmen, as their writings show, were wholly unfamiliar with it; because our colonial governors had no ministers; and because the colonists thought short, fixed terms of office were the very best means of holding officers to account, in which impression they were

evidently in error. A comparison of these data shows that this principle has developed more frequently in connection with a permanent executive. But as this is largely owing to our own example, a reversal of our example would probably, in due time, reverse the argument.

Our third question is, Can the United States get on well or at all without this system of responsibility? It involves an inquiry into the evils incident to fixed terms of office.

The chief glory of republics is, not that they promise the most trained capacity in the administration of affairs; for this they have seldom been supposed by any class of statesmen or publicists to do; not that they promote the highest degree of order; for they are certainly more anarchical than other forms of government; but that they are supposed to represent most faithfully the interests and will of the people. If, therefore, with less of wisdom and of order, they combine less fidelity to popular interests, their cause is lost. It is an axiom in human nature that agents who can not be held to account can not be held to fidelity. There never was an exception to the rule, and can never be. Suppose a principal in New York to have a property in Chicago which he is unavoidably compelled to depute an agent to manage for him. Suppose an individual capable of being so absurd as to agree to appoint an agent for a fixed term, say four years, with no other power of calling him to account in the mean time than either to impeach him for crime or to remove him and appoint another agent, also for a like fixed term. Who does not see that under such a system the most honest agents would be turned into swindlers? Suppose, on the other hand, he should depute two men, each to watch the other and report. Each should be agent until the other could prove him at fault; then the other should take his place until proved guilty of like fault. The estate would be as well managed as if it were under the direct charge of the principal.

Our so-called republican system is that of change of agents at the end of fixed terms. It is incurably bad, because it does not make honesty promote a politician's personal interest so much as dishonesty. An irresponsible trustee for a fixed term has the largest possible interest in robbing the trust fund. A system of government which, to work successfully, demands that men shall be self-sacrificing, or that human nature should be abolished, is a failure from the start. The responsible system says to every office-holder, "Ye know not the day nor the hour." Therefore he must be al-

ways ready to render his account. No pains on the part of the people, in nominating or electing officers, can counteract the incurable evils of a system which inherently tends to promote incompetency and knavery.

For instance, in 1858 the House of Representatives became Republican, but by our system of fixed terms the President could neither be changed nor checkmated until 1860. The intermediate two years witnessed the anomalous spectacle of the officers in charge of a government conspiring for its overthrow, distributing its army throughout the South and discharging it, with the expectation that its officers, rank and file, would enlist in the Southern service, and sending its arms and munitions of war where enemies could best capture them. Had the principle of responsibility existed, Buchanan would have had to appoint a Republican cabinet, consisting of men like Seward, Lincoln, Chase, and Sumner, in 1858, and the Civil War would perhaps have been impossible.

But as our elections are held solely because we have reached the period for holding them, not because there is any issue to be voted on; as our mixed and muddled issues under the system of fixed terms relate to the past only, not to the future; as voting on past issues is totally frivolous at the best, many of our voters, as if to make them as frivolous as possible, vote as far back in the past as is necessary to gratify their innermost spite. Put up an Orangeman in a Catholic district, and lo! the issues relate to Cromwell's invasion of Ireland, two centuries ago. Put up the grandson of a Federalist, and the issue is the War of 1812. From 1840 to 1860 all Irishmen voted the Democratic ticket, though it meant the extension of slavery, because, forty years earlier, Democratic leaders had given the ballot to the Irishman. After President Jackson had crushed the National Bank, the people voted on its propriety. After Polk had made war on Mexico, the people voted on whether he ought to have done so. After Texas was annexed, the people voted on that. And after the compromises of 1851 concerning slavery, the people kept on voting as to whether those compromises were right or not, until the breach widened into war. Had we been under responsible government, the people would have voted on the compromise *before* it was adopted; and that, and that alone, can make any legislation a finality. Officers elected in the South on the platform of extending slavery into the territories, and in the North on that of keeping it out, decided, without consulting the people on either side, that the South would rebel, and that the North would subdue the rebel-

lion. In 1864-65 the Republican Party, elected on the issue of vigorously prosecuting the war, enfranchised the negro, of course without consulting the people. Having done so, certain Congresses, elected on the crab principle to ratify these things already done, proceeded, without consulting the people, to contract the currency. Thus, under our system of fixed terms, the issues pending when legislators are elected are seldom those on which they are to act, but generally those on which they have already acted. Hence, while the people are voting when it is too late, legislators are without instructions and without any authoritative mode of getting them. This causes legislation to drift without a helm, over the wide waste of individual speculation and aimless, disorganized, nomadic effort. For fifteen years past Congress has had no financial policy whatever, and has been incapable of maturing one, solely from this inherent defect in its organization. Each bill that any one member introduces is assailed by every other through jealousy, lest some one member may get the credit of affording financial relief to the country. In such an event every other member, under our system, sees only detriment to himself, whereas, under the "responsible" system, the measure introduced by the administration would first be devised by the wisdom of the entire cabinet, which would give it a prestige and probability of wisdom which no measure devised by a single member could have; it will then be criticised by the opposition, but not opposed unless the opposition are ready to name a definite policy against it and make it a test question. Thus, under the responsible system the opposition are driven to unite upon a policy or measure, as well as the administration. There can be no irresponsible guerilla warfare pursued against a measure. All measures are in effect either those of the administration or the opposition, and each member finds it to his interest to support either the one or the other. This avoids paralysis of legislation, a result which is of infinite value in that very large class of questions of business and finance, in which the adoption of either one of twenty proposed plans is better than the failure to adopt any.

In no work on political science which has yet come under my notice, is this effect of fixed terms of office, in both executive officers and legislatures, to cause paralysis of legislation, or even to cause the people to vote on dead issues, pointed out. It is not remarkable, therefore, that neither legislators nor people have given it their reflection. When they do, they can not fail to admit that

the system renders our elections vapid and meaningless, dishonest and irrelevant.

"Does the pending question before Congress relate to the currency? Then vote for Jones, because he is sound on the negro and on the war." Why rebuke respectable voters for despising the polls? It is the man who votes under such a system that is the fool. Pulpits filled by preachers who never vote, wax eloquent in rebuking pews filled with merchants that never vote. The conduct of both is sounder than their theory. When voting can do no good, it is the part of men of sense to cease voting; and voting to indorse this or that political party, by electing its candidates, does no good.

Nothing can be more conducive to universal dishonesty and fraud in politics, than to call on the people periodically to vote on that inextricable muddle of shams, prejudices, and impositions, that perfectly irrelevant proposition, "the record of a political party."

But while in any state of the country it converts popular elections into a farce, in some exigencies it renders them only less disastrous, in themselves, than a financial crisis or a war. The entire campaign of 1876, however it may result, has been an unmitigated curse to the country. When it began, the country was at peace, and, had we been under a responsible government, no issue could have been made up for the people to vote upon, except one on which the Administration had taken one side and the House of Representatives the other, and it must have related to the immediate business before Congress, which was then the question of expansion of the currency. A canvass on such a question, could it have been had, would have obliterated color lines, rebel lines, loyal lines, and all other lines connected with slavery, the negro, and the war, and would have been infinitely serviceable and instructive to the country. But under our crab system of going forward by looking backward, the only question possible was the utterly pernicious, useless, and infernal one, "Will you vote to indorse the past record of the Democratic Party or of the Republican Party?" or, as it soon came to be put, "Will you vote for the Union or for the Rebellion of fifteen years ago?" This reopened all the issues of the war, brought our submerged hell up again to the surface, and sent it round belching blood and brimstone through the land. Can a system be more fatal to liberty than one which renders a popular election a national calamity, which, instead of instructing administrations, revives civil war?

All these evils are inherent, not in republicanism, but in irre-

sponsibility—in fixed terms of office. Give England the system of fixed official terms and stated periodical elections, and her elections will soon be as meaningless and her officials as contemptible as ours. Her statesmanship will fade into a mere memory, as ours has done, and fraud and force will run the empire. Must we be borne along as was France under the irresponsible absolutism of Napoleon III., until we, like the French, are paying taxes for a paper army of 1,400,000 men, of whom 1,100,000 do not exist? Manufacturing munitions of war and packing them away so scientifically that before they could be unpacked and put together for use, the enemy were crowning their king emperor in the French capital? Must we, like France, cross over the deep and dark chasm of communism before we can pass from the irresponsible absolutism of our petty emperors of an hour, our horde of governing pismires, to a system of dignity, responsibility, and good faith? We have seen the generous purse of the nation transferred to *crédit mobiliers*, syndicates, and gold brokers. We have seen the sovereignty of the people, the power to elect to office, transferred from the people to a returning board. It is but a short step from a returning board, authorized to elect whom it may prefer, to an emperor, authorized to dispense with elections altogether.

I would not attempt to predict, whether through calm discussion or through national disaster and revolution, the American people will be driven to adopt responsible government. But if, as I believe, all irresponsible government is subversive of liberty and of statesmanship, and unfit for a free people, then will every instinct of the American people drive them ultimately to exchange the irresponsible for the responsible form. As it is, in no country do the people feel such an overwhelming sense of the littleness of the men in charge of public affairs. In no country are the officials so conscious that they are contemptible. In no country is there a national legislature and cabinet so rapidly retrograding, so certainly sinking into the hands of men ignorant alike of letters, law, history, finance, and even of the morals and manners of gentlemen.

Having sufficiently noticed the evils of our system, we now advance to our fourth inquiry—namely, How shall we set about introducing a better?

All we believe that is needed to bring the people to adopt responsible government is to bring them to understand it. It is more in harmony with the instincts of all honest men than the system of fixed terms of office. If the peasantry of Austria, France, Hungary,

Norway, Sweden, and numerous German states, and the ex-convicts of Australia can vote under it, it surely will not be said that it requires too much intelligence for the average American voter!

If responsible government simplifies the issue by reducing the question to the one issue—as, for instance, shall we resume? shall we expand? shall we have war? etc.—it is certainly as easy (in addition to being far more effective) for the people to vote intelligently on this issue in advance, as it is to have an uninstructed legislature and executive act on it; and then to be called on afterward to vote for a set of candidates of both parties, each of which had some members who voted one way and some who voted the other, and each of which is ready to claim to a voter who is ready to indorse a given course of action that it is the responsible author thereof, and to a voter who opposes that course that it is in no degree responsible for it. Thus in our recent campaigns both parties have been for “resumption” in New York and for “expansion” in Indiana; for “free trade” in Illinois, and for “protection” in Pennsylvania. Surely voters who are competent to find out the wiser course amidst so much duplicity would have even less difficulty if the issue were one, and that a straightforward one, than if, as now, the issues are many and complicated.

Two methods of accomplishing responsible government in the United States have been proposed, one of which is supported by the *Chicago Tribune* and the other by the *Chicago Times*. Should an equally full discussion elsewhere provoke an equally harmonious support of the general principle, the question would be resolved into one merely of details. The first is after the existing French model, namely, that the President and Congress be elected for a somewhat permanent term, say of seven years, and that his cabinet only be responsible to Congress in the technical sense, he being only removable by impeachment and conviction for crime. This might be expressed in an amendment to the Constitution, somewhat as follows:

The executive power of the United States shall be vested in a President, to be chosen for a term of seven years by the people (or by Congress, as might be preferred), the members of whose cabinet shall form a ministry, responsible to the House of Representatives, collectively for the general conduct of the government, and individually for the acts of each member. The President may be removed only on impeachment for and conviction of crime. Each executive act, to be valid, shall be countersigned by the minister of the department to which it relates. Ministers shall be collectively and individually removed on impeachment by the House alone, without trial, for conduct disapproved by the House.

The legislative power shall be vested in the President and ministry, and in a Senate and House of Representatives to be constituted as heretofore, except that the Representatives shall be elected for seven years, subject to the earlier termination of their office by the causes herein provided. The President shall select his ministers from among the members of either the Senate or the House, and shall, through his ministry, have the initiative in legislation in common with members of either House, and the right of debate on all matters pending therein.

Whenever a majority of the House shall oppose any measure introduced or sustained by the administration, the President shall either remove from his cabinet the members responsible for such measure, or, if he believes that such members, and not the House, truly reflect the will of the people thereon, he shall, with the consent of the Senate, dissolve said House, thereupon immediately ordering a new election of Representatives to be held within thirty days after such adverse vote—such Representatives to continue in office for seven years from the period of such election, or until the next dissolution of Congress.

It shall not be necessary for any Senator or Representative to reside in the State or district which he may be chosen to represent, or to resign his seat if, after being so chosen, he shall be appointed to a cabinet office; but no Senator holding a cabinet office shall draw any other pay than that pertaining to his position in the cabinet.

This renders the President permanent, except in case of impeachment for crime; but he is shorn of his power, except as he may exert it through a responsible minister, *i.e.*, one removable at the will of the House. The other method would resemble the Government of Switzerland in the fact that the executive powers would be vested in a ministry, and not in one person; but would differ in the fact that the ministry would have the power of dissolving the legislature, and would be responsible to the legislature, as in England, instead of being, as in Switzerland, elected for fixed terms.

The entire ministry would retire together at the will of the House or appeal to the people. It is advocated by the *Chicago Times*, and might be expressed in a constitutional amendment like the following:

The executive power of the United States shall be vested in a responsible Ministry of eight persons, the chief officer of whom shall be called the President of the Ministry. The Ministry shall be elected by the Congress (or by the people, as may be deemed desirable) by a ballot which shall designate the position to be occupied by each person voted for, simultaneously with the election of the first Congress to be chosen under this amendment, and shall hold for seven years, unless sooner dissolved, impeached, or resigned. The Ministry shall be members of either House *ex officio*, but may not vote. Upon a vote in the House of Representatives adverse to any measure or course of said Ministry, accompanied by an agreed list of candidates to succeed said Ministry, the said Ministry shall stand removed unless the

President of the Ministry, with the consent of the Senate, shall dissolve said House and appeal to the country by ordering an election of Representatives to be held within thirty days after such dissolution.

The legislative power shall be vested in a responsible ministry, permanent Senate, and dissolvable House of Representatives. The members of the latter shall be elected each for the term of seven years, subject to the earlier dissolution of the House by the Ministry.

No Senator or Representative need reside in the State or district for which he may be chosen, but any Senator or Representative accepting a cabinet position shall receive only the pay of the latter.

Both these provisions agree in opening up the Senate and House to the freest competitions between the best minds in all parts of the country. The theory that each county seat shall produce its local statesmen, and that no Congressional district shall have any higher order of calibre than it may happen to produce, is as preposterous as that each county shall have no sugar, cloth, or iron that it does not produce. It fosters local and sectional narrowness, meanness, and hatred, and prevents statesmanship from becoming a permanent profession to any man, however worthy.

Still another mode, which has already been widely published, is to have the Chief Justice of our Supreme Court perform the strictly ministerial functions, which in England are performed by the Queen, or in France by the President, in dissolving legislatures and calling elections. These are questions of detail, and belong to the future.

The language in which a law is couched is but its husk. The kernel must be found in its spirit and genius. If these are laid upon deep and immutable principles of human nature, and especially if their wisdom is fortified by illustrious historic examples and by long traditions, it is not innovation but conservatism to adopt them. If they have hitherto, wherever tried, resolved chaos into order, libertinism into liberty, and passion into law; if they have substituted statesmanship for standing armies, and jurisprudence for demagoguery, then they are planned well. That these would be the tendencies of responsible government in America we expect to see Americans generally, at an early day, come to admit. When they do, its adoption will quickly follow, and our republic will have entered on its second epoch. Its first revolution relieved it from the mastery of a foreign state; its second revolution would lift it into the command of its own tendencies to anarchy and misrule, make it master over itself.

THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA.

UPSALA is a city of Sweden, containing at present about 13,000 inhabitants, not including 2500 students in the University and other schools. One hundred years ago it numbered about 4000, and in 1800 a little over 5000 inhabitants. Although, therefore, it does not in any way compare with the principal cities of America as to the rapidity and extent of its growth, yet it may be worthy of attention as being the cradle of the Swedish nation, situated almost in the center of the country, which itself was known among all the old Germanic tribes as a "*vagina gentium officina nationum*." According to Olaf Rudbek, one of the most eminent Swedish scientists at the time of Charles XII., Upsala was even to be considered as the true location of Eden, and he was not without very many believers among his scientific cotemporaries. Its claim to a renown more just than this, however, rests upon its being the seat of the first Scandinavian, and one of the greatest among European universities. This, as well as its highly romantic location, will entitle it to the attention of foreigners traveling in Sweden, especially as the present means of access to it render a visit considerably more easy and pleasant than in those times when "partridges"—*i. e.*, two-wheeled, one-seated carriages, drawn by one horse—were the only vehicles which could convey the visitor there, unless he preferred, in summer, to reach it by water in some small sailing craft. Some thirty or forty years ago, however, steamers took the place of the latter, and the former, in 1866, were superseded by the steam-car.

On entering the city, we are struck by the close resemblance it bears to an American city as to its general appearance. It is regularly laid out in long, broad streets, partly planted with trees. The houses are partly of stone, partly frame, and vary in height from two to four stories. The Fyris, flowing between the two finest streets which are connected by four bridges crossing it, divides the city into an eastern and a western part. We have not space to mention the buildings and places of interest; but many of the buildings possess remarkable historical associations, from the fact that such

personages as Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, Queen Christina, King Eric, XIV., the Stures, and others were more or less connected with their foundation or the transactions which took place there.

According to Scandinavian mythology (old), Upsala was the home of the gods, while Scandinavian tradition traces its foundation by Ungre Frey to the time of Christ. But all efforts of historians have failed to determine the precise date of its origin thus far, and the probabilities are that it will ever remain a mystery. It is an undeniable fact, however, that the subsequent greatness of Sweden had its origin there, for it was there that the Swedish kings resided before they changed their residence to Stockholm. At the end of the thirteenth century, the "Allshärjarting" also met there before the medieval diet assumed its power. It was, moreover, the scene of many a bloody battle, such as the great Fyrisvall in 983. Among all the more important political events of Sweden's later history, only the abdication of Queen Christina took place there, in 1654; its influence in educational and religious matters, however, has always been, and still is, decisive for all Sweden. Thus during the prevalence of paganism, the central temple of the nation was at Upsala, while at the time when the old heathen gods were dethroned by the introduction of Roman Catholicism, Archbishop Stephanus made it the seat of his archbishopric (1164). It was there too that in 1593 the Swedish Diet decided the long and violent struggle between Catholicism and Lutheran Protestantism in favor of the latter, by declaring it the state religion of the country. But what justly endears the place mostly to the hearts and affection of the Swedish people, on account of the continuous blessings traceable to this event, is the foundation of the University there, which was inaugurated on the 21st of September, 1477.

There are two classes of universities, one of which, like those of England, France, Italy, and Spain, derive their origin from private institutions founded only for special departments of learning at a time that can not be determined with complete certainty, while the others, like the German universities, owe their foundation to imperial and papal permission and endowment at definitely determinable times, and have a complete organization of faculties and departments. The Scandinavian universities, and among them that of Upsala,¹ belong to the latter class of universities. Among this

¹ It is hoped that this statement in the text may not be criticised from the circumstance that the first spiritual and worldly privileges of Upsala were formed upon those of the universities of Bologna and Paris.

class, of which there are 20 in Germany, 5 in Austria, 5 in Scandinavia, 3 in Switzerland, and 1 in Russia, Upsala occupies the tenth place as to age, being founded, like Tübingen (Germany), in 1477, or only 129 and 112 years later respectively than the oldest two German universities of Prague (1348) and Vienna (1365). Its present status, regarding the number of its professors and students as compared with that of other universities of its class, entitles it to the fifth place, as may be seen from the following table taken from the official catalogues of 1875:

	Professors.	Students.
Vienna.....	227	3228
Prague.....	114	1824
Berlin.....	187	1824
Leipsic.....	140	2847
Upsala.....	110	1480

Comparing all the Scandinavian universities with one another, we find the following data, according to the catalogues of 1875:

	Date of foundation.	Professors.	Students.
Christiana.....	1811	50 ²	1000
Copenhagen (Kjöbenhavn).....	1478	40 ²	1100
Helsingfors.....	1827 ¹	66	615
Lund.....	1668	73	523
Upsala.....	1477	110	1480

A comparison between the populations of Scandinavia and the German Empire, and the universities with their professors and students, exhibits a regular proportion. The population of Germany is 41,000,000; of Scandinavia, 10,000,000; and while the number of professors in Scandinavia, about 360, is relatively exceeded by that of the German Empire, 1600, the number of students in Scandinavia, somewhat below 5000, relatively exceeds that of the German Empire, about 16,000, showing in Sweden alone one student to every 2175 inhabitants, in the German Empire, one to every 2580; while the number of professors in the former is also relatively somewhat greater than in the latter.

The University of Upsala was founded by Sten Sture the Elder, then Regent of Sweden, assisted by Jacob Ulfsson, Archbishop of Upsala, Pope Sixtus IV. having previously granted his permission. In point of fact, it was originally rather an enlargement of a cathe-

¹ Founded at Abo in 1640; removed to Helsingfors in 1827.

² These figures do not comprise all university teachers, but only the regular professors.

dral school whose origin dates back to the middle of the thirteenth century. It was somewhat incomplete. At its very commencement and during the time of Catholicism, it never attained to any perfection of organization and scientific accomplishments; as shown by the number of teachers and departments. During the period from 1521 to 1593, its existence was a very precarious one, since at the time of the introduction of Protestantism (under Gustavus Vasa, 1521-60) it was attacked as one of the strongholds of Catholicism, while, after the victory of Protestantism, a Catholic reaction took place during the reign of John III. (1569-92), so that for a number of years it was entirely suspended and replaced by a Catholic seminary at Stockholm. When the Swedish Diet proclaimed Lutheran Protestantism the state religion of Sweden in 1593, it at the same time decreed the restoration of the University of Upsala; and in 1600 the first celebration for the conferring of academical degrees took place. Yet it did not occupy at that time a very prominent position until Gustavus Adolphus, who may on that account be called its second founder, infused more life and importance into it by the munificence with which he endowed it, by the donation of his library and estates, and the appointment of eminent scientists of his time to professorships. Ever since it has enjoyed a very high reputation for its scientific standard, especially under the influence of such men as Linnæus (Linné), Geijer, Angström, Uppström, and others, and has shared equally the attachment and appreciation of both the people and their rulers. As a very noteworthy circumstance connected with the development of both the Swedish universities, the fact may be mentioned, that before 1866, when, by the new constitution then introduced, the peasantry attained to a controlling power in the election and composition of the Diet, in which up to that time the four estates had been separately represented, as such, the universities had never enjoyed so great a financial prosperity, as since, in consequence of the liberal grants for salaries, pensions, scholarships, and other endowments.

The government and instruction of the University of Upsala are regulated by the Royal Statutes of April 2d, 1852,¹ and by some special enactments. According to these, the supreme control of the University is in the hands of a Chancellor, and the immediate management in those of a Rector and two academical Consistories, together with some minor authorities, all of which are under the

¹ The same statutes regulate the other Swedish University, that of Lund.

superintendence of a Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor, who is assisted by a Secretary, is nominated by the King at the proposal of the "Consistorium majus," and may officiate for both universities. During the years 1824-59 this office was held by the crown princes. The office of Vice-Chancellor is always held by the Archbishop of Upsala. The authority of the "Consistorium majus," which consists of the Rector, the ordinary professors, and, in certain emergencies, of the Librarian and Treasurer, extends to the scientific, economical, and disciplinary matters connected with the University, with the following exceptions: the "Consistorium minus," consisting of the Rector, Pro-Rector, and, by rotation, a Professor of Law and three other professors, annually elected, exercises disciplinary power over the students, and up to 1869 it also had to decide or to prepare certain financial matters (in which case also the Treasurer was a member), for the final decision of the "Consistorium majus." This latter function, however, was transferred by a Royal letter, in 1869, to a so-called "Drätselnämnd," or Treasury Board, consisting of the Rector, three Professors, and the Treasurer.

The Rector, who in cases of necessity may be relieved by the Pro-Rector, is annually elected, by rotation, from among the different professors of two years' standing, and enters upon the duties of his office on June 1st, which is also the date of the entering of all other ambulatory offices in the University. He exercises the immediate care and control of all matters pertaining to the University, and especially, either alone or in connection with the "Consistorium minus," the disciplinary superintendence over the students. He may, sometimes, during the term of his office, dispense with giving lectures or holding examinations. The disciplinary power of the University, which extends over a circuit of six miles around this city, does not apply to common civil and criminal suits, which subject the students or persons enrolled as such to the regulations of the common law, but only to such acts as involve their relations to the University. Judicial power in these cases is vested either in the Rector alone or in the "Consistorium minus," according to the importance of the case, and the penalty imposed may be either simply a rebuke and a warning, or temporary or permanent suspension and loss of stipend. The latter body has also the power of temporarily excluding any student indicted before it from examination, and of inflicting additional disciplinary penalties upon any student found guilty of any crime before a common court. In cases where students are involved in criminal suits, the Rector, on the other hand, is

entitled to assist them by furnishing them with professional counsel. The disciplinary power over the teachers and other officials of the University is, however, exclusively vested in the "Consistorium majus." The Academical Chancery, or "Secretariate," is carried on by a Secretary nominated by the King at the proposal of the "Consistorium majus," and his assistants are nominated by the Chancellor. The Academical Treasury is in the hands of a Treasurer nominated by the King at the proposal of the "Consistorium majus," and his assistants by the Chancellor. The University Library is in charge of a Library Committee, consisting of the Librarian, the Vice-Librarian, and some professors. The Librarian is nominated in the same manner as the Secretary and Treasurer, and his assistants by the Chancellor.

Besides these authorities, mention may be made here of the Directors of the Hospital, a Fire Commission, an academical printer, a bookseller, a book auctioneer, an apothecary, etc.

There are four faculties—namely: of Divinity, Law, Medicine, and Philosophy. Each faculty, under a Dean, whose office is held yearly only by the regular professors in rotation, is vested with independent control of all scientific matters within its sphere, as well as with the power of conferring academical degrees. The latter are threefold—namely: those of Candidate, Licentiate, and Doctor, excepting the degree of D.D., which is bestowed only by the King himself. In the spring term of 1875, the number of teachers and students amounted to:

	THEOLOGY.	LAW.	MEDICINE.	PHILOSOPHY.	TOTAL.
Professors.....	4	4	7	16	31
Adjuncts.....	3	2	5	15	25
Docents.....	4	2	2	36	44
Total.....	11	8	14	67	100
Students.....	332	142	151	855	1480

To these may be added 4 training-masters in Music, Dancing, Gymnastics, Fencing, and Horsemanship, and 6 vacancies, making a grand total of 110 teachers. The number of students during the last few years has occasionally exceeded that given above, amounting to from 1600 to 1700.

The professors are appointed by the King, at the proposal of the "Consistorium majus," the adjuncts and training-masters by the

Chancellor at the proposal of the same body, while the docents are appointed by the same officer, at the recommendation of their respective Faculties—all these appointments of course being dependent upon previous scientific accomplishments.

Aside from the library mentioned above, there are connected with the University a number of scientific collections, numerous laboratories, clinics, an observatory, botanical garden, etc., etc., in charge of their respective professors, assisted by adjuncts, docents, and amanuenses, as well as an orchestra, a gymnasium, a drawing and a reading room.

Admission to the University, which is free to all persons without regard to sex, according to a royal enactment of 1862, depends at present, for all those who do not come from some other university, upon a satisfactory dismissive examination at a higher intermediate school before censors appointed by the King, generally from among the University teachers. In order, however, to secure the full privileges of the University, they must join one of the "Student Nations," into which all of the students are divided, and obtain a testimonial from the Rector to that effect. The totality of these Nations forms the Student Corps, with a board of officers, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Secretary, who are elected by the students generally from among the younger academical teachers, and a Directory, consisting of deputies from the various Nations, elected by the latter commonly from among the students, and varying in number according to the number of students represented in each nation. The treasury of the Student Corps, which in 1874 contained more than 200,000 Kronors (3.60 Kr. = \$1 in gold), is administered by a Treasurer, assisted by a Board, both of whom are elected by the students from among themselves and the academical teachers. The library of the Student Corps is in charge of a Librarian and a Library Committee, formed in the same way, while the botanical collection belonging to the Student Corps is under the supervision of a special officer, and a musical director has charge of the singing at their private and public assemblies.

There are at present thirteen Nations corresponding, with the exception of that of Stockholm, to the different bishoprics and provinces, varying in number, in the spring of 1875, from 25 to 183. That of the city of Stockholm comprised 155. The affairs of these corporations are regulated by rules made by themselves, but approved by the "Consistorium majus."

The members of these Nations are divided into honorary and

active members. To the former, academic teachers or prominent persons not belonging to the University may be elected—the King, for example, at present is an honorary member in one of the Nations—while the latter consists of students and in part of the youngest academical teachers. The active members, who represent the real power of the Nation, are divided into Seniors, Juniors, and Recentiors, according to their respective standing in the University, as well as to their rights within the Nation.

The Nations stand under the superintendence of an Inspector and of two Curators. The former, who looks to the general welfare of the Nation, is a regular professor, elected to this office by it, with the approval of the “*Consistorium majus* ;” the latter, of whom one is *ex-officio* President of the Nation, and the other commonly has charge of the Treasury, are elected in the same way from the students or younger teachers.

Besides these officers, the affairs of the Nation are intrusted to a Librarian, assisted by his Board, a Board of the Treasury, a Board for issuing testimonials of character, etc., etc., all elected in the same way, by and from among the Nation.

Each Nation has a house, either owned or rented by it, containing a library and reading-room, general and special meeting-rooms, drawing-room, offices, etc.

The general aim of these corporations is the promotion of diligence, morality, and mutual assistance, which they endeavor to attain by libraries, lectures, disputations, testimonials as to the character of their members, loans, recommendations to, or granting of, stipends, theatrical and musical entertainments, etc. Bringing in this manner teachers and students on the one hand, and students of different social standing and pursuits from the same section of the country on the other, into close contact and brotherly, helpful association, makes these Nations, peculiar as they are to the Swedish universities, worthy of the highest praise and universal imitation. Membership in a Nation is dependent upon a regular term, payment of an amount varying from ten to twenty Kr., in addition to which there is no other obligatory expense involved. Each Nation, as well as the whole Student Corps, has a flag of its own, to be used on all public occasions.

Aside from these Nations, there are among the students various other unions for scientific purposes, of which the respective teachers are generally elected as Chairmen. Of these unions, only one class may be mentioned here, the “*Landsmåls*” unions, which, having

one branch union for every nation, excepting Stockholm, pursue as their special object the purification and development of the Swedish language.

The academical year is divided into a fall term, from September 1st to December 15th, and a spring term, from January 15th to June 1st, the first and last fortnight of each term being devoted to examinations and other academical transactions, to the entire exclusion of lectures. Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday are set apart for public lectures by the professor; Wednesday and Saturday for the lectures of adjuncts—all of the lectures being about forty-five minutes in length, and gratuitous. Their aim is exclusively to develop the intellect and stimulate to independent research and inquiry. Every teacher, however, is in duty bound, on special demand, and as far as time permits, to assist the students by private instruction for an appropriate compensation. Such instruction is given either by so-called "Collegia," upon payment of fifteen to twenty-five Kr. per course, or by "lessons," at two to three Kr. per hour for one or two students, and is more especially to fit the students for their examinations. Attendance upon neither kind of instruction, however, is compulsory, but is left to the free option of the students, just as the use of books, choice of branches of study, attendance at prayer-meetings or religious services.

But to secure any academical degree, it is necessary to submit to the corresponding oral, written, and practical examinations. In certain cases, it is also necessary to defend an essay written (with a few exceptions) in Latin or Swedish by a public disputation, for which the candidate is permitted to nominate two opponents, in addition to one designated by the respective Faculty.

The chief subjects of academical instruction in the Faculty of Divinity are, Theological Cyclopædia; Exegetics; Systematical, Historical, and Practical Theology: in the Faculty of Law, Judicial Encyclopædia; Roman Law; National and Constitutional Law; Political Economy; History of Law, and the system of Swedish Law in all its relations: in the Faculty of Medicine, Anatomy; Physiology; Theoretical and Practical Medicine; Pharmacology; Surgery and Obstetrics; Forensic Medicine and Pharmacy: in the Faculty of Philosophy, Theoretical and Practical Philosophy; History and Statistics; Classical and Oriental Philology, and European Linguistics and Literature; Æsthetics; Pure and Applied Mathematics, and Natural Science in all its branches.

With reference to the salaries of the University teachers, it may

be stated that professors and adjuncts of theology derive their income from prebends or pastorates; those of other Faculties receive a salary in cash of (at present) 6000 Kr. for the former, and of from 2400 to 3000 Kr. for the latter. Professors who have served until they are sixty-five years of age are entitled to a pension equivalent to their salary. The income of docents is partly derived from stipends, partly from the proceeds of the private classes.

The students, while enjoying the privilege of absolutely free public instruction, may also secure the benefit of about 550 stipends, derived from numerous endowments of private charity, and founded either for the support of students during their University life, or for the encouragement of scientific travels. They generally amount to from one to several hundred Kr. per annum for the former, and to from several hundred to several thousand Kr. for the latter purpose. The conditions upon which the testators of these stipends have made their bestowal dependent are different—such as relationship to the donor, birthplace, financial condition, literary standing, etc. They may be granted either by the University or by the students. Those enjoying the benefit of a stipend have to submit to the control of an inspector, commonly a professor, appointed in accordance with the regulations of the testator.

The income of the University consists partly of the revenue from donations—such, for example, as 200,000 Kr. per annum (at present), from the estates given by Gustavus Adolphus; partly of special government grants. In 1872, the grand total income was 1,758,286 Kr.

The life of professors and students, at present, exhibits but few characteristic features distinguishing it from that of other classes, though formerly it was not without some of those oddities and extravagances with which we are wont to associate the idea of a student's life, from its manifestation in medieval and even modern German universities. As an illustration of the earlier life, it may be sufficient here to reproduce the following sketch of some scenes, incidental to an actual occurrence at Upsala in 1716, belonging to an initiation of freshmen, or a "Deposition," as this ceremony used to be styled.

The master of ceremonies or "Depositor" had the freshmen put on garments of various materials and colors. Their faces were blackened, the brims of their hats bent down, and long ears and horns fastened to them, long pigs' tusks put into the corners of their mouth, which they were compelled to keep there, like pipes, under penalty of being caned. Their shoulders were covered with

a long black cloak. In this garb, more horrid and ridiculous than that in which the victims of the Inquisition were led to the stake, the Depositor drove them with a stick from the "room of deposition," like a drove of cattle, into the auditory. There he arranged them in a circle, and stood in the center himself, making faces and outrageous courtesies to them, ridiculed their odd attire, and addressed them in a more serious harangue. He spoke of the vices and follies of youth, and showed the necessity of their being reformed, chastened, and polished by study. He then propounded several questions to them; but the tusks in their mouths prevented them from speaking distinctly, so that their utterances rather resembled the grunting of swine. Consequently, the Depositor addressed them as such, struck them lightly on their shoulders with his cane, and reproached them. Their teeth, said he, indicated intemperance in eating and drinking, on account of which young people are apt to have their intellects clouded. Then he pulled a pair of wooden tongs out of a bag, and choked and shook them until the teeth dropped out. He then continued by saying that if they were docile and diligent, they would lose their inclination for intemperance and gluttony just as they had lost their tusks. Then he tore the long ears from their hats to intimate that they would have to study diligently in order not to resemble jackasses. Furthermore, he took the horns from them as a symbol of brutal coarseness, and took a plane from his bag. Every freshman had to lie down, first on his stomach, then on his back and both his sides, and in each of these positions he planed their whole body, saying: Literature and art would polish their minds in a similar way. After various other ridiculous ceremonies, he filled a large vessel with roughly wiping them with a coarse rag. To conclude this farce, he water, which he poured over the freshmen's heads, afterwards admonished the polished, washed, and brushed company to enter upon a new life, to contend against wicked institutions, and to give up bad habits, which were apt to disfigure their mind not less than the various parts of their disguise had disfigured their bodies.

As almost the only relic of those times, may be mentioned here the peculiar distinction which characterizes the University teachers on the occasion of academical and other festivities or celebrations, and which consists of a dress-coat provided with a velvet collar embroidered with silk, in imitation of a laurel-wreath. The students, who commonly wear in summer a cap of white velvet with a black velvet brim, and a blue and yellow badge in front, while in general

freely mingling with the "Philistines," prefer of course to associate with their fellow-students of the same Nation, for the sake of socially enjoying themselves in "Zwycks"—*i.e.*, drinking of Swedish punch and "sexor," a peculiar kind of free and easy Swedish supper, accompanied by music and oratory, and occasionally by theatricals and dancing. There is, however, no duelling among the students, as is the case at German universities. On certain festive occasions of a patriotic or religious character, the Student Corps, as such, preceded by its own flag and the colors of the different Nations, takes the lead in celebrating, by song and oratory, and with the general participation of the people at large, the anniversaries of important events in Swedish history, such as the accession of Gustavus Vasa to the throne (June 6th), the death of Gustavus Adolphus (November 6th), that of Charles XII. (November 30th), the union between Sweden and Norway (November 4th).

In addition to these festivals, the Student Corps of all Scandinavian universities are accustomed to celebrate the "Knutfest," so called, at the commencement of the spring term, as a general memorial day in honor of the "Fathers" and of any celebrities who may have died during the previous year. Another celebration peculiar to the Student Corps is that of the arrival of spring, on April 30th. It may be remarkable, perhaps, for a peculiar contrast between the songs commonly sung on this occasion, in which the "Spring" and the "Sun of May" are hailed, and the then usually prevailing darkness of night, during which, moreover, sometimes the falling snow-flakes whiten the locks of the students. The effect of the missing sun, however, is in part at least replaced by numerous bonfires on the surrounding mountains, composed of burning tar-barrels, and the brilliant reflection of rockets and fireworks of every description rising from the "Great Corruption" previously described. From here they generally proceed to the houses of their respective Nations, to continue their revelry not only through the night, but also during the following day, when they form again in procession, led on by their colors, to greet each other with song and speeches. Sometimes these spring festivals are protracted into what are called "May carnivals," characterized by features of still more extravagant and frolicsome revelry. The latter festival dates back to 1843. The first of June is always celebrated in honor of the Rector, who leaves his office on that day.

In 1843, 1856, and the last time in 1874, general gatherings of the students of all the Scandinavian universities were celebrated

at Upsala, which gave occasion to scenes of a more or less similar character to those described above.

There still remain to be mentioned the peculiar festivities connected with the graduation of Doctors of Philosophy, which takes place every third year, while Doctors of Law and Medicine generally graduate every year, at the end of the Spring term, in a more informal manner. This festival may be said to commence on the day when the mothers, sisters, and sweethearts of the successful candidates meet for the sake of twining the ornamental laurel-wreath from the "Linnæan" laurel-tree. The following night is signalized by numerous serenades given to them by the graduates and their friends, while the celebration proper on the following day, which is ushered in by the firing of cannon at the Royal Castle, centers in the "Parnassus" a large platform in the Cathedral, capable of holding all those immediately interested. There the putting of the ring on the finger and the coronation with the laurel by the Promotor take place, not only of the recent graduates, but of the "jubilee doctors," the graduates of fifty years' standing—amid salutes, pealing of bells, organ-music, and all the usual necessary features of such occasions. These are followed by a dinner in the green-house of the Botanical Garden, and concluded by a ball in the large hall of the "Carolina Rediviva."

The splendors of all these festivities, however, will no doubt be outshone by those for which preparations are now being made on a large scale for the impending fourth centenary anniversary of the University of Upsala, to be celebrated in course of this year, and to which representatives of all sister universities, both in the old world and the new, will be heartily welcomed.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL AND MODERN LITERARY CRITICISM.¹

SOME fifty years ago it was quite possible for a person of scholarly habits and a moderate amount of leisure to keep pace with the general progress of literature, at least in his own language. Essays, poems, orations, and speeches of great merit, works of fiction of the higher class, and new discussions in the departments of science and philosophy, appeared at such intervals that their advent might be distinctly noticed. The appearance of a new book worth reading was an event to command attention. The process of printing was comparatively slow and of course expensive. This rendered the issuing of a volume a somewhat formidable matter, and was a material check on production. The small number of reviews, magazines, and newspapers afforded so few channels through which one's best thoughts might be given to the public, that only a moderate number were stimulated to become accomplished writers and authors. Altogether there was a reasonable chance, for any one who chose, to enjoy what might fairly be called an acquaintance with general literature.

But all this is changed. Time, the great magician, has wrought more than oriental marvels. The whole civilized world has received new impulses and acquired a new momentum. Individual life and social life, stimulated in so many ways, have been quickened and intensified to a degree of which no one could have dreamed beforehand. Mind has been incited to a rapidity of thought and spontaneity of action wholly unknown, and indeed impossible, in other times. The facilities for printing books have been increased, till improved presses, moved without labor of human hands, pour out steadily a torrent of reading matter that is absolutely appalling. Each day adds millions of pages, and every year extends indefinitely the catalogue of volumes demanding to be read. But this also must be said, that as the natural result of the change which has taken place, or we

¹ "Among My Books." 1st and 2d Series: By James Russell Lowell, Professor of Belles Lettres in Harvard College. J. R. Osgood & Co. 1876.

may say as a part of the change itself, the number of readers has increased nearly or quite in proportion to the number of the books ; so that while no one reader can hope to keep up with the multiplication of new works in the whole world of letters, any one book is perhaps as likely to find readers as when there were not a twentieth part so many issued in a year. The demand advances with the supply.

But how shall the reader make his choice ? Since production has become so easy, there will be a vast increase of chaff as well as wheat. In what light shall it be determined which of all the multitude of new works issued are worthy of attention ? It will be regarded by the majority of readers as a great advantage if aid from others can be had—if in the different departments of letters, different persons can be found whose special knowledge and judgment may with some degree of confidence be relied on. It is a lower function of criticism to meet this want ; to point out beforehand what it is worth the while to buy and read. When a work has been selected and read, it is the far higher function of criticism to aid the reader to form a fair estimate of its value ; to appreciate the beauties or discern the defects which it exhibits, so that the result to him may be a keener discrimination, the refinement of his own taste, and the largest measure of enjoyment from the book. It would seem not unreasonable to think that a criticism might exist that should be competent to render such a service in relation to current literature.

It must be owned, however, that the history of modern literary criticism is not such as to inspire great confidence in it as a power for good. We may regard the literature of the English language, including both English and American writers, as substantially one. We may comprehend in one historical survey the criticism that has dealt with it in its unity. Then we may ask what great author, either in prose or verse, has been indebted largely to criticism for his permanent success or failure ? It might be difficult to mention even one. The fact is undeniable that very many of the greatest authors have had the critics decidedly against them, at least in the early part of their careers. When, in spite of the critics, an author has achieved success—has won the popular heart and demonstrated his right to be—then the voice of criticism has either died into silence or quietly changed its tone. On the other hand, when by the aid of partial or injudicious critics an author has been lifted into a popularity beyond his real merits, his glory has soon waned, and he has found his true level, perhaps has passed into oblivion.

That literary criticism, here in the United States, accomplishes

comparatively little in the way of guiding the popular taste and judgment, can not indeed be wondered at, in view of all the facts. A very large proportion of those who assume to sit in judgment on literary works are manifestly either wholly incompetent to the task they undertake, or else work under such conditions as make it impossible in the nature of the case that they should perform it well. The first-class reviews, the best magazines, and the book department of the daily and weekly press—it is to these, chiefly, that the public look for aid beforehand in deciding what books it is worth the while to read, and afterward, in forming a just estimate of the merit of those chosen. A limited number of the reviews and magazines undoubtedly render valuable service in the way of indicating the character of the books announced as published, and to some extent afford examples of the higher kind of criticism. Writers who have carefully examined the works on which they comment express opinions that are entitled to respect. The literary editors of a few of the very first class daily and weekly papers are men of mature and cultivated taste and wide scholarship; men whose judgments, though often necessarily thrown off in haste, have weight with those that read them. Beyond this, the ordinary book notices of the press, considered as criticisms, are hardly of the slightest value. They are quite as likely to be wrong as right. They are written largely by persons with little or no knowledge of the subjects treated, often evidently without even a cursory reading of the books, or even by partisans or antagonists of the author or the publisher. At the best, they are too indiscriminating and general to be of any considerable use. This volume is summarily approved, and that as summarily condemned, and not rarely in terms clearly indicating that the censor wholly misapprehends the design and scope of what he judges. The result, of course, is that those who most need to be guided are often flagrantly misled; while the more intelligent place no reliance on such notices and neglect them altogether. On the whole, very little, almost nothing, for the culture of the popular taste and judgment, is even attempted by a large portion of the periodical press. The just conception of what the work of the critic ought to be has, it would seem, been reached as yet by comparatively few.

With these facts before one, it is specially refreshing to meet with critical discussions such as these of Prof. James Russell Lowell, collected into two convenient volumes, under the title of "Among my Books." This title, which really gives no hint of the contents of the volumes, is yet perhaps sufficient for its purpose. Mr. Lowell has

won for himself such a place in American literature by the freshness, vigor, wit, and finish of his various published works, that a book with any title, published with his name, would be certain to find attention. With the instincts inherited from a gifted family, he has given his life to letters. As the successor of Mr. Longfellow in the Chair of Modern Languages and Literature in Harvard University, the sometime editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and of the *North American Review*, his whole course of life and training has prepared him not only to take high rank among the literary men of his time, but pre-eminently to fill the critic's chair. He has from time to time assumed this, and the volumes before us are made up from his *ex cathedra* deliverances.

They are worthy deliverances too. We refer to them, however, not because it is our purpose to subject them either severally or taken together, to a particular review, or to enter into any discussion of their contents; but for the sake of the relation in which they stand to the theme which we have at present in hand. We find in them specimens of acute and faithful criticism. We take them therefore as good examples furnished to our hand. By means of them we propose to illustrate the scholarly accuracy, the keenness of perception, the comprehensiveness of knowledge, the esthetic culture, the impartial judgment, together with the power of expressing the nicest shades of thought, that are the necessary prerequisites of the critic's work; thus enabling our readers to draw certain conclusions for themselves. It is true that these essays of Mr. Lowell are not criticisms of works just issued from the press, the untried works of living authors. With a single exception, they relate to authors who have attained a permanent place on the list of the literary immortals; who were recognized as men of superior genius while they lived, and have kept, and are still likely to keep, unchallenged, their standing among the demigods of literature. We recognize the fact that to write a critical estimate of an author that has passed into history, whose writings have been subjected to the test of experiment as regards their effect on the popular mind and heart, and to the severe ordeal of long and careful study, is in some respects a different task from that of estimating one who is just making his first impression on the world and the critic both, and who must be judged at once and with no collateral helps. Still the same principles must guide in either case. With difference in details, the end must be the same;—to discern clearly and effectively to place before the reader the design and spirit and the distinctive excellences or defects of the work in hand

whether it be old or new, and to concentrate on it whatever light may be drawn from any source. These critiques of Mr. Lowell may therefore fitly be taken as illustrating, if they do not altogether realize, the true conception of the sort of criticism that is needed for the elevation and guidance of the taste and judgment of the readers of our multiform and rapidly extending literature.

Of the two volumes before us, both rich in material, we have been most interested in the second. We will take the article on Dante, with which that volume opens, as well suited to our purpose. An intelligent reader on taking up the *Divina Commedia* for the first time with the purpose of reading and enjoying it, would first of all inquire—what did the writer of this great poem propose to himself to do when he sat down to write it? It is very much by the general design of the composition that its particular parts must be interpreted; and the more distinctly this is understood at the beginning, the easier and more pleasurable will be the reading of the work. What was there—such a reader will next desire to know—in the general characteristics of that now remote period in which the author wrote, that would naturally exert a modifying influence on the development of his genius, on his imagination and tastes, his aspirations, his ideals, his moral sympathies, and even his antipathies and resentments. Everything in his surroundings that helped to make him the man he was, must be regarded as having an important relation to the chief literary undertaking of his life; must throw more or less light on the choice of his theme and his mode of treating it. Next the inquiry would suggest itself, what was there peculiar in the special type of social, political and ecclesiastical life with which Dante was familiar—the great questions and controversies which engaged the thought and enlisted the passions of men, and the traditional superstitions and beliefs which had possession of the popular mind. In these would be found much of the material of the poet, and the key to many of his allusions and his symbolic and allegorical delineations. For the full appreciation of the poem, all these and similar things must needs be understood. Along with these, or after these more accurately, will come the questions—how far the language of Dante corresponds with the Italian language of to-day; what is the special fitness of the measure and the style adopted by the poet; what are the things that most signally reveal his genius and claim the admiration of his readers, and in what parts has he been least successful; how, finally, as a whole, does the work compare in the judgment of those who have studied it most carefully, with other works of acknowledged preëm-

inence in the literature of the world. It is the task of the competent critic to learn all these things, so far as they can be learned, to keep them all before him in his examination of the work and the formation of his final judgment of it, and to place them all under the eye of the reader whom he attempts to aid in possessing himself of the wealth and appreciating the splendor and the power embodied in the poem.

It is just this task that Mr. Lowell has attempted and performed in the article on Dante. He makes it evident that he has attained to a high ideal of what the work of criticism properly involves. Every page evinces the breadth and thoroughness of his research, his sagacity in the interpretation of the enigmatic and obscure, his poetic insight, his scholarly readiness in detecting allusions to contemporary persons, opinions, and events, his philological acuteness, and his remarkable power of concise and forcible statement. Hardly a question that would occur to the most intelligent reader in relation to the author or his poem is left without an answer, or at least due notice. History, philosophy, theology in some of its profoundest problems, theories of ethics, the accepted canons of taste, the intuitions of reason, and the highest instincts of the soul—all these are made to contribute whatever light they can afford, for the illustration of the different portions of the grand old song. To say that he is right at every point, would be to assert what could hardly be presumed of any writer attempting so formidable a task. The article has indeed been sharply assailed in relation to some of its details; which, however, only proves that on very obscure questions the wisest may not agree. But this is immaterial. The point we make is that Mr. Lowell clearly shows that he had a just conception of the magnitude of the task he undertook, and made a masterly and generally successful attempt to execute it. Whoever shall sit down to the study of the great Italian with this critical essay in his hands, will need little else to enable him in some good measure to comprehend and appreciate the poem.

We might easily justify what we have said by liberally citing passages in which the quality of Mr. Lowell's criticism is well exhibited. One or two examples, however, must suffice. We take the following for point and vigor of style, acuteness of discrimination, and reach of thought:

"We may admit, with proper limitations, the distinction between the Artist and the Moralist. With the one, Form is all in all, with the other, Tendency. The aim of the one is to delight, of the other to convince. The one is master of his purpose, the other is mastered by it. The whole range of perception and thought is valuable

to the one as it will minister to the imagination, to the other only as it is available for argument. With the moralist, use is beauty, good only as it serves an ulterior purpose; with the artist, beauty is use, good in and for itself. In the fine arts, the vehicle makes part of the thought, coalesces with it. The living conception shapes itself a body in marble, color, or modulated sound, and henceforth the two are inseparable. The results of the moralist pass into the intellectual atmosphere of mankind, it matters little by what mode of conveyance. But where, as in Dante, the religious sentiment and the imagination are both organic, something interfused with the whole being of the man, so that they both work in kindly sympathy, the moral will insensibly suffuse itself with beauty as a cloud with light. Then that fine sense of remote analogies, awake to the assonance between facts seemingly remote and unrelated, between the outward and inward worlds, though convinced that the things of this world are shadows, will be persuaded also that they are not fantastic merely, but imply a substance somewhere, and will love to set forth the beauty of the visible image because it suggests the ineffably higher charm of the unseen original. Dante's ideal of life, the enlightening and strengthening of that native instinct of the soul which leads it to strive backward toward its divine source, may sublimate the senses till each becomes a window for the light of truth and the splendor of God to shine through. In him, as in Calderon, the perpetual presence of imagination not only glorifies the philosophy of life and the science of theology, but idealizes both in symbols of material beauty. Though Dante's conception of the highest end of man was that he should climb through every phase of human experience to that transcendental and supersensual region where the true, the good, and the beautiful blend in the white light of God, yet the prism of his imagination forever resolved the ray into color again, and he loved to show it where, entangled and obstructed in matter, it became beautiful once more to the eye of sense."

As an example of a different sort, we would be glad to quote the whole of a passage in which Mr. Lowell sets in contrast the highest Grecian and the highest Christian art. The ideal of the first was limited, and its work, however perfect and satisfying, failed on this account to lift the mind above the earth by kindling hope and aspiration. The type of this work, he says, is the Greek Temple. On the contrary, he asserts the grand fact that an entirely new conception of the Infinite and of man's relation to it, came in with Christianity; so that this and not the finite, is always the background of the Christian ideal of art. Of this the Gothic cathedral stands as the visible symbol. The contrast is effectively wrought out, and then follows the paragraph which we quote entire.

"As the Gothic Cathedral, then, is the type of the Christian idea, so is it also of Dante's poem. And as that in its artistic unity is but the completed thought of a single architect, which yet could never have been realized except out of the faith and by the contributions of an entire people, whose beliefs and superstitions, whose imagination and fancy, find expression in its statues and carvings, its calm saints and martyrs now at rest forever in the seclusion of their canopied niches, and its wanton

grotesques thrusting themselves forth from every pinnacle and gargoyle; so in Dante's poem, while it is as personal and peculiar as if it were his private journal and autobiography, we can yet read the diary and the autobiography of the thirteenth century and of the Italian people. Complete and harmonious in design as his work is, it is yet no Pagan temple enshrining a type of the human made divine by triumph of corporeal beauty; it is not a private chapel housing a single saint and dedicate to one chosen bloom of Christian piety or devotion; it is truly a cathedral over whose high altar hangs the emblem of suffering, of the divine made human to teach the beauty of adversity, the eternal presence of the spiritual, not overhanging and threatening, but informing and sustaining the material. In this cathedral of Dante's there are side chapels, as is fit, with altars to all Christian virtues and perfections; but the great impression of its leading thought is that of aspiration, forever and ever.'

In the same manner let the article on Spenser be examined. With the same thoroughness of research, every minutest historical fact relating to earlier and contemporary writers, and to the personal character, idiosyncrasies and associations of Spenser himself, is carefully presented. His university life; his unrequited love of the fair Rosalinde; his relations to Sir Philip Sidney, the Earl of Leicester and Lord Grey de Wilton; his reluctant residence in Ireland, where his poetic genius steadily revealed itself; his introduction to London by Sir Walter Raleigh, and disappointment at what he found to be the spirit of the court and of the higher classes; the gradual recognition of his peculiar poetic power; in short, whatever related to the external life and discipline, and to the internal life and culture of the man, is so touched as to indicate the manifold influences that contributed to make him what he was. Then see with what insight and felicity of appreciation the genius of the poet is analyzed and weighed. An ideality rarely equaled by which he was habitually lifted above, not only the common-place, but the whole region of the material; a creative imagination that gave apparent reality to the most ethereal conceptions, and imparted to the visions of his own fantasy, and all the objects of poetic thought the definiteness and permanence of things tangible and substantial; a mastery of language and of rhythmic harmonies such that his numbers, perhaps beyond those of any other English poet except Milton, enchant the reader and bear him along as if on a tide of sweetness; a power of allegoric invention, an affluence of thought and imagery and embellishment, and a sensibility to impression alike from material and spiritual beauty; these and other kindred gifts that are counted among the highest endowments of poetic genius, Mr. Lowell finds in Spenser, and indicates and illustrates by examples. At the same time he apprehends with equal clearness, and points out with the same fidelity the defects, whether

in conception or execution, whether positive or relative, which are discernible in his works. As examples we quote the following brief passages. The first shows with what judicial calmness he can censure.

"As a narrative it—the Faery Queen—has, I think, every fault of which that kind of writing is capable. The characters are vague, and even were they not, they drop out of the story so often, and remain out of it so long, that we have forgotten who they are when we meet them again; the episodes hinder the advance of the action, instead of relieving with variety of incident and variety of situation; the plot, if plot it may be called,

"that shape has none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,"

recalls drearily our ancient enemy, the Metrical Romance; while the fighting, which in those old poems was tediously sincere, is between shadow and shadow, where we know that neither can harm the other, though we are tempted to wish he might. Hazlitt bids us not mind the allegory. But how if it bore us, which after all is the fatal question? . . . The vast superiority of Bunyan over Spenser lies in the fact that we help make his allegory out of our own experience. Instead of striving to embody abstract passions and temptations, he has given us his own in all their pathetic simplicity. He is the Ulysses of his own prose-epic. This is the secret of his power and his charm, that while the representation of what *may* happen to all men comes home to none of us in particular, the story of any one man's real experience finds its startling parallel in that of every one of us. The very homeliness of Bunyan's names, and the every-day-ness of his scenery, too, put us off our guard, and we soon find ourselves on as easy a footing with his allegorical beings as we might be with Adam or Socrates in a dream. Indeed, he has prepared us for such incongruities by telling us at setting out that the story was a dream. The long nights of Bedford jail had so intensified his imagination, and made the figures with which it peopled his solitude so real to him, that the creatures of his mind became things, as clear to the memory as if we had seen them. But Spenser's are too often mere names, with no bodies to back them, entered on the Muses' muster-roll by the specious trick of personification. There is likewise in Bunyan a child-like simplicity and taking-for-granted which wins our confidence. His Giant Despair, for example, is by no means the Ossianic figure into which artists who mistake the vague for the sublime have misconceived it. He is the ogre of the fairy tales, with his malicious wife; and he comes forth to us from those regions of early faith and wonder as something accepted beforehand by the imagination. Spenser's giants are those of the later romances, except that grand figure with the balances, in the Second Canto of Book V, the most original of all his conceptions, yet no real giant, but a pure eidolon of the mind. As Bunyan rises not seldom to a natural poetry, so Spenser sinks, now and then, to unmistakable prose."

The other passage which we cite is of quite a different character. It is a brief and comprehensive statement of some of the elements of Spenser's wonderful poetic and creative power, and of the spell with which he enchants and charms the reader. It has itself not a

little of the Spenserian wealth of beauty, both in thought and language :

“Other poets have held their mirrors up to nature, mirrors that differ very widely in the truth and beauty of the images they reflect ; but Spenser’s is a magic glass, in which we see few shadows cast back from actual life, but visionary shapes conjured up by the wizard’s art from some confusedly remembered past or some impossible future ; it is like one of those still pools of medieval legend which covers some sunken city of the antique world ; a reservoir in which all our dreams seem to have been gathered. As we float upon it, we see that it pictures faithfully enough the summer clouds that drift over it, the trees that grow about its margin ; but in the midst of these shadowy echoes of actuality, we catch faint tones of bells that seem blown to us from beyond the horizon of time ; and looking down into the clear depths, catch glimpses of towers, and far-shining knights, and peerless dames that waver and are gone. Is it a world that ever was, or shall be, or can be, or but a delusion ? Spenser’s world, real to him, is real enough for us to take a holiday in, and we may well be content with it when the earth we dwell on is too real to allow of such vacations. The land of Spenser is the land of Dream, but is also the land of Rest. To read him is like dreaming awake without even the trouble of doing it yourself, but letting it be done for you by the finest dreamer that ever lived, who knows how to color his dreams like life, and make them move before you in music.”

The other leading articles in both of Mr. Lowell’s volumes, notably those on Dryden, Shakespeare, Lessing, Wordsworth, and Milton, exhibit, with some difference of degree perhaps, the same conscientious thoroughness, the same minutest accuracy of observation, the same elegance and force of language, the same mastery of esthetic principles, and what is equally essential to all good criticism, a healthful moral tone, such as is born only of sound principles and genuine conviction. • Instead of the one-sidedness of the partisan and special pleader, one finds in all the fairness and candor which spring naturally from largeness of mind and a simple love of truth. It is worthy of special notice, too, that in estimating the merit of literary work, Mr. Lowell, although himself a university professor, finds his standard and test of excellence rather in direct appeal to the consciousness, the intuitions, and the common judgments and sensibilities of men, than in any conventional canons or dicta of the schools. His criticisms carry conviction to the mind of the average reader—who knows little and cares less about the prescribed rules of composition—not because of their recognized accord with received authorities, but because they command the sanction of his reason and his heart. Had it been our object in this article to criticise the critic, we should have taken exception to some few things ; dissenting now and then from a particular opinion ; objecting to some over-

loaded sentences that seriously tax one's breath to read them ; and noting some very uncommon words, the use of which, however philologically justifiable, suggests too readily the college professor, and mars the clarity of style that makes it flow like a crystal stream through which the pebbly bottom is seen without a thought of the transparent medium. But as we have said in the beginning, we have been glad, by reference to these, on the whole, fine examples of critical writing, to justify and give force to our own assertion that very much of the current of so-called literary criticism is nearly or quite worthless ; and to make them lend us their aid in the attempt to show how greatly the too common conception of what constitutes literary criticism needs to be elevated and enlarged. There is no more forcible teaching than that which is furnished by strong contrasts.

That very much of the current criticism is in fact in strong contrast with that which makes up the larger part of the volumes before us, no intelligent reader will be likely to deny. We are anxious in all fairness to give full credit to the limited number of publications that do make competent provision for their critical departments ; but when this has been done, how large a portion remains of the weekly, monthly, and quarterly critical matter given to the public that is at a wide remove from the scholarship, the thoroughness, the discrimination and vigor which so eminently characterize these articles of Mr. Lowell. One might perhaps fitly classify the majority of the writers of reviews and notices of books, as we find them, in some such sort as this. There are your minute-gun critics. They discharge their weapons in very rapid succession. They are obliged by their position to say something in relation to a certain number of books each day or week. They have no time to examine the volumes of which they must give account. They must form a judgment of them at a glance. According to the reputation, or want of reputation, of their authors, or of the houses by which they are published, or the vague notion of the subject and the treatment gathered from the table of contents and the preface, they summarily pronounce on the merits of the work in hand. They get through the task assigned them as they can, and are entitled to sympathy more than censure, it may be. Then there are next your flaw-hunting critics. These have adopted the opinion that the chief function of criticism is to show its own sagacity by discovering some trivial fault or oversight, and keenly or sarcastically exposing it. They pay little heed to general excellence or special beauties, but search for blemishes, as men search

for hid treasures. The more they can wound an author by detecting and showing up any slight infelicities or errors of his work, or even by so travestying something he has said as to make it seem ridiculous, the more they plume themselves on their critical sagacity. They have not learned that mere fault-finding is one of the very lowest offices of criticism, and one that requires no more than ordinary cleverness and accomplishes very little good. He would not be thought a marvel of wisdom who, having a casket of jewels placed before him to examine and admire, should only set himself to the task of hunting through them to see if perchance he might find among them some slightly imperfect specimens. To point out carefully in a calm and judicial spirit, material defects which essentially disfigure a work of literary art, and even to condemn pointedly and sharply what is manifestly bad in substance or in spirit, is of course a legitimate and an important part of the critic's duty. But mere microscopic captiousness is characteristic of small minds. Yet another class may be distinguished as the "*nil admirari*" critics. These are grave, scholarly, and patronizing. They marvel at nothing, admire nothing, never warm into a genuine heartiness of commendation, still less into enthusiasm even over what exhibits the highest merit. To do this would be to come down from their Olympus to the level of mere mortals. They award their commendation in vague and general terms befitting the Delphic Oracle, and with a coolness worthy of the Stoics. Such criticism is as worthless as it is insipid. Finally the list would be incomplete, did we not mention the blindly laudatory, who indiscriminately deal out extravagant praise, especially in relation to writings of their personal favorites, or the men of their clique or party. The worthlessness of such laudation is readily understood. It passes for nothing with readers of common sense. We doubt not that our readers will recognize these several types of literary critics as altogether familiar, and will agree with us that the contrast between what such writers have produced and such pieces as those to which we have been referring is really about as great as can be well conceived. That far higher possibilities are quite within our reach, however, and may be realized, ought not for a moment to be doubted. There is no lack of either the acuteness or the scholarship demanded for creditable criticism. But the nature and value of this high art, really such, notwithstanding its many failures, have not been fully comprehended. So many things have claimed attention in the development of our new intellectual and civil life as a people, that haste in everything has been the rule, and persistent and careful

labor the comparatively rare exception. Few have been able to devote more than a small portion of their time to purely literary work, and to *produce* a native literature as fast as our circumstances would allow, rather than expend time and labor in efforts to attain the utmost elaborateness and polish, has seemed the not unnatural course. But surely the time has come when quality rather than quantity should be the leading thought; when not only the reading public, but the young authors who are in such numbers advancing into the field to contend for the popular favor, and to mould the popular mind, stand greatly in need of the guidance and correction which the highest culture and the maturest wisdom can impart. To educate the intellectual appetite and taste of a great people, to teach them to love the pure and true, and to despise the false and the corrupting, to raise their habitual thoughts to high ideals of beauty and of strength and healthfulness, and help them to preserve and to perpetuate our noble language in its classic dignity and power—these are things on which the very best talent and scholarship among us may well employ their highest gifts and acquisitions.

The primary step towards a higher type of literary criticism must doubtless be the result of a profound conviction of the intrinsic difficulty of the work. It is for want of this that the incompetent so readily attempt it. It is no holiday task to write such essays as those of Mr. Lowell on Dante, Dryden, Spenser, Wordsworth, or Milton; the latter, by the way, being in fact the handling of a living author, Mr. Massey, the biographer of the poet; Milton himself as necessarily involved in that. A glance at such pieces suggests at once that only by special natural gifts and large scholarly attainments can one be expected to attain the position of an accomplished critic. But even with all necessary prerequisites, there are difficulties inherent in the very nature of the work of criticism not easy to be surmounted. First of all, there is no fixed and clearly determined standard by which literary excellence in any department can be measured. If a dozen persons differ in judgment as to the weight of a nugget of gold, they have only to turn to the balance in order to end all doubt at once. If the difference concerns its purity, they have but to resort to the assayer. If to its value at a given time, the list of prices current at the brokers' board will settle that. But an essay, or a poem, or any work of literary art, is submitted to the conflicting judgments of the world; how shall its degree of merit be decided? To what exact and recognized standard will you take it, that thereby it may decisively be tested? For this that claims to be

gold in the intellectual realm you have no balance, no assayer, no list of values. If you would try the merit of your production by comparison with those of a similar character which have been accepted by the world as classics, as the works of so-called standard writers, you find that the varieties of excellence are endless, and that no two of these writers exhibit precisely the same kind and degree of merit, and you are hopelessly at sea. If you resort to the most eminent rhetoricians and critics, from Aristotle and Quintilian to Lord Kames, or Jeffrey, or Macaulay, for the distinctly stated and surely settled principles by which the case may be decided, you will not so be able to plant your feet on solid land. What are the essential elements of beauty, even, is a question as yet quite undecided. Nothing could well be further from the truth than the too common notion that men of genius produce their immortal pieces by working according to certain rules laid down by the highest authorities and carefully studied and observed. No literary work of eminent merit was ever written by rules. Genius has obeyed its own behests; has created what seemed good in its own sight; has opened its own treasury of thought, of beauty, of wit, without asking leave of any, and blended its own hues without the least regard to the prismatic arrangement of the rainbow; has followed its own inspirations and instincts, and has been a law unto itself. The so-called laws of composition are but the more or less legitimate deductions from the works so produced, after these had been found to command the admiration of men. They are not without their value. They answer certain general purposes as means of developing and cultivating literary taste and judgment; but as guides to genius in its high producing acts, and as furnishing criteria by which to test them directly, they are of very small account. That Shakespeare violated the unities and traversed at will the prescribed metes and bounds of the canonical ideal of the drama has not hindered him from commanding the admiration of mankind, and drawing to himself the hearts of men through centuries. It would be about as rational to seek an exact and recognized standard by which the comparative beauty of each of the countless flowers of summer should be determined, as to search for one by which the infinitely varied products of literary art can with propriety be tried.

Then, too, the work of criticism encounters the difficulty arising from the almost inevitable special biases of critics. Every man has his own individuality. Each is in many particulars different from others even of his own class. One has the keener intellect, another

the greater ratiocinative force, another the higher ideality, another the richer imagination, another the finer taste, another the more tender sensibility, another the more perfect mastery of language. One has been reared in the midst of all that is beautiful and grand in nature; another amid the tamest scenery, or the brick walls of a city. One has been nurtured under the influence of the refinements of pure and cultivated social life, another has been familiar with that of the comparatively coarse and rude. One is constitutionally grave, pensive, inclined to the more sombre views of things, another is buoyant in temperament, and hopeful and aspiring. One belongs to this guild, or school, or clique, in religion, or politics, or letters, or art, and another is connected with that. It is impossible but that each should be, to a greater or less extent, influenced in his literary taste, feeling, and judgment by the circumstances and the training which have shaped his own inner life; that each should see from his own personal standpoint and in his own light, and should be very liable to regard any literary work as certain to make the same impression on all others that he has found it to make on himself. A very large portion of the current criticism, if carefully examined, will in fact be found to be merely the expression of the personal liking or disliking of the writers. The critical writings even of Mathew Arnold, for example, can not be intelligently read without a recognition of the fact that the peculiar personality of this polished but eccentric genius reveals in them its own distinctive characteristics and cherished prejudices, and tinges with the hue of its own individual moods very many of his critical opinions. The same may be said of Mr. Ruskin, whose individualism is so intense. Men who do not hesitate to assume that in critical sagacity they are undoubtedly in advance of all the world, will of course find the ground and determining cause of their decisions in themselves.

When the magnitude and difficulty of the work of thorough and impartial criticism has been rightly understood, the writer who proposes to undertake it will be able to comprehend with what kind and degree of preparation it becomes him to approach his task. We have said that he has no exact authoritative canons, no fixed measure by which summarily to determine merit. Has he nothing then to which to make appeal? Has he no alternative but to set up his own ideal, his own taste, or fancy, or temperament, or casual association, as criteria, and to follow the lead of his own narrow and one-sided judgment? On the contrary, he can and must appeal to principles and facts involved in or suggested by the very constitution of

man ; to certain intellectual, esthetic and moral elements that belong to essential humanity. In other words, for the accomplished critic there is demanded a profound knowledge of human nature—of the soul of man in its deepest instincts, its intuitive perceptions of truth, its conscious appetites, yearnings and aspirations ; in the sensibilities which make it exquisitely susceptible to impression from the qualities of things, and in its ever enlarging and advancing ideals. It is only as he is master of this kind of wisdom that one becomes a master in the art of criticism. The nature of man and the principles of literary art are correlated to each other—the latter being determined by the former. He who has in some good measure comprehended both, has no need of rules propounded by authority, no need of any standard set canonically forth. As in the sphere of jurisprudence, there is a common law that lies back of all enactments, and is broader and deeper than all statutes, so in the sphere of literary art there is a common law of the higher nature of humanity by which the most elevated criticism will be governed in its decisions.

To the want of this knowledge of human nature in its fundamental laws, more than to any other single cause, we are inclined to think the many flagrant misjudgments of critics reputed eminent must be ascribed. Dr. Samuel Johnson placed a low estimate on Gray's *Elegy* ; a poem which has shown itself imperishable by its hold on certain common sympathies and associations of the human heart of which Dr. Johnson, from some peculiarity of his individual temperament, knew little or nothing by experience. A larger knowledge of mankind would have enabled him to discern in the poem the qualities which were sure to give it vital power. Sir Walter Scott was censured by Jeffrey and others for introducing into his romance of " *The Monastery* " a supernatural personage, the " *White Maid of Avenel*," on the ground that a belief in such supernatural visions belonged to a bygone age, and that they were out of place in a tale intended for a period too enlightened to accept them. The readers of the volume did not generally appear to appreciate the criticism ; or if they did in some instances, the reasons may have been as Scott himself suggests in his last edition, that there was lack of power and skill in the working up of the character and action. It was a sufficient vindication of the writer that the scene of the story was itself laid in a bygone age, when such things were implicitly believed in by many. It might have been added, however, conclusively, that as regards the interest which well wrought tales of the supernatural awaken, all ages have been and are likely to be essentially alike. It

belongs to the common humanity to be pleased with ingenious representations of spiritual beings, whether believed in as a reality or not. The Arabian Nights were probably never read with greater interest than they are to-day ; nor would any sane reader think of asserting that the supernatural in "The Tempest," the "Midsummer Night's Dream," or the "Hamlet" of Shakespeare, or in the "Faust" of Goethe, was out of harmony with the nineteenth century. Still greater was the blunder of the Quarterly Review, which condemned, or at least handled very severely, Waverley, which laid the foundation of Scott's triumph as a novelist by its unparalleled success. We might refer to many other instances in which time has signally reversed the verdicts of the censors, as for example those of Kirke White, of Wordsworth, of Keats, of Byron, and even of Tennyson and Longfellow, among living writers. It will doubtless be found in these and similar cases that the false judgments rested on something purely personal to the critic, or else on principles assumed as settled, but really conventional and arbitrary, and having no ground in the laws that are given by the higher nature of man. The probability of the permanent success of any literary work is proportioned to the degree in which it harmonizes with those laws ; and the value of criticism depends on its ability to discern this harmony, and in the case of new productions to point it out beforehand and illustrate it in its details. When instead of attempting to do this, it offers merely empirical decisions, and repeats for the hundredth time the set and hackneyed phrases that make up the common dialect of the superficial who assume the office of connoisseurs, one may well be tempted to cry out in weariness with Sterne, who concludes his own keen satire directed against such, with the exclamation—"Grant me patience ! Of all the Cants that are canted in this canting world, though the cant of hypocrisy may be the worst, the cant of criticism is the most tormenting !"

It can not be reasonably expected, therefore, that the very highest style of criticism will be reached by more than a limited number. Instead of being a task to which any respectably intelligent man is equal, it requires, we have seen, talent of a superior order, a wide and accurate knowledge of the field of literature, a deep insight into the hidden fountains of human thought and feeling, a judicial self-command, and high ideals of truth and beauty and goodness. It is hardly to be looked for that all these things, in due proportion, will be found in any single person, however great his genius or his culture. But let us have the clear conception of what we want before us, and

approximate it as nearly as we may. By the combined efforts of several, no one of whom is wholly without deficiencies, a type of criticism may be attained and may vindicate its just authority, that shall exert a most salutary and elevating influence on our rising national literature. A few such writers as Mr. Lowell—it would be easy to add other well-known names to his—who should use to the utmost the opportunities afforded for the promotion of a richer literary culture, and lead the way towards a healthful, vigorous, and at the same time diversified and elegant literature, would make their influence felt throughout the whole wide realm of letters. We have not intended in anything that has been said to undervalue the lighter and briefer forms of criticism—those which naturally find their place in the class of ephemeral publications. What we insist on is that, however brief and occasional they may be, they shall at least be intelligent, accurate, faithful to truth and correct taste so far as they actually go. If they are anything less than this, they are worse than useless, as serving only to mislead. The effect of eminent examples in the highest courts of literary judgment could hardly fail to quicken, instruct, and elevate even down to the lowest tribunal. By setting forth correct principles, refining the general taste, and stimulating to better endeavors, they must steadily elevate the tone of the entire critical department of the periodical press, from the daily sheet to the dignified quarterly. Is it too much to hope that so much of advance as this may at no distant day be realized?

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, SCIENCE, AND EVENTS.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

TENNYSON'S HAROLD.¹—The publication of Mr. Tennyson's new drama is the central point of literary interest at the present time. We believe that many years ago the poet-laureate contemplated a tragedy upon the subject of "Harold," but "Queen Mary," following it in conception, preceded it in appearance. Mr. Tennyson will win by his later work laurels which he failed to acquire by "Queen Mary." Every one felt that, notwithstanding the presence of numerous lofty and beautiful passages of poetry in that play, it was not so successful when regarded from a purely dramatic point of view. These positions are now reversed. "Harold," while scarcely equal to its predecessor in the poetic element, takes unquestioned precedence over it as a drama. This is doubtless partly owing to the subject, than which there are few exhibiting more genuine tragic interest in English history. Harold is a noble creation, every inch a king, and such a king as we get shadowy conceptions of in reading Lord Lytton's romance and the more genuine chronicles of the historians. Mr. Tennyson presents him to us as a genuine man of flesh and blood, moved by human passions, if of a large and overpowering type. Then, again, the dramatist has been more careful in construction than he was in his previous play, the result being that "Harold" could readily be placed upon the stage, with no fear of a failure resulting as in the case of "Queen Mary." There is much more to draw out English sympathy in the character of Harold than in that of the unpopular later British sovereign. Mr. Tennyson has made excellent use of history and tradition. There is no one act in his new tragedy which can be called weak. Where it fails, perhaps, is in the humorous part: Mr. Tennyson does not impress us by his wit, and the present drama necessarily suffers in this respect when placed by the side of the dramas of Shakespeare. It is a great achievement, however, to write the English drama as it should be written, as regards the majesty of its blank verse, the individuality of its creations, and the unity of its conception; and all these things the poet-laureate achieves with distinguished success. The drama opens at the court of Edward the Confessor, when terrible signs in the heavens are supposed to presage the doom of England. The king, in the

¹ "Harold. A Drama." By Alfred Tennyson. London: H. S. King & Co. 1876.

near approach of death, declares that Harold is the only man to rule the kingdom after he is gone. Harold, being captured and brought before William of Normandy, is prevailed upon, by divers reasons, to take an oath to help the duke to the crown of England. This oath sets him free, but it haunts him ever afterward. The drama is next occupied with the internal broils in Britain, the landing and defeat of the King of Norway by Harold, the latter's quarrel with his brother, and marriage with the widow of the King of Wales, who has intrigued successfully for the position of queen. Harold, however, has long been secretly plighted to Edith, Edward the Confessor's ward, and she loves him with such love as only woman—and not all women—can show. On the field of Senlac, Harold performs prodigies of valor, but is at length defeated and overpowered by the superior strength of the Normans. The tragedy ends with the discovery of the dead king's body upon the battle-field. Edith is leaning over it when William arrives upon the scene. With a declaration that she is Harold's wife, Edith dies upon his body in so close an embrace that the soldiers can not part them, and the Conqueror orders them to be buried together. We are unable to reproduce passages from this powerful drama; but this is the less to be regretted as American readers, in common with English, will doubtless read the work not once or twice, but many times, for themselves.

THE VOLSUNG AND THE NIBLUNGS.¹—Mr. Morris employs his genius in depicting the massacre of the Niblungs in the hall of Atli, as detailed by the German chronicles. We can not follow the details of the whole poem, which is charged with beauty. Mr. Morris is easily great in this line of effort, and if he be satisfied with the appreciation of the cultured few, he has his reward. To the mass of Englishmen, however, his poems are the utterances of a foreign tongue; this is the more to be regretted from the fact that with subjects more easy of popular apprehension Mr. Morris would extend his circle of admirers, and enjoy a deserved fame with the illiterate equal to that he now enjoys with the erudite.

POEMS BY THE LORD-MAYOR.²—Our first thought with regard to this volume was, What affinity hath commerce with literature, and so august a being as a lord-mayor with poetry? These effusions, however, were penned long before Mr. Cotton attained to his recent exalted civic position, and this is merely a new and revised edition. There is no fault to be found with the scope of the leading poem, "Imagination," which goes back as far as any poet is warranted in going—namely, to the time before the creation. It is a little wearisome to follow his lordship through all the courses which fancy has pursued, and we think he scarcely does his poet-

¹ "The Story of Sigurd the Volsung, and the Fall of the Niblungs." By William Morris. London: Ellis & White.

² "Imagination and other Poems." By the Right Hon. J. Richmond Cotton, M.P., Lord-Mayor. London: Chapman & Hall.

ical powers sufficient justice in choosing so ambitious a theme. He is better and more at ease when he comes to the short poems, as he then has his muse more under control. Much melodious versification is to be found here, and the writing of such poetry is certainly amongst the least harmful of recreations for a busy man. Were we to say, nevertheless, that we should miss Mr. Cotton as a luminary in the poetic horizon, we should only be guilty of flattery. He is a cultivated man, and his verses are melodious and smooth, but they are—well, not great.

SHORTER ENGLISH POEMS.¹—Professor Henry Morley is excellently fitted for the task he has undertaken of editing a series of works for the enterprising firm of Cassell, Petter & Galpin, to be entitled a "Library of English Literature." This is the first installment, and it is calculated to be very valuable to readers both amongst the old and young. It is richly illustrated, and is a tempting morsel to all those—and surely they are legion!—who desire to become acquainted with the almost boundless treasures of English poetry.

POETICAL WORKS OF SHELLEY.²—Readers who desire to possess a correct text of Shelley, can obtain it in Mr. Forman's new edition. The work of collation and revision is laboriously—even painfully—performed. Should there prove to be a demand for so expensive a work as this—which is to be completed in four large handsome volumes—it says much for the vitality of Shelley as a poet amongst his countrymen. The rage after mere verbal accuracy, notwithstanding, may be pushed too far. The question of whether a comma has been omitted here, or a semicolon ruthlessly and villainously inserted there, is not of paramount interest to the human race. Mr. Forman goes beyond this, however; he is a patient and careful investigator, and for the greater part of his labors we may conscientiously express our indebtedness.

HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE.³—M. Van Laun is already very favorably regarded in English literary circles for his translation of Taine's "English Literature" and the translation of Molière, which he is just completing. We know of no one better qualified than he to undertake a history of French literature. The present work is intended to be concluded in three volumes, the first installment of which brings us down to the period of the Renaissance. M. Van Laun, in an introductory chapter, demonstrates what the history of a literature ought to be, and shows the

¹ "Shorter English Poems." Selected, edited, and arranged by Henry Morley. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

² "The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley." Edited by H. B. Forman. Vol. I. London: Reeves & Turner.

³ "History of French Literature." By Henri Van Laun. Vol. I. From its Origin to the Renaissance. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

modifying or moulding effects of political and other influences upon it. He then traces very clearly the origin of the French nation, and the earliest efforts of the Celts and Gauls to express themselves in poetic forms, giving at the same time a passing attention to the bardic poetry of Britain. We have then placed before us the influence of Greece, Rome, and Germany upon Gaul, followed by the intellectual development which succeeded to the introduction of Christianity. Book II. deals with feudal society, embracing the labors of the Troubadours, the Carlovingian, Arthurian, and classical cycles, etc. This is succeeded by the decline of the Trouvères, between whom and Chaucer a comparison is instituted. The Renaissance is at length reached, and we have vivid sketches of Rabelais and his successors, of Montaigne, and finally of Calvin and his friends. To the student of foreign literature this work will be invaluable, throwing, as it does, side lights upon many other literary histories upon the Continent besides that of France. The style in which it is written is natural and yet elegant, and it would be impossible to point to more interesting or satisfactory labor of its kind.

A BOOK OF THE PLAY.¹—Mr. Dutton Cook is known in London as the dramatic critic of one of the ablest daily journals, and there is consequently some fitness in his detailing the history of the play. There are minor errors in these volumes—and with so many facts it is only to be expected that an occasional error would creep in—but, notwithstanding this the study is a most interesting one to the general reader. For some of the inaccuracies—notably the repetition of a whole passage—probably the printer is responsible; at any rate, the work is so amusing, we might almost say valuable, to the playgoer, that it will be worth Mr. Cook's while to bring out a very carefully revised edition of it at some future time. He chats most pleasantly of all the old favorites of the stage, and brings his gossip and his anecdotes down to our own day. Such a book must have entailed enormous research, and we hope that it will be well rewarded.

THE ROMAN FORUM.²—Mr. Parker is an assiduous archæologist, and something more, as this elaborate work, excellently illustrated, abundantly testifies. He has done much toward a recognition of the glories of ancient Rome in the modern. In reading his pages, and following his wand as it traces the magnificent ruins of the city, one seems to live over again the history which made Rome so powerful and her name immortal. The book is invaluable to those who are interested in tracing Old World scenes and Old World history.

¹ "A Book of the Play. Studies and Illustrations of Histrionic Story, Life, and Character." By Dutton Cook. Two vols. London: Sampson Low & Co.

² "The Forum Romanum and the Via Sacra." By John Henry Parker, C.B. Oxford and London.

SYRIA AND EGYPT.¹—As might naturally be expected, a mass of information is to be picked up in these volumes, though it is not always placed in an orderly manner, so as to fit it for mental absorption. Mr. Barker was the East India Company's agent at Aleppo, from the close of last century, and also, subsequently, Consul-General in Egypt. Mr. Barker was very active during the war against Bonaparte, and on one occasion he succeeded in preventing the surrender of Pondicherry to the French. His life was by no means destitute of interest or excitement, and these volumes, besides showing something of him, have much to say respecting many Englishmen and Englishwomen who have helped to give Britain its fame in the East.

CENTRAL AFRICA.²—This portion of the world appears to be just now the cynosure of all eyes. Some years ago we heard little respecting the interior of Africa, but Livingstone, Speke, Baker, and others have changed all that. It is rapidly becoming a *battue* for explorers and bookmakers, and promises soon to change its character of a land unknown for that of a land too well known—we mean as regards the number and character of published travels. Col. Long has done some solid work in Africa, and he maintains that he has completely dispelled all doubt as to the connection by river between the Victoria Nyanza Lake and the Albert Nyanza. We care little about this claim if Col. Long really adds to the knowledge already possessed of the interior. What new facts he gives us were obtained at great personal sacrifice, for the Colonel seems to have been the prey of illness of almost every kind. He affirms that the Khedive is not only desirous of putting down the slave trade, but determined to do it. He, however, does not fix a time when, and certainly little of a practical nature has yet been done toward the accomplishment of this object.

DUTCH GUIANA.³—Another book of travel, or rather foreign sojourn. It does not possess the interest of Captain Barnaby's, though it has its value. Not much is known by people generally of Dutch Guiana, nor are we aware that they are pursued by an unquenchable thirst upon the subject. Those, however, who desire to learn something—but by no means every thing—of this to English readers (comparatively) *terra incognita*, may do so in Mr. Palgrave's volume.

BULGARIA.⁴—We have been pretty well inundated with Turkish and

¹ "Syria and Egypt under the last Five Sultans of Turkey. Being Experiences during Fifty Years of Mr. Consul-General Barker." Edited by his son E. B. B. Barker. Two vols. London: Samuel Tinsley.

² "Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People. An Account of Expeditions to the Lake Victoria Nyanza, etc." By Col. C. Chaillé Long. London: Sampson Low & Co.

³ "Dutch Guiana." By W. G. Palgrave. London: Macmillan & Co.

⁴ "Between the Danube and Black Sea; or, Five Years in Bulgaria." By H. C. Barkley. London: John Murray.

Bulgarian literature, but Mr. Barkley's volume must not be passed over. Considering that many have written upon Bulgaria who know as much, and no more, of the country as they do of the lunar mountains, it is only fair to read the work of a man who has for a lengthened period resided there. Mr. Barkley testifies to the virtues of the Bulgarians, and his testimony is worth having. He corroborates the recent statements respecting the injustice of Turkish officials, and as for the Turkish Zaptieh, if all that is said of him be true, the world were well rid of him. There is no wonder that a people like the Bulgarians should be desirous of freeing themselves from an oppressive yoke.

GEOLOGY OF ENGLAND AND WALES.¹—This is really a book for students, and those who are desirous of mastering the geologic details of England and Wales can not do better than make much of it. The writer is connected with the Geological Survey. He has not only studied what has been written by his predecessors upon this subject, but his own work appears to be ably and conscientiously executed.

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH.

ART IN EUROPE.

MAY I be permitted, before proceeding to talk as usual about other people and their doings, to say a few words which concern myself? Your contributor who was so good as to consider me worth writing about makes a little mistake in one passage. He says that my pictures painted at Sens were exhibited at the Royal Academy. I rather think this must be on the authority of a Boston magazine; but it is not accurate. As I desire no more credit than what is fairly due, let me say that the pictures in question were never sent to the Academy. Some of them were exhibited at Manchester, in Mr. Agnew's gallery, and all were exhibited in London, in a gallery in Piccadilly. I have been represented at the Academy later as an etcher. As a painter I have exhibited in the French Gallery and other places in London and elsewhere, but have not sought to exhibit much since I became known as a writer. It might be supposed that success in literature might help a painter, by drawing attention to his works; but in reality it injures him in two ways—first, by awaking a disposition to criticise him more severely than others; and secondly, by putting a weapon into every enemy's hand, which, in the present state of public opinion, can be used with telling effect. That weapon is the word "amateur." Several well-known authors, such as Tom Taylor, Anthony Trollope, Francis Palgrave, William Rossetti, are government clerks, but nobody says they are "amateur" government clerks, although two of them have been much more voluminous writers than I have been.

"The Geology of England and Wales." By Horace B. Woodward, F.G.S
London: Longmans & Co.

Thiers and Guizot were most productive authors, but nobody says they were amateur statesmen. Neither do people use the word *amateur* with reference to authorship. William Morris is in trade, and he is a poet. If the same rule were applied to him which is applied to me, it is evident that he must be an amateur either in one thing or the other. Is he an amateur poet? We do not say so; we say simply that he is a poet. Is he, then, an amateur tradesman? People do not say so; but people have always called Mr. Ruskin an amateur draughtsman, though in reality he draws with quite as much earnestness as Morris can put into his business. The most wonderful thing is that *no* amount of even pecuniary success can ever get rid of the word *amateur*, and of what is implied by it. I find in a recent work published in London the writer, when speaking of engraving, mentions Haden, Hamerton, and Méryon as amateur etchers. Well, of course we know that Mr. Haden is a London surgeon, and so does not follow art as a profession; but he is also an excellent *artist*, and so well appreciated by the public that his etchings bring in more money than those of any other etcher in the world. As for Mr. Hamerton, the writer of this letter had better not say much about him; but he may say, what is true, that his plates always bring a fair, though not excessive, pecuniary return; whilst it is well known that he has devoted earnest study to the subject of etching, of the most technical and practical kind. Now we come to Méryon. On what grounds does the writer in question call Méryon an amateur? Simply because he has ascertained that at one period of his life Méryon was in the French navy. You might as well say that Lord Clive was an amateur soldier because he had been a clerk. Méryon, unfortunately, never got much money by his etchings, which were not appreciated at their true value a few years ago, though now they are the treasures of collectors; but he earned his living by his skill at a time when it was difficult indeed to earn any thing whatever by etching.

At page 779 (vol. iii.) your contributor speaks of Mr. Pettill as having been my master. This is a printer's error: the name ought to be Pettitt. He was not a celebrated painter, but an industrious and successful one, strongly animated by the love of nature. He once walked a thousand miles along the sea-coast, just because he had at that time a fancy for studying the sea; and at another time he walked amongst the Pyrenees, with no companion but a donkey which carried his luggage, sleeping just where he happened to be. Mr. Pettitt belonged to a class of landscape-painters, more numerous in the English school than in any other, who love nature much more passionately than they love art, and who value art simply as a copy of nature, or a reminiscence of it. He was a very hard student always, and when quite in the maturity of his talent would still work persistently from nature. Although he maintained a large family with his brush, I suppose some people would call him an amateur, for he had been both a printer's compositor, like Etty, and an attorney's clerk.

Most of your readers will be already aware that there is a gallery in London especially devoted to foreign art, and which, although directed entirely

by a dealer for his private ends, is also at the same time one of the most important artistic institutions in England. This gallery is of small dimensions, and it is a good thing that it should not be large; for it is always easier to fill a small gallery well than a large one, and when good works are lost amongst many others, they run a great risk of being overlooked. The French gallery in Pall Mall contains the pick of the Continental work of the year in cabinet pictures. It is not limited to French art; but the director of the gallery, Mr. Wallis, visits the studios of the best artists all over Europe, and always contrives to get together an exhibition of first-rate work for the summer season. In the winter season he has a mixed exhibition of English and Continental paintings, not selected quite so carefully and severely, but still as good, let us say, as an average room at the Royal Academy. I may mention a few works which struck me more particularly in the present exhibition. Munthe has made a great hit with his snow pictures, which is all the more remarkable that snow is generally very unpopular in painting.

A lady who greatly enjoyed art and knew something about it once told me that she would not hang up a snow-picture in her rooms on any consideration, because of its chill dreariness; and I believe that feeling to be very general. In the hands of Munthe snow is attractive. His pictures are wonderfully true, and at the same time full of poetic feeling. He takes some very simple subject, and paints it under an evening or a twilight effect, generally with a warm gray or a golden sky, which allows him, on account of the reflection, to make the snow itself a good deal warmer than snow very often is, and so helps him over one of the most serious difficulties in such subjects. Then he is particularly skillful in using cottages and figures for the sake of warm browns and even reds, as well as for their poetic value, of which he has a fine and delicate sentiment. He deals, too, with winter trees in a summary but very efficient manner, not troubling himself to copy them too minutely, but giving the effect and quality of their masses. I was greatly charmed with these pictures, and thought it a good sign of the soundness of public taste that work so unpretending should be appreciated; but I heard with regret that the success of this artist in the treatment of snow should have had the effect of binding him down to a perpetual winter. He paints summer, also, for his own pleasure; but the public have associated him with winter in their minds, and only his winter pictures are in request. This tendency of public demand to force artists into narrow specialties is one of the most evil influences which operate upon art. Some of your readers may remember that Mr. Ruskin once observed how it was always the most incompetent artists who painted snow-scenes and moonlights. There was much truth in the observation, and yet, after admiring Munthe's snow-scenes, I turned to a couple of moonlights by Wahlberg—"A Calm Sea" and "Moonlight on the Swedish Coast"—which rendered the effects attempted with singular power and success. Another recently-known artist who paints moonlights well is M. Rosier. His picture in the Salon this year, called "*La Lagune ;—effet de nuit*," showed more truthful and original observation of nature than any other

moonlight picture I ever met with—not even excepting those by Wahlberg. It is a satisfaction that these artists are beginning to paint moonlight with its real color. The theory used to be that there was no color in moonlight except cold blue. In nature, moonlight is often rich in warm color, and very various tints of subdued quality are always visible in it; but the varieties of natural moonlights are very great. In another department of art a clever family of the name of Montalba have recently made themselves well known in London. There are four painters in this family, whose Christian names are Anthony, Hilda, Ellen, and Clara. They all paint with assurance, and all have the artistic temperament. Miss Clara seems rather to think it is her mission to astonish the Philistines; but her dash and originality are of the right kind, being founded upon real knowledge. Her work is so decidedly her own that it is like nobody else's, which is almost always a good sign in poets and painters.

P. G. HAMERTON.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.

A NEW STAR in the constellation of the Swan was observed by Professor Schmidt at Athens, on the evening of November 24, 1876, which has excited a lively interest among astronomers. When first seen, the star, which was of a yellow color, was estimated to be of the third magnitude, and therefore easily visible to the naked eye. By December 8th its brightness had declined till it appeared to be of about the sixth magnitude. A spectroscopic examination of the light of the new-comer, made by M. Cornu at the Paris Observatory, and reported by him at a recent session of the French Academy of Sciences, developed the interesting fact that its spectrum consists chiefly of bright lines upon a faintly luminous background. The latter was not continuous, the green and blue portions being almost or altogether wanting, and the observer was not able to distinguish any dark lines in the portion which was visible. Of the bright lines three were satisfactorily identified with those of hydrogen, two others appeared to coincide with those of sodium and magnesium, while another had very nearly the position of the characteristic line of the solar corona. A feeble band was also seen in a position near that of a prominent line in the chromosphere. M. Cornu is of opinion that the line assigned to sodium may really be the same as the chromospheric line characteristic of the hypothetical element helium, but the measurements were somewhat uncertain, by reason of the faintness of the light. He points out the remarkable resemblance of the spectrum to that of the solar chromosphere, but remarks that further conclusions are premature until other and more complete observations furnish data for trustworthy inferences. It is well known that certain small stars exhibit the lines of hydrogen bright instead of dark in their spectra, and a variable star which appeared temporarily in 1866 gave the bright lines of this gas and of magnesium upon a luminous background,

which was discontinuous. The same peculiar spectrum has been observed in at least one other similar case, and it seems very probable that these bodies, as well as the new star, have been the seat of some extraordinary combustion or other energetic action on a grand scale.

THE DIFFICULT FEAT of securing a photographic impression of the spectrum of a star has been successfully accomplished by Professor Henry Draper, of New York, to whom, as will be remembered, a gold medal was awarded by Congress in recognition of his eminent services in connection with the employment of photographic processes in the recent observations of the transit of Venus. In a communication just published he gives an account of some experiments upon the spectra of the stars, the planets, and the moon, and especially of the stars α Lyræ and α Aquilæ, with a twenty-eight-inch reflector and a twelve-inch refractor. The photographic spectrum of the former of these stars shows broad bands and lines in the violet and ultra-violet portion quite unlike any thing in the corresponding regions of the solar spectrum. He has also succeeded in obtaining photographs of the spectrum of Venus which exhibit a great number of lines, and in which he has remarked a weakening of the impression toward H and above it, similar to what is observed in the photographs of solar spectra taken near sunset, and such as might result from an absorption of the light of the planet by its own atmosphere.

THE CELEBRATED GROTTTO of Royat, near Naples, better known as the Grotto del Cane, has been famous, even from ancient times, for the effects upon the human body, or upon animals, produced by breathing the atmosphere within it. Although it was familiarly understood that these effects were due to the large percentage of carbon di-oxide present in the air of the grotto, no analysis of the air appears to have been made until recently. Not long since, M. Finot collected some of the gas and subjected it to examination. The analyses showed that it contained a little more than twenty-five per cent of carbon di-oxide, or carbonic acid. As common air usually contains not more than four or five parts of this gas in ten thousand, the toxical effects of the gas in the cave are satisfactorily accounted for. The remaining constituents of the gas were found to be oxygen and nitrogen, in nearly the proportions in which they are contained in the atmosphere, but with a small excess of oxygen. As the atmospheric gases absorbed by water show a similar excess of oxygen, M. Finot thinks that the gas of the cave has its origin in surface waters, which have become thus charged with oxygen, nitrogen, and carbon di-oxide, and which, percolating downward through the strata of porous rock until they reach a region of high temperature, are unable to retain their gaseous contents, and these, being thus driven off by the heat, rise to the surface, where they escape. It seems doubtful, however, whether the presence of so large a proportion of carbon di-oxide can be sufficiently explained in this manner.

A BROCHURE from the pen of Dr. Paul Moreau, of Tours, has recently been published in Paris, upon the subject of the disorders consequent upon the slow intoxication caused by the inhalation of the oxide of carbon. An extract

quoted in *Les Mondes* gives a brief summary of the facts observed by the author, and shows very clearly that the common opinions as to the deleterious action of the gas, and the dangerous effects produced by it, are not exaggerated. The author asserts that the slow action of the gas upon the system produces a series of intellectual disorders which pursue a course peculiar to themselves and characteristic. These affections, manifested almost exclusively by females, are marked in the great majority of cases by entire absence of hereditary predisposition, and are characterized by vertigo, a sense of being dazed or dazzled (*éblouissement*), oppression, syncope, hallucinations of sight and hearing, delirious fancies, by indecision which overwhelms all thought like a wave, and by painful uncertainty or intellectual confusion, ending in delirium. If not of too long standing, and the cause of them is removed or avoided, the dangerous symptoms yield to proper remedies, and health is restored. On the contrary, continuance in the unfavorable conditions is followed by rapid and incurable dementia. Cooks are spoken of as especially exposed to these disorders, which is not to be wondered at, considering the frequent use of charcoal-furnaces unprovided with flues in French kitchens, and the neglect of ventilation. Though consequences so grave as those described are rarely to be observed in this country, there is no doubt that much evil results from the escape of the noxious gas from the hot-air furnaces employed for heating houses, either from want of proper care about preventing leakage, or from allowing the cast-iron body of the furnace to become red hot, in which condition it permits the oxide of carbon to pass through it and thus to be mingled with the air supplied to the rooms.

AS A CONVENIENT MODE of procuring sulphurous oxide for use as a disinfectant, Mr. T. W. Keats, of London, recommends the combustion of carbon di-sulphide. This substance, which is a mobile and exceedingly volatile liquid, can be burned in a simple lamp such as is used for alcohol, and produces the sulphurous gas in abundance and with great convenience. Mr. Keats has made many experiments to ascertain the effect of the combustion, and he finds that half an ounce of the liquid, which will occupy perhaps twenty minutes in burning, will produce sulphurous oxide enough to charge a thousand cubic feet of air, to such a degree, as to render it irrespirable for more than a few moments at a time. The simplicity and convenience of the method, by which this powerful disinfectant can be thus produced and applied, will facilitate its use in cases where the generation of it by burning sulphur would be undesirable or impracticable. The volatility of the carbon di-sulphide, its inflammability, disagreeable odor, and deleterious effect when breathed, render it necessary to provide against evaporation when the lamp is not in use, an end easily attained by furnishing it with a tightly-fitting screw cap.

A SIMPLE MODE of producing permanent inscriptions upon glass or rock-crystal has been devised by M. Kessler, who has succeeded in forming a species of ink by the use of fluorhydrate of ammonia and acetic acid or hydrochloric acid. Characters written upon the glass or crystal, with this ink,

remain indelibly fixed, owing to chemical combination of the ink with the silica, which destroys the polish of the surface, giving to the lines inscribed a dull appearance, and rendering them quite distinct and legible.

ARTHUR W. WRIGHT.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

THE PROGRESS of internationalism, in its various forms, is, we think, the most prominent feature of our later civilization. The community of interest among nations is becoming so great that very little is done by the government or people of any without exciting attention and feeling among all the others. Commercial and social intercourse is increasing, the means of communication and transportation are multiplying, international associations of all kinds and for all purposes are constantly forming, while international expositions have become an almost indispensable mode of manifestation of the skill and industry of the world. The project of the ship-canal across the American isthmus is the natural outgrowth of the demands of the commerce of nations. Directness and rapidity are as essential to the intercourse of nations as are facility and efficiency. The lessening of the commercial distance between the great centres of trade by the proposed international highway across the Isthmus of Darien is, of course, the prime consideration in the scheme. It would be a work even more important and beneficial than the construction of the Suez Canal; and it is eminently proper that the United States Government should invite the attention of other governments to the project, as has been suggested in some quarter. In the present depressed condition of the finances of all the world, such an enterprise will not, probably, be efficiently undertaken; but its final consummation is only a question of time. And the same may be said of the completion of the telegraphic circuit of the globe, and other great international enterprises which the last quarter of a century has initiated.

THE UNITED STATES, by virtue of its geographical and political position among nations, will undoubtedly have abundant opportunities for influencing the course of nations in the future. It has just now an occasion for the exercise of magnanimity and devotion to principle. The announcement that the Alabama Claims Commission, at Washington, to which was committed the distribution of the Geneva Award, had completed its labors, leaving eight millions of dollars, or more than half the award, undistributed, caused much comment on both sides of the Atlantic. This result had been anticipated for some time by those who were familiar with the rules governing the Washington Commission; but the public had not generally understood the effect of the rules of distribution. It is unnecessary to refer to any but the simplest facts in the

case. The Geneva tribunal awarded a sum in gross of fifteen and a half millions of dollars as a satisfaction for what was known as the "Alabama Claims." No award was made to the United States for losses to the government, consequential or otherwise, but only for losses sustained by its citizens. It must be conceded that the government held the award in trust for its citizens. Mr. Caleb Cushing, one of the counsel of our government at Geneva, said, immediately after the award, "It will be received and held by the United States as a trust fund, to be distributed among the parties interested conformably to the tenor and spirit of the award." Mr. J. Bancroft Davis, the agent of the United States at Geneva, in his report to the government said, "We [therefore] devoted our energies toward securing such a sum as should be practically an indemnity to the sufferers. Whether we have or have not been successful can be determined only by the final division of the sum." The Commissioners of Distribution themselves in an early opinion distinctly recognized the fact that the award must be disposed of in accordance with the intention of the arbitrators. But by the application of the act of Congress regulating the distribution, many of the claims of insurance companies who had paid losses occasioned by the depredations of the Confederate cruisers were rejected. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the arbitrator of our government at Geneva, in a recent letter to the International Code Committee regretted "that upon the first experiment of practical arbitration between two nations, when with great care and deliberation the four arbiters laid down in clear terms the reasons why they joined in one conclusion, they should have been compelled to see their judgment reversed and money withheld from the parties intended, which, if so withheld for good reasons, should at once have been restored to the party from which it had been taken. As the matter now stands, the arbiters appear responsible for cheating the British Government out of a large sum which the American Government declares was not properly claimed, and yet which it declines to return to the rightful owners." There seems but one really fair and honorable course for our government to pursue; that is, to provide for the distribution of such of the remaining fund as claimants are legitimately entitled to within the spirit of the decision of the Geneva tribunal; and then if any balance remains, to return it promptly to Great Britain. All schemes for covering the money into the Treasury, or appropriating it to national objects, or diverting it from the purposes intended by the Geneva tribunal, are inconsistent with international good faith. Our government may, therefore, show the world that the application of the principle of arbitration among nations can hereafter be safely relied upon as bringing forth honorable and just results; or it may discourage international arbitration by diverting or withholding a sum peacefully obtained from another nation, although it is technically entitled to do so.

THE TEMPORARY DISTURBANCE of our extradition relations with Great Britain has come to an end, and certainly in a manner which must be regarded, in some sense, as a diplomatic victory for the United States. It is not quite so clear whether the result is a triumph of correct principles in interna-

tional law ; for there is a temporary concession that a person extradited may be prosecuted for a crime other than that for which extradition was procured. This is contrary to the modern doctrines and usages of nations, and to the opinion of the best jurists and publicists. Nearly all recent treaties embody the principle that the person surrendered shall only be tried for the offense specified in the demand. The treaty of 1842, under which extradition relations are now maintained with Great Britain, contained no express recognition of the principle, and, of course, no provision for a guarantee that the principle should be carried into effect. In the case of Winslow the English Government for the first time, we believe, demanded such a guarantee, as being in accordance with the later rules of international law, with the recent treaties entered into between Great Britain and other countries, and the requirements of the Acts of Parliament. This position was successfully resisted by the United States ; but we apprehend that Great Britain will insist upon a new treaty embodying the principle maintained by its Foreign Office ; and it will be both competent and desirable for the United States to enter into such a new convention. It is rumored that a treaty of extradition has been negotiated with Spain including a very large number of offenses. It is to be hoped that this is true, for no nation can now afford to depend on what is termed international comity for the extradition of criminals. In fact, the better opinion now seems to be that no extradition can or ought to take place without express treaty stipulations. The nations are really in a condition to negotiate a uniform convention of extradition ; and it is not unlikely that the first great practical step toward a uniform law of nations may be taken in this direction.

THE PROLONGATION of the Turkish armistice until March, and the assembling of the Conference of Plenipotentiaries of the great powers for the purpose of considering the Eastern Question, were indications that a peaceful settlement of the issues involved would be earnestly attempted, if not consummated. It is impossible to ascertain definitely what the Conference proposed or decided upon as necessary for Turkey to perform. The newspaper accounts have been very conflicting, for the reason that in Europe it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain what is going on in diplomatic and governmental circles without an official announcement. This fact undoubtedly accounts for the fluctuating character of the so-called "news" received in this country relating to the proceedings of the Conference. It can hardly be that the attitude of the great powers with reference to Turkey has changed as often as the newspaper reports would seem to indicate. We have received conjecture instead of fact, and are therefore unable to come to a definite conclusion as to what the Conference has done or the governments demanded. It would seem, from the information received from all sources, diplomatic and otherwise, that an agreement has been formed among all the powers as to what it is desirable that Turkey shall guarantee. The establishment of the new Turkish constitution and the reforms involved therein would be a sufficient answer to the demands of even Russia ; but it is quite impossible for

Europe at the present day to accept Turkish promises as proof of performance. Russia does not seem inclined to take the responsibility of initiating hostilities unless she can be supported by the best international sentiment. There may be some means of procuring the consent of Turkey to the methods of guarantee already proposed; but if we can rely at all upon the reports received from the East, the powers concerned are little nearer a practical solution of the question of method of guarantee than they were before the sitting of the Conference. The whole world anxiously awaits the developments of the next month; for in the proper settlement of the great controversy lies the welfare of millions of human beings, not only in the East, but in the West.

THE SOLUTION of the Presidential problem in the United States has been one of the greatest difficulty, on account of the diversity of interests involved, and because the plans proposed by the leaders of each political party have been diametrically opposed to each other. It has been generally conceded that no compromise could be effected by the committees of the two houses of Congress appointed to consider the method of counting the electoral votes, without virtually yielding the point at issue, unless the matter should be referred to a tribunal of arbitration. Arbitration has, therefore, been adopted, and the arbiters have been appointed from the Senate, the House, and the Supreme Court, and have begun the great trial. As there was no other method of reaching a peaceful and speedy settlement of the most vexatious question which has yet arisen in our history, the country is to be congratulated that it has been adopted, although we should not like to see it followed as a precedent. The method of counting the electoral vote should be hereafter rendered explicit and definite, so that there shall be no occasion for disagreement between the two houses of Congress as to their respective powers and duties. The attitude of our people during the pendency of the Presidential crisis has been such as to evoke the highest encomiums from the other side of the Atlantic. The patience, coolness, and forbearance which have, in the main, distinguished the supporters of the rival candidates deserve the highest commendation. The exhibition of these qualities is all the more admirable when it is remembered that the continuance of our business prostration is generally believed to be attributable almost entirely to the unsettled political condition of the country. Let it be remembered that the only way out of our difficulties, financial and political, is through the maintenance of order and peace, and the exercise of a spirit of mutual concession. Whichever party assumes the administration of the affairs of the United States for the next four years will be held to the very strictest account; and we shall probably, in any event, have a better administration than for years past.

General Walker's second article, "THE DISPLAY AND THE AWARDS," will be published in the JULY number of the REVIEW.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. IV.

MAY, 1877.

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AHEAD OF ALL COMPETITORS.

At the Centennial Exhibition, the duly appointed Judges on Starch, Group IV., composed of gentlemen selected for that purpose from different parts of the United States and foreign countries, on account of their high scientific attainments and world-wide reputation, having taken samples of all the starch made from Indian corn on exhibition, analyzed them, and found

KINGSFORD'S OSWEGO STARCH

to be the purest, strongest and freest from moisture and foreign matter, and free from acidity and alkalies.

The following is a copy of the original Report of said Judges on Kingsford's Oswego Starch:

REPORT OF AWARDS—PRODUCT STARCH.

"Name and Address of Exhibitor,

**"T. KINGSFORD & SON,
"OSWEGO, N. Y.**

"The undersigned, having examined the product herein described, respectfully recommend the same to the United States Centennial Commission for award, for the following reasons:

"They make a very fine exhibit of Starch, put up in various forms, and for different uses.

"They are the originators of the process used by themselves and several other of the largest manufacturers for making Starch from Indian Corn.

"They are the largest manufacturers and exporters of this product.

"Their Starch shows great purity and strength, and is free from acidity.

"W. C. KERR.

"Signature of the Judge.

"APPROVAL OF GROUP JUDGES:

"WM. H. BREWER,

"W. S. GREENE,

"G. F. SECCHI DE CASALI,

"E. H. VON BAUMHAUER,

H. G. JOLY,

GUIDO MARX,

DR. NICOLAU J. MOREIRA,

JOSEPH F. TOBIAS."

The Centennial Commission, in announcing the award of a Medal to **T. KINGSFORD & SON,** furnish the following portion of said Report:

"They make a very fine exhibit of Starch, put up in various forms, and for different uses. Their Starch shows great purity and strength, and is free from acidity."

(L. S.)

A. T. GOSHORN, Director General.

J. R. HAWLEY, President.

J. L. CAMPBELL, Secretary.

At the first World's Fair in London, in 1851, **KINGSFORD'S OSWEGO STARCH** was awarded the Prize Medal, and at all subsequent Exhibitions, where placed by the manufacturers on exhibition, and in competition, **Kingsford's Oswego Starch** has always received the first premium in testimony of the highest degree of excellence.

THOMAS KINGSFORD discovered the process of manufacturing starch from ripe Indian Corn in 1842, and was the first person to put the same into practical operation. Since that time this process has been brought to great perfection through the energy and skill of T. Kingsford & Son, of which firm he was the senior member.

The excellence of their Starch is attested by the fact that they are now the largest manufacturers and exporters of this product in the world.

This intelligent verdict of the Judges is fully confirmed by other eminent chemists and men of science, from Edinburgh, London, Paris, Dublin, New York, and Philadelphia, a few of whose testimonials are here copied, that purchasers of this incomparable article may be assured from the highest authority, that AS AN ARTICLE OF DIET NOTHING CAN BE MORE HEALTHFUL, while for LAUNDRY PURPOSES IT HAS NO EQUAL.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

MAY, 1877.

THE NEW FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION.

AFTER four months of feverish excitement and anxious and depressing expectancy, during which no one could anticipate what a day might bring forth, and the prophets of evil with general accord tuned their voices to disaster, the heart of the nation made a great leap for joy when President Hayes, on the steps of the Capitol, proclaimed his firm purpose to carry into practical operation the pledges contained in his letter of acceptance. The mists which hung over the political affairs of the nation at once disappeared, the depression gave way to cheerful confidence, and dangerous excitement was supplanted by general content, without even a momentary stage of uncertainty and doubt.

Why, during the long and anxious period which intervened between the election and the declaration of the result, should there have been any doubt whatever regarding the course which would be taken by Governor Hayes in the event of his being inducted into the Presidential office? As he had given formal assurances what his course would be before the people had tendered him their suffrages, why should not his fulfillment of the assurances have been looked upon as a matter of course, and relied upon with undoubting confidence?

The answer is to be sought, not in any distrust of the President's integrity, but in the inveterate corruption of American politics, and the firm control which party leaders had succeeded in obtaining of all the machinery of political action. The people had read with pleasure and satisfaction Mr. Hayes's letter of acceptance, but

though this was put forth as the chart by which he should be guided in his official action if he should be chosen, and it therefore constituted the proper and legitimate platform for the campaign; yet the managing men, the "shrewd wire-pullers," the "old war-horses," at once took charge of the campaign, laid a new platform of their own upon which they assumed to place their candidate, and conducted the canvass in all respects as if the principal nominee was a convenience they were necessarily making use of for the perpetuation of their own authority. Moreover, the control of the canvass passed at once into the hands of men who were prominently identified with one of the chief evils the letter of acceptance had promised to remove, and an ostentatious display seemed to be made of a fixed purpose to make Mr. Hayes owe his election to the very influences which, in that document, he had directly or by necessary implication condemned.

If, under these circumstances, the people asked themselves what reason they had to expect that after election the President would break loose from the influences which during the canvass had proved irresistible, and which seemed to have subordinated his pledges to a war-cry inconsistent with them, and brought to the front as more conspicuous figures than himself party leaders who specially represented a system he proposed to abolish, they were compelled to acknowledge that it seemed like hoping against hope. If they asked politicians what were the probabilities of his redeeming his pledges, the latter only smiled, and replied that practical men expected nothing of the kind, and Mr. Hayes would be too wise to attempt it. Theoretical men like Mr. Schurz might dream of some radical change in the civil service, but whoever attempted the overthrow of the existing system would have the Senate and the leading men of his party against him, and that meant that he would have the party as an organization against him; and what could any President do without a party? He must fail, as a matter of necessity; witness John Tyler and Andy Johnson. Grant was wiser, and he conformed his civil service reform to the ideas of Congress. So must Mr. Hayes do, for he was thoroughly practical. Such was the prevailing view among the politicians of both parties.

To refute these ideas the people had nothing but their confidence in a man of whom as yet they knew very little. They were therefore balancing their own hopes against the belief of those who during the preceding eight years had demonstrated their power to overcome all those influences in favor of reform which the new

President could expect to call to his aid. It therefore seemed more than probable that, if Mr. Hayes should make a faithful and vigorous attempt to redeem his pledges, he could only present to the country a living representation of such a struggle with fate as the artist of antiquity whose work has come down to us with such vividness in marble ; he might perhaps prove

“A strong man struggling with the storms of fate,
And greatly falling,”—

but fall he must, if he undertook to resist the influences which for twelve Presidential terms had possessed the public service, every term growing stronger, more pervading, and more inveterate.

But Mr. Hayes, to the astonishment of politicians and the delight of the country, repeated in his inaugural the pledge of his letter of acceptance, in terms so pronounced and unambiguous, that faint hope expanded into a confidence ; and this required only the nomination, which speedily followed, of a cabinet known to favor his views, to ripen into certainty. He says :

“I ask the attention of the public to the paramount necessity of reform in our civil service—a reform not merely as to certain abuses and practices of so-called official patronage which have come to have the sanction of usage in the several departments of our Government, but a change in the system of appointment itself ; a reform that shall be thorough, radical, and complete, a return to the principles and practices of the founders of the Government. They neither expected nor desired from public officers any partisan services. They meant that public officers should owe their whole service to the Government and to the people. They meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. They held that appointments to office were not to be made nor expected merely as rewards for partisan services, nor merely on the nomination of members of Congress as being entitled in any respect to the control of such appointments.”

In this short paragraph is to be found indicated not only one of the principal evils now existing in our Government, but an evil by and for which others of a very disquieting and dangerous nature are fostered and kept alive. It therefore seems to us fitting that in endeavoring to forecast the general policy of Mr. Hayes and the particular measures likely to be adopted in advancing it, this reform should be brought to the front.

The country now expects and believes that Mr. Hayes will carry out this promised reform. He has called around him a body of advisers who are able and resolute, a majority of whom at least are

thoroughly in accord with his views, and are sufficiently versed in political strategy to encounter any other equal number of men in the country on equal terms. But the task he enters upon is one of great difficulty, and four years is a short time in which to accomplish it. The spoils system is a species of feudal tenure, of which the President is nominal head, the members of Congress the feudatory chiefs, and the other Federal officers the retainers of those chiefs, holding by a service the questioning of which, as in the case of military service, is a forfeiture of the estate. But the spoils feudatory differ from the military in this, that in a contest for the headship the estate of every inferior is at stake, and when the field is won, all are brought to punishment; neither pity for suffering, gratitude for faithful services to the state, considerations of policy or of justice, must be allowed to plead for one of them; their places were the prizes for which the contending forces fought, and to the victors they belong. A Tudor might strengthen his government by general pardon to those who had fought against him, but for opposition to the successful candidate for President there can be no forgiveness. It is the one deadly sin, by the side of which official delinquencies and personal corruption are venial.

Fine words and high-sounding phrases will not reach this evil; declamation respecting it will be thrown away, whether it comes from President or platform lecturer, or from Fourth-of-July orator. The men who profit by it are the men who control the machinery of Government, and to preach reform to them would be like Wolsey preaching temperance and policy to Henry VIII. To bring the Government back to the constitutional principles which the spoils system has displaced requires counteracting measures, boldly planned and fearlessly and persistently conducted. Men do not willingly resign power, especially when it carries with it personal consideration and profit for themselves or their dependents, and the men who now wield the power have ruled too long and too absolutely to yield to pressure without resistance.

1. The first and most obvious measure of reform is for the President as representative of the people, and head of the Government, to break the bonds of feudal subjection, and ignore and repudiate utterly all proprietorship of members of Congress in subordinate offices. This is the first requisite to a practical recognition of the fact that officers are the agents of the people, and owe faithful service to the Government, and not to this or that influential man who has named them for appointment. So long as this officer is Mr. Senator's

man, and that officer Mr. Representative's, it is vain to expect that either of them will perform faithful service to the country. Personal interest must always influence more or less the action of individuals, and while members of Congress are at liberty to withdraw the attention of officers from their official duties in aid of their own political fortunes, and so long as the incumbents understand that they owe their positions to the continued favor of the members, it is vain to expect that those who may select will do so with exclusive regard to the public interest, or that those selected will put aside other considerations and devote their attention to public duty. It is equally idle to expect that in those branches of the public service where the number of officials may be variable it will be limited to the actual demands of the public necessity; for when appointments are made in the interest of individuals—and those the law-makers—it is not the smallest number that is desired and that will be provided for, but the largest number for which an excuse can be framed. The present system therefore is vicious, not only because it subordinates the public interests to the interests of individuals in the case of necessary officers, but because it tends to multiply places to be filled at the public expense, which are made necessary only because officials are expected and are required to give that time and attention to the service of individuals, which duty requires they should give to the public.

2. The second step in substantial reform is the establishment of the principle, that tenure in non-political offices filled by appointment is held by no other favor than such as shall come from fitness, and be retained by a faithful discharge of duty; that officers are to serve the Government, which is the same to-day and forever, and not any party or individual which may be voted in or out as the public favor may change. This will relieve the officers from the necessity of getting out the voters to caucuses, managing the conventions, writing leaders for political organs, and, generally, from doing any thing degrading in itself, or that shall prevent them from minding their official business. And to enable the President to hold them to due accountability in that, the Tenure of Office Act ought to be repealed. That act was a nice arrangement to enable Senators, as between themselves and the members of the other House, to control the lion's share of the appointments; but it is destructive of responsibility, especially if the Senate happen at any time not to be in accord with the President. A divided responsibility for the action of subordinates is little better than none at all.

When claims for political services shall be repudiated, it will follow as of course that some other standard of selection for official position will be chosen. It will not, we take it, be relationship to the President, or favors to him or his family; for when the idea that those who control appointments have some sort of property in them is overthrown, the President can no more appoint on personal considerations than the members of Congress can recommend for like reasons. Fitness for the discharge of the duties can alone be the standard; and while we do not believe this can be determined by the Chinese sort of competitive examination, an inquiry that shall satisfactorily determine the personal fitness for the position will be a matter of course.

3. When Congressional control of offices is broken up, the people expect of Mr. Hayes that he will ignore the party and act for the country at large. We do not mean by this that he will ignore the principles of the party, so far as there are any which are distinctive, or that he will neglect on proper occasion to give his influence, official as well as personal, in their favor. This is implied in an election on a party platform. But the President no more than the Congressman is at liberty to select men for offices because of their ability to serve him or his party in office, nor to desire, expect, or permit such service after their appointment. The distinction between the Government in its official action, and party leaders in their action as such, ought under all circumstances to be kept clear and well marked. If the President recognizes this, we shall have no more running of campaigns by the Administration; and the race of official tramps who have lived on the plunder of the South, while having no interest in common with her people, and no permanent abode among them, will disappear from the face of the earth. When they disappear, one of the chief obstacles to the pacification of the country will disappear also. In saying this, we cast no imputations upon the many worthy citizens from the North who have emigrated to, and become citizens in good faith in, Southern States. This was their rightful privilege, and is a subject for commendation instead of reproach. They have given their labor, their ability, and their means to the restoration of the South in its material interests, and have thus rendered a service to the South and to the nation.

4. The country expects the new Administration to lead the people back into the ways of peace. The most dangerous precedent ever put before the people of this country was the setting up of Mr.

Kellogg's government by military force. Whether Mr. Kellogg was elected or not, there was never a shadow of authority for this action; for the midnight order of Judge Durell was as bald in its usurpation as though it had been the act of the military officer himself. But from that time to the inauguration of Mr. Hayes, the spectacle of military power as a force in civil affairs has been exhibited with such frequency, that it has almost ceased to be exceptional, and the alarming fact is manifest, that a considerable proportion of the people, and especially of the freedmen, have come to look upon it as perfectly legitimate. Is this the way to educate the freedmen to govern themselves? And how long could one party continue the use of the military as a means of influencing political results, before a conviction would pervade the other that resistance by military force was equally admissible?

There is a vague notion in the minds of many people, that when conflicting claims exist to State government, it is the duty of the Federal Administration to "recognize" one or the other of the claimants, and then to settle the controversy by a practical enforcement of this recognition. It is highly probable that General Grant, whose sole training was military, honestly held this view. No authority can be found for it in the Federal Constitution. Every State is supposed capable of settling its own disputes, and it is only when an attempt is made to set aside republican government, or when an existing authority calls for aid against domestic violence, that the Federal Government is at liberty to interfere. One State may settle a disputed governorship in the courts, another in the legislature, and whether settled rightly or wrongly is the concern only of its own people. If in another State no provision whatever is made for a legal settlement, the settlement by passive acquiescence of the people is still open. It is their affair, not the affair of the President or of Congress, and the governors of the adjoining States would no more invade a jurisdiction not belonging to them, by leading their militia in to settle the dispute, than would the President by sending in the general of the army. The expression of his opinion, or that of his Attorney-General, on the disputed right to a State office is an impertinence; if his official duties require of him communication with State officers, and there be *de facto* such an officer, his duty is to recognize him; if the office is in dispute, State action in some form must settle it, and the President must accept the settlement. The idea that the President may settle such disputes savors of imperialism. It can find no support

in the decisions of the Federal Supreme Court, which have distinctly shown, what the Constitution itself makes clear enough, that the sphere of either Federal or State Governments can not be entered by the official action of the other without usurpation. The country expects Mr. Hayes to keep carefully within the line of constitutional authority.

5. The new Administration promises the pacification of the country. It has already been intimated that a great step will be taken in that direction when the civil service is reformed. Not a sensible person in the nation doubts that the animosities between the whites and blacks in the Southern States have been largely fostered by interested schemers, who cared only for individual success, and who expected to reap it by keeping alive and intensifying race distinctions. It is not at all important to our present argument whether these persons [were or were not most largely from one of the parties; it might have been one way in one State or locality, and the other way in another. The main fact was, that the public offices were party and individual prizes, and for these unscrupulous men did whatever promised success. The successful man was likely to be hated by a large portion of his fellow-citizens, from a belief that his office had been acquired by some other means than an appeal to reason; and if he proved to be a dishonest man, as too many unfortunately have, the existence of bitter partisan feeling would operate with him as a standing encouragement to official corruption, knowing, as he would, that under all circumstances his own party associates would rush instinctively to his defense when he should be assailed. Another necessary step in pacification has been indicated in saying that the employment of the military in civil affairs should now, once and forever, cease. Not more certainly would a bullet in the living human system, occasionally turned and moved with the probe, be a source of irritation and at last of corruption and death, than would a military force occasionally employed in civil affairs breed like irritation, corruption, and death in the body politic. That the military must be subordinate to the civil power is one of the first maxims of constitutional government; it should be brought to the front only as a matter of necessity, as a last resort, and then only for the protection of government, not as a means of influencing the ordinary political action. For ordinary purposes it is supposed the usual administrative and ministerial officers are sufficient, and the use of

the military ought to be so rare as to be regarded as evidence that extraordinary dangers exist or are threatened.

The further steps necessary in the pacification of the Southern States are, the exhibition of a steady purpose to repress disorders, by whomsoever committed, and the practical recognition of the principle that the law knows no distinctions between citizens, and will recognize all as having equal claims to protection and consideration. No class or race of men should be recognized as the peculiar friends of the Government, no class as its enemies; for so long as the one class are treated as wards of the Government, and the other as aliens, there will neither be harmony of feeling and interest between them, nor can the class that is treated as dependent acquire that feeling of self-reliance and self-respect that is necessary to render it a safe depository of political power.

The idea has prevailed in some quarters for several years, that we should help a people, never before in the water, to swim, by holding them while they went through the motions, and it is assumed by some that it is our duty to do this indefinitely, until they are as skillful as another people who have practiced independently all a lifetime. But there is nothing in the theory of our government which admits of this, nor would it be advisable to act upon it if there were. When we put the ballot into the hands of the slave, we knew perfectly well that he must necessarily labor under some disadvantages; he had not the knowledge, the experience, the self-assertion of his late master, and he would consequently not possess a weight as a political force which the master possessed. But to undertake to supply these qualities by law was not only foolish in itself, but it required an invidious exercise of power, a leaning against the late master in the action of the Government which could not be justified on principle. It was bad for the freedman, for instead of teaching him self-reliance—the first requisite of independent and self-protective action—it made and has continued him a mere pawn in the hands of political gamesters. “Let justice be done though the heavens fall;” but under the protection of equal laws the freedman must of necessity work out his own destiny. For twelve years now the two sections of the country have been vigorously shaking fists at each other “across the bloody chasm;” the time has now arrived when, under the leadership of the President, we should take up in good faith “a vigorous prosecution of peace.” Let us once for all retire the “war-horses.” We employ these words in no invidious sense. Some of the men who have been proud to be called such,

have heretofore performed most valuable service, and may do so again hereafter; but the echoes of a war long since over ought no more to be repeated for partisan purposes, and the orator on either side the late dividing line whose policy consists in firing the heart of the people on the issues of the war, and in summoning them to rally at elections with their old comrades in arms, ought at last quietly and peaceably to give way to those who are pervaded with the spirit of the President's inaugural.

6. It may be thought to be the duty of the new Administration to devise and secure the adoption of some scheme, by constitutional amendment or otherwise, to save the country from the danger of great calamity when future Presidential elections shall take place. There are schemes in abundance at the present time for reform in the method of choosing the President, but the general subject is too broad to be here treated; nor do we consider that the Administration, as such, can have that subject specially in charge. Indirectly it may have very much to do with it. *Delenda est Carthago.* Destroy the evils in the civil service and most of the dangers attending the Presidential election will disappear utterly. Leave the civil service as it is, and the schemes as yet proposed are mere mockeries. Dispensing with the electoral boards is only doing away with a form; confining the President to one term does not reach the evils at all; extending the term to six or eight years only intensifies the evils, as it makes the prize of success greater, and lengthens the time for official ostracism of the defeated party.

The best preparation for a safe future is the cultivation of ideas of fairness and integrity, and of such views of public affairs as lead in the direction of statesmanship. What we have been cultivating, for many years are ideas of trickery, dishonesty, and low partisanship. We elect a member of Congress by using a navy-yard to overpower a hostile majority, we make returning boards of unscrupulous men, and the saying, "Vote early and often," is a standing joke in our large cities, and implies the expectation of trickery and its toleration if it helps our side. Tweed was a natural product of this sort of thing; the country that proposed to punish him was his educator. We put upon the stump every two or four years many thousand young men, just arrived at manhood, to address their fellow-citizens, and for what? To instruct them in the principles of constitutional government? No, for of these the speakers themselves are likely to know little or nothing. The majority of them may be assumed to be unacquainted with the history of their race,

and know nothing of the principles worked out in the civil wars of England, through which our liberties have come. They know something of our own Revolution, and have a vague idea that King George was a tyrant from whose slavery we escaped to be a great and free people, while the mother country ignobly preferred to forego the blessed privilege of liberty. But what they know for certain is that "eternal vigilance is the price" of a great many offices, and that if they work faithfully and vigorously under the direction of their managing leaders they may hope to have a share in the distribution of the spoils of success. And what a sharing that is! It is like soldiers plundering the commissariat after a battle, and breaking open the barrels of strong liquors; one indulgence unfits them for duty, and they become an easy prey to whatever may assail them. One taste of office, to be held by a tenure uncertain in point of time, and certain only in the services required of the incumbent which in no way belong to it, has unfitted for business many a promising young man, and made him one of the innumerable army of office-seekers, forever reaching towards the public treasury, and crying, "Give! give!" and forever having no business of their own from the cultivation of which industry may reap a due reward.

7. The President promises an early resumption of specie payments. It has been his happy fortune to be the leader in the chief State battle against the inflationists, and the sincerity of his pledge will not be doubted. He will not play fast and loose with the question, as has sometimes been done heretofore, but his financial measures will look steadily to the end promised. We speak with confidence, because on this subject he has a record.

8. The President does not in terms promise that the legislation of the country shall no longer be shaped to favor particular interests or private schemes, but it is implied in any vigorous movement for reform that this shall be brought to a conclusion. While the necessity for heavy taxes remains, there can be no reasonable complaint if, in arranging the customs duties, regard is had to their effect upon different branches of home industry; but the cry of protection to home industry oftens means only the favoring of one industry at the expense of all others, and sometimes means the giving to an industry, which needs no protection at all, an enormous bounty levied upon the community at large. And meantime, while industry preys upon industry at home, the ocean remains a stranger to the American flag, and the importer under foreign flags finds our

custom laws so complicated, and often so open to two constructions, that in sales he must charge a considerable percentage, to cover the risks he runs from differences in opinion between himself and the officials, or from spies and informers. Tax laws, above all others, ought to be clear and simple, and the standards of apportionment they name ought to be such as are of easy and invariable application; so that one in his business may know exactly what he may depend upon, and make his calculations accordingly.

A prolific source of corruption in our politics has been the grant of subsidies. These have done very much to support a lobby, and it has come to be understood that corrupt influences in their passage are a matter of course. Oakes Ames went down to his grave with the feeling that he had been greatly wronged and abused because, in obtaining a grant for a great public improvement, he had secured necessary votes by making it the interest of members of Congress to give them. In the minds of the nation he was half excused by the feeling that he merely did, and was detected in, what was commonly done without detection. In some form or other the grants are always jobs; in other words, what they have in view is to subserve private rather than public interests. With few exceptions, the public, in the case of land grants to railroads, have failed to receive the promised benefits: either the construction of the acts has defrauded them, as in the case of the Pacific roads, or the lands have been so managed that individuals have substantially monopolized them; and when they have been honestly applied to the construction of roads, the result has been that roads have been pushed into the wilderness in advance of any sufficient need; and we have as a consequence defaulting roads, bond creditors complaining of swindles which may, after all, be only the inevitable disappointment of foolish expectations; and at last we have crippled lines managed by receivers. We must protest against any more crowding of the realization of our "manifest destiny" into a single century. With abundance of unoccupied lands in the very midst of civilization, and in the vicinity of schools and churches, we wrong nobody by waiting a natural development of the country; and if perchance some portion of the rich forests of the West shall be left unhacked for coming generations, the nation will not be the poorer. It is sometimes as wise statesmanship to "husband our resources" as to "develop our resources;" and the lumbermen of Maine, Michigan, and Wisconsin are beginning to understand that it is not always best to realize immediately the golden egg. What if on the public

domain homesteads shall be preserved which the poor of another generation may enter ; shall we, who owe so much to our ancestors, mourn over our failure to put what might constitute a rich inheritance to our children into the hands of railroad projectors in our own lifetime ?

9. What the President says of our foreign relations in his inaugural is in the right direction. He proposes to deal fairly, and avoid wars by arbitration. That, we take it, is merely an indication of a general purpose to deal in our intercourse with other nations as becomes a great and just people. As we are now fairly beyond the danger of unjust assaults by other nations, we have all the more to fear from our own arrogance and the restless ambition of demagogues. We have so fostered and fed our national vanity that it seems ready to accept, as fact, the common boast that the whole boundless continent and the islands of the sea are our heritage ; and the suggestion to take what we can, seems more welcome to some classes than the caution to consider and reflect whether it is worth taking. In the natural development of our domestic policy, and the necessary arrangements of internal strife, the ballot has been placed in the hands of millions who wield it with very imperfect conception of its worth or of the institutions to which it pertains. The evils of the civil service are immensely increased by this fact ; it is a danger in itself, and it has a multiplying power upon other dangers. Foreign controversies are a treacherous school for imperfectly trained citizens, and the suggestion of interference in foreign affairs is always hazardous when it is made in the direction to which prejudices tend, or when it might lead to results flattering to our vanity. At present our institutions rest, in part at least, on shifting sands, and the lust of dominion, if gratified, can only extend further the like unstable foundations. This Administration, we trust and believe, will be too wise to crave territorial acquisition, or to undertake to solve for other peoples the problem of their destinies. We have quite enough to do in managing wisely and safely the territory we now control, and our own destiny is as yet enough of a problem to demand from our rulers the exercise of the highest intelligence and virtue.

We believe Mr. Hayes will send abroad, and Mr. Evarts will advise the sending, of no one of whom the country will be ashamed, because of his lack of ability, attainments, courteous bearing, or character. If in the past there has been much that was undignified and discreditable in our foreign relations, let the dead past bury

its dead ; but in the full maturity of our strength and confidence we ought to be above any thing but the most careful and courteous regard for the rights of others, and should desire to exact nothing we would refuse to yield. The pillars of justice are the support of the State ; and whether they are dispensed with in foreign or internal affairs, sooner or later mischiefs must follow. The nation has never had an abler or more accomplished Secretary of State, and it is not in his nature to be pleased with swagger or bullying, whether exhibited by individuals at home or in the name of the nation abroad. And both the President and his Secretary know so well how easy it is for the best intentioned to differ honestly, that they are not likely to magnify little differences into great difficulties by needless or unreasonable pertinacity, or to insist upon all concessions being made by the other party. If we interpret correctly the best sentiment of the American people, the time has gone by in which popularity at home can be acquired by fostering animosities against foreign nations, and the number of those who are "in favor of the next war" is sufficiently small to be ignored even by the demagogue. But Mr. Evarts has none of the instincts of the demagogue ; he has known him only to despise him, and the two in political affairs have always stood over against each other.

10. We were about to say that this Administration was looked to for reform in our Indian policy. But what is our Indian policy ? Beyond the fact that an annual crop of scandals grows out of the administration of Indian affairs, that they constitute a great drain upon the national treasury, and that forever there are hostilities existing or threatened in some quarter, the country knows but little of any policy. Rum and religion are regularly dealt out to the Indian under licenses from the Government ; arms are sold to him, and he uses them in the massacre of our people when wars occur. These wars, we know, are sometimes due to our own disregard of treaty obligations ; and sometimes, probably, they are owing to the unappeasable savagery of the Indian nature. The messengers of the Great Father have a talk with the big chiefs occasionally, and smoke the pipe of peace with them, and bury the hatchet, but when these little ceremonies have ended, it generally appears that some one has been cheated, and there are wars and rumors of wars again.

The frontiersman believes the Indian an irreclaimable wild beast ; and this belief has much to do with the difficulties in keeping with him our national faith. If we were at liberty to accept

this notion, we might be justified in a general extermination; for the earth was given to man to be replenished and subdued, not to be kept for the propagation of beasts of prey. But the nation does not and can not accept it; it assumes that the Indian is susceptible of civilization, and its measures in dealing with him purport to have that end in view. Up to this time those measures, with the Indians of the plains, at least, and of the Northwest, have accomplished nothing. We have paid them large sums in subsidies and for lands, we have given them blankets and guns which they have used and agricultural implements which they have not used, we have built school-houses and forts; but the general result has been, we have spent an immense amount of money, and lost thousands of lives, and the Indian is as savage as ever.

The problem here, also, is in some measure connected with that of the reform of the civil service, for many of the abuses of that service must be encountered. The Indian ring is a recognized power in the land, and far more a real power than some of the bands of savages which we have been in the practice of dealing with as "nations." But Mr. Schurz and Mr. M'Crary, we take it, will not regard the Indian problem as one they must abandon in despair. Mr. Schurz, in particular, has studied human nature with the mind of a philosopher under circumstances infinite in variety, and we have a right to expect from him some intelligent efforts in the direction of a policy that will reach the capabilities of civilization if the Indian possesses them. Our belief is, that this will require less dealing with tribes or bands, and more dealing with individual Indians; and that whatever tends to keep up the tribal organization, tends also to perpetuate their savage propensities, and such habits as are antagonistic to settled or civilized life. And we should say, also, that any satisfactory and successful policy must of necessity embrace the concentration of responsible control of Indian affairs in one department of the Government, and considerable improvement in the character of the average Indian trader and Indian agent.

We have thus endeavored to indicate some of the prominent difficulties which the new Administration is to encounter, and what the country is looking for in the way of their settlement. It is a great opportunity which is now presented to Mr. Hayes; nothing less than to break the bonds of that servitude to party which has cursed the country for nearly fifty years, and to remand party to its proper subordination under the Government which of late it has so remorselessly and recklessly abused and controlled.

THE LIFE INSURANCE QUESTION.

WHAT IS WRONG IN LIFE INSURANCE?

IT is commonly said that a crisis has come in the business of Life Insurance. Some of the corporations which have transacted it are in bankruptcy, and their managers are believed to have been guilty of embezzlement and perjury. These facts are enough to justify, or rather to demand, the severest public indignation against the guilty men; with every precaution which can be devised against such conduct on the part of others holding like trusts. But public sentiment, if the noisiest declaimers express it truly, takes another direction, and goes much further. We are daily assured that the system as a whole is proved a failure; that all or most of the companies engaged in it are unsafe; that the business is conducted by methods which are unjust and oppressive to the public; that its accumulations are badly invested, and can never be reduced to cash; and that some immediate sweeping preventive must be found for an impending disaster. The public mind is excited on the subject to an unprecedented extent; and journalists and legislators have for many weeks given it a disproportionate degree of attention.

The recent failures of companies, and the disgraceful exposures which followed, are certainly the occasion of this excitement; but they cannot be regarded as its chief cause. They are not adequate of themselves to produce any such effect. When they are compared, in magnitude and importance, with the business of Life Insurance in the aggregate, their insignificance is apparent. This business, as represented by the companies having agencies in the State of New York, holds invested funds to the amount of more than four hundred millions of dollars; pays in losses and claims to survivors every year at least thirty millions of dollars; and collects annually a surplus income of about the same amount. The entire ascertained loss to policy-holders by the failure of Life Insurance companies doing business in New York, during the last generation, has not been so much as the surplus income of the existing companies for three months. If there is any other branch of human

enterprise, in manufactures, commerce, or finance, which has been carried on so long, and on so large a scale, with so small a proportion of losses, its statistics are unknown. Further, of the appraised wealth of the country, as it stood four years ago, that part which is invested in land and buildings, in railroads, in stocks of goods, has shrunk, as statisticians assure us, in the aggregate hardly less than forty per cent; while that which is invested in Life Insurance has increased not less than twenty per cent.

Indeed, a comprehensive survey of this branch of business, in its relations to other branches, would justify the claim that it has been, on the whole, the most complete success in the commercial world. The science on which it was founded has been vindicated by a vast experience; so that its leading principles and conclusions can never again be disputed. The practical results obtained have been, in a word, the collection, mainly from the surplus earnings of the community, and in each man's days of prosperity, of a great number of contributions; out of which, with their accumulations, two hundred millions of dollars have been distributed to families, mostly in the time of their deepest want, and twice that sum has been stored up, towards the payment of ten times as much to other families, upon whom a similar need will fall hereafter. The sum thus laid aside is invested more securely than any other equal part of the wealth of the community. It is, indeed, so invested that the nation must itself fall into permanent decay before its value can be seriously impaired. In contrast with these results the failures which have occurred are comparatively trifling. Many cases of individual hardship demand our sympathy, and the wrongs that have been done must be redressed as far as possible, and punished as severely as possible. But these failures are not to be mistaken for more than they are; occasional and minor exceptions in the history of a magnificent success.

Where, then, shall we find the causes of the wide distrust and apprehension with which Life Insurance is regarded? The success it has achieved is strictly limited by its own proper work. Life Insurance has been a success for the men who have insured their lives, and have kept them insured; for those who have bought their insurance and paid for it. These are not the men from whom complaints are heard. But it has proved a disappointment to many thousands of others, who have sought in it that which it can not give, and failing to find it, regard themselves as deceived and defrauded. The same companies whose record, in their proper

business, furnishes the splendid results above cited, have been losing members of late years at the rate of ninety thousand per year by "lapse and surrender;" and it is hardly too much to say, that nearly all of these retiring members have gone out under at least a vague sense that they were in some way wronged in the transaction. This vast body of ex-members, men who have contracted for insurance, paid some money on their contracts, but failed to complete them, and have thus lost all or a great part of the sums invested in them, have become a principal power in the formation of public opinion on the subject. It is their dissatisfaction, gradually spread through the popular mind, which has prepared the way for an outburst of hostile feeling against the companies; and the recent failures have been but the occasion for its general expression. Had no such occasion arisen, this feeling must still have been an increasing obstacle to the business, which can never again find its proper place in the esteem and confidence of the public until the obstacle is removed; until the relations of the companies to retiring members are better understood on both sides, and are adjusted on terms acceptable to both.

The primary relation of a company to its policy-holders is that of the seller to the buyer of insurance. In its simplest form, it has no complications or difficulties but those which arise between every seller and his customer. The company determines at what price it will offer its insurance; the purchaser pays the price, and his family is entitled to the amount insured whenever he dies. The price has been determined upon considerations which the policy-holder is not concerned to understand. He wants the insurance, and needs to consider only where, among all the articles of this name in the market, he can buy the best one at the lowest price. The company has to consider the laws of mortality, the rate of interest, the cost of obtaining business and of managing investments; and must be sure that the price it receives, after all expenses are paid, will form, with its accumulations, a fund large enough to pay all policies as they fall due. The contract of purchase and sale is made once for all; and thenceforth, until the policy becomes a claim, its owner is the owner of the insurance, and the company holds and owns the funds by which it is secured. Each policy-holder, in common with all others, has a right to honest and skillful management of these funds by the trustees to secure his policy, but he has no claim to any part of them until his contract matures. His right is precisely the payment of his policy when due.

But this simple relation is commonly in practice modified by another contract. The purchaser wants more insurance than it is convenient to pay for. The company does not want money to hold but to invest, and to improve at compound interest. The purchaser wishes to borrow most of the price of his insurance, and the company wishes to lend it. Hence arises the ordinary form of a life policy. The contract is made for the whole amount of insurance desired; but the price, instead of being paid in cash, is promised in a series of equal annual payments, computed by the company to be equivalent in value. The company sells and the insured buys a single payment, to be made at his death. The company buys and the insured sells a series of annual payments, forming an annuity on his life. It is evident that in theory this transaction is as safe on both sides as the direct purchase of a policy for money, since all the values involved depend upon the same laws of mortality. No man can compute, with any pretense of accuracy, the present value of an assurance or of an annuity upon the life of any one healthy young man. He may die to-morrow, and in that case the assurance is worth its nominal amount, and the annuity nothing; or he may outlive the next two generations, and in that case the assurance is worth but a very small percentage of its nominal amount, while the annuity is worth nearly the capital which would yield it as current interest. But from the law of mortality, which means simply the law of average, we know very accurately what proportion of any great number of healthy men of a given age will die in each succeeding year, and can therefore compute with equal exactness the average value of a large number of assurances, and of a large number of annuities, on such lives. And when the business of the company is extensive enough to warrant the application of the principle of average, it is as safe to invest its funds in annuities on the lives of its members, as in any other securities whatever, provided these annuities are sure to be paid.

For example, a healthy man at the age of thirty negotiates an insurance on his life for \$10,000. The price is \$3590.50. But he prefers to pay this price in an annuity on his life, and the company accepts, as a precise equivalent for the full price, the payment in cash of \$227, and his promise to pay the same sum every year as long as he lives. He has borrowed of the company \$3363.50, or nearly the whole purchase-money of his policy. The company has invested that part of its funds in the annuity. He has meanwhile the use or advantage of his insurance; and the invested money be-

longs to the company and is drawing interest for it, as if it were invested in any other security. In these respects the insurance is related to the company and to the insured much as a dwelling or farm which has been mortgaged to the seller for nearly all the purchase-money. It is on this principle that every policy of Life Insurance issued for annual premiums is founded; and every company transacting this business has invested by far the greater part of the funds out of which its policies are to be paid in loans to its own members, to be repaid, with interest, in annuities on their lives.

It is evident that the interest of the company in any individual life insured is greatly increased by this system. If a man dies soon after he takes his policy, the company not only has to pay the amount insured, but it loses all that part of the price of the insurance which it has invested in the future premiums. If, on the other hand, the man lives on many years beyond the average term, the company gains, not only by accumulating the price of the insurance for a much longer period than was assumed in its estimates, but also by receiving many more premiums than the number assumed. This is in strict accordance with the principle of insurance—the distribution of individual losses among many; and, in the end, if the estimates have been correct, the gains and the losses will balance one another. But such a result can only be expected in case the annuities are fully secured and regularly paid; not only by those who, in the end, will make a pecuniary gain by their insurance, but also by the equal number who, in the end, must incur loss by it. The system of granting Life Insurance for annual premiums is satisfactory only when the payment of these premiums is made as binding on the insured as is the payment of death-claims on the company.

The business is organized upon the assumption that the annual premiums are a safe investment of the company's funds. All the expenses of negotiating and executing the contract are necessarily incurred by the company when its policy is issued, and are as great as if it were fully paid for. Yet in fact but a very small fraction of the price is paid; and the company has no security for the rest except the contract itself. This is the weak point in the system. The men on whose lives the funds of the company are placed in annuities may stop payment at any time, and it is impossible to enforce it. Thousands of them do stop every year. The business of the company is thrown into confusion by these withdrawals; disturbing elements are introduced into both its receipts

and its expenditures, such as it is impossible for the science of the actuary to foresee or to estimate. Its income from the lost annuities disappears. Its liability on the lapsed insurances disappears also, it is true, but the relation between the income lost and the liability removed is irregular and uncertain.

On the other hand, each of the withdrawing members is likely to imagine that, as he did not die while his policy was in force, the company has made out of his contract a profit of the whole amount paid on it; dissatisfied with his bargain, he easily persuades himself that he has been misled or defrauded, and demands his money back again. Or he perhaps consults some popular authority on the subject, and is assured that the whole case lies in a nutshell: that the man who pays annual premiums overpays for his insurance year by year; that the overpayments are or ought to be accumulated as a separate fund to the credit of that policy alone, constituting its "reserve" for future liabilities; and that, if the policy terminates for any cause whatever, this reserve properly belongs to the policy-holder, the company having no further claim on it for any purpose. The retiring policy-holder infers that he has a right to go out and to withdraw his reserve, and that, if the company refuses to pay him for leaving, or pays him less than "his reserve," it deprives him of his property.

Of all "idols of the theatre," or notions by which theorists have confused the practical minds of the business world, there is scarce any more pernicious than this; and there is none which is more directly at war with commercial morality and with scientific truth. The fiction of a distinct reserve against each policy has been taught for many years by high authority in this country, as if it were the fundamental truth of Life Insurance; it has found its way from the technical writings of actuaries, where alone it has any place or value, and where it is accompanied with proper safeguards which limit its application, into the popular mind; until it has become a current assumption in discussing the rights of policy-holders, and even in drawing laws for the regulation of the business, that such a reserve, of definite amount, is held by the company as a particular trust for the benefit of each policy-holder. This false notion leads to a multitude of claims, demands, and expectations on the part of the insured which it is impossible to satisfy; and as long as it prevails, a certain antagonism between the business as it is, and the standard by which it is judged, can not be avoided. Out of the general

acceptance of this notion, indeed, have grown nearly all the public distrust and anxiety which now so seriously affect the credit and usefulness of the companies.

The theory in question contradicts the first principle of life insurance, which is founded upon the consideration of large numbers of cases, under the law of average. The company which has thousands of claims to pay during a generation to come, knows approximately how much it will have to pay each successive year; and can therefore compute the amount of funds it must hold at any time, or the necessary reserve, to meet its whole liabilities. But the moment one of these liabilities is singled out of the mass, and separately considered, the problem of reserve loses its meaning; it is utterly indeterminate.¹ The aggregate reserve is computed on the supposition that all the members who have entered will remain until death, and will pay the full price of their insurance, most of which is still due from them in their annual premiums. If it is optional with each of them to withdraw at any time, this option is sure to be exercised in their own interests, not in those of the company. Some of the insured are continually becoming impaired in health, and learning that the contract they have made is largely profitable; that their insurance is likely to become payable while as yet very few premiums have been paid on it. These will not withdraw. There are others whose health remains vigorous, or improves; who are likely to live far beyond the period on which the price of their insurance was estimated; and to these the company must look to make good its losses on the earlier deaths. These are under a constant temptation to withdraw, and it is

¹ "Under the law of average, theory recognizes a certain amount of this," the aggregate tabular reserve, "as corresponding to each policy; but in practice, and in a business point of view, there is and can be no such thing as a reserve for a particular policy." To this remark, made in a recent ephemeral pamphlet, Mr. Elizur Wright excepts, and says: "What puzzles me is, how this aggregate can be found, if there are no particular reserves or liabilities. Can Mr. Lewis find an aggregate by the summation of any number of *zeros* or unknown quantities?"

This question has been widely published, as a *reductio ad absurdum* of my assertion. Were it proposed by a less authority, the proper answer would be to refer to the first chapter of an elementary work on Probabilities. But lest any one should imagine that Mr. Wright is serious in his objection, it is proper to remark that the axiom or fundamental principle of the science of Probabilities is, that indefinite and unknown particulars form definite and known aggregates; that the method of the science is to deal with these aggregates, without assuming or inferring any thing in respect to the particulars; and that without this axiom and this method there could be no tables of mortality, and no such profession as that of actuary, to which Mr. Wright belongs.

among these, as a rule, that the withdrawing members are found. But if the healthy lives abandon the company, and stop their payments, while the impaired lives remain, nothing is more certain than that the mortality of the company will soon increase beyond its estimates. The amount of this increase can not be foreseen ; it depends upon influences which are wholly beyond the control of the management or the scope of the theory. Thus in a period of general financial depression, when the disposition to economy and the necessity for it are strong and universal, the lapses of life policies are multiplied. When, through bad management or slander, the credit of an institution is weakened, every policy-holder is eager to leave it, unless his health is such that he can not be insured elsewhere. In extreme cases like this, the rate of mortality among the "selected lives" of an insurance company has sometimes been literally multiplied in a very short time. The effect of lapses at the ordinary rate upon the vitality of companies in good credit has been carefully investigated by Mr. George King, of London, in an essay recently read before the Institute of Actuaries.¹ He shows that even in the British companies, where discontinuances are less frequent than with us, they affect the vitality most seriously ; so that although "the lives at starting are a very select class," they "not only lose this advantage, but degenerate till they are on the average worse than the general population. Did the public understand the circumstances," he adds, "they would cease to look upon liberal surrender values as an unmixed good. The loss falls in the end on the provident members of the community ; for those who keep up their policies must pay for the damage done by those who surrender theirs." Mr. King's very moderate conclusion is much more than borne out by the impressive facts he has collected. Were a similar analysis made of the experience of certain American companies, in which the number and effect of discontinuances have been vastly increased by panic and distrust, the results would certainly be far more alarming. Yet it is scarcely necessary to add, that no company is safe unless it is ready to meet an extreme case. The principles of its conduct are not correct, unless its hold upon all its members is such that if every one of them who are healthy and long-lived should abandon it, they will leave enough money to take care of all its impaired lives.

¹ "On the Mortality amongst Assured Lives." By George King, of the Alliance Insurance Company, Fellow of the Institute of Actuaries, etc. *Journal of the Institute of Actuaries*, vol. xix., pp. 381-405.

From the beginning an effort was made, in adjusting the theory of the business to the practical system of annual premiums, to provide the necessary security for the company. That theory contemplates a contract made once for all, in view of all the contingencies of life, health, and death, in which a certain average risk is finally assumed by both parties. After time has elapsed, and the contingencies of health which are involved have been partly determined, to leave the completion of the contract to the option of either party is to destroy the basis of the system. Every one can see how absurd it would be to leave to the company the option of terminating the contract by refunding the premiums paid, since in every case of severe illness it could exercise the option, and thus defeat the purpose of the insurance. The absurdity is as real and essential, though not quite so obvious, in giving the option to the other party. Hence the contract was always so drawn, that a member, by failing to pay the annual premium when due, should lose all his interest in the policy. The entire insurance was mortgaged to the company as security for the unpaid part of the price. This plan, however, while it gave less than a proper and necessary protection to the insurer during the early years of the policy, became gross injustice when applied to insurance of long standing. When property which is transferable, and has a value determinable in the open market, is subjected to a mortgage, the owner who is unable to redeem it can at least, if that value is largely in excess of his debt, compel a sale, the produce of which, after paying the debt, shall be his own. But the insurance on a particular life has no open market; and when it is mortgaged to the company for an annuity on the same life, it can not ordinarily be sold at any price, except to the mortgagee. In such cases the company is a monopoly purchaser, and can fix its own price, or even enforce an absolute forfeiture, however valuable the policy. Thus the customary rule, that a policy-holder may stop payment of annual premiums at any time, but must lose his insurance by doing so, is grossly inequitable. It imposes precisely the same penalty in all cases, without regard to the value of the policy. For example: Let there be two policies in the same company for ten thousand dollars each, in which the same annual premium of \$198.90 is due to-day, each having been issued on the life of a man aged twenty-five, the one five years ago, the other thirty-five years ago. Each policy mortgages the whole insurance to the company to secure the annuity of \$198.90: but the one policy-holder is thirty years of age; his annuity is worth, by the

tables, \$3638, while the insurance of ten thousand dollars on his life is worth to the company, by the same tables, only \$2965. The security is therefore inadequate; and if such men as these stop payment and their policies lapse, the company is actually a loser to the average amount of \$673. But the other policy-holder is now sixty years of age; the value to the company of the annuity on his life is only \$2118, while the value of his insurance, mortgaged to it, is \$5905. If such policies as these lapse, therefore, the company makes a clear average profit of \$3787, for which it renders no equivalent.

No reputable company will ever enforce a forfeiture in a case like this. There are few instances known in which such injustice has been committed. But the fact that the contract of Life Insurance has commonly been so drawn as to make such forfeitures possible at the option of the company, whenever the insured is unable to pay a premium, has been the cause of endless reproaches and misunderstandings. It is not just in itself that the security given by the pledge of the insurance should be more than is adequate to cover the debt. And even though it were true without exception that the practice of the companies is more liberal than the letter of the contract, and that they always allow to the withdrawing member any surplus value of his relinquished insurance above their lost annuity, it would still be improper and impolitic to draw the contract in such a form that it shall be optional with them to do right or wrong, and that an act of mere justice shall be granted as a favor. In the early days of the business the error was natural, since no proper remedy for it was known. The companies were conscious that the lapses of policies are, on the whole, a serious injury to them, and the only obvious method of securing themselves was by the condition of forfeiture. It was generally adopted, but rapidly led, on the part of the companies, to various devices and methods for alleviating its hardships, in cases of injustice; and on the part of the public to misunderstandings which have proved to be the most serious difficulty the business has met. Indeed, the very devices adopted as remedies have, on the whole, aggravated the evil.

For the system of annual premiums, in its nature a mere contrivance for extending credit to purchasers of insurance, was permitted to control the theory of the subject, as if it were its essence and sum. We have seen that this theory is complete, when the insurance contract is regarded as a single and final purchase and

sale, by which the relations of the parties are irrevocably determined from the first. But the theory commonly taught and received of late years in America is very different. It begins by assuming that the insurance contract is renewed from year to year; that the annual premium is to be regarded as composed of distinct parts, one part paying for the insurance of the year, and another part deposited with the company, to be held and accumulated in trust, should the insured survive the year, towards the payment of his claim whenever it shall fall due. From this view, two inferences are natural and easy: 1. That the company must always have in reserve at the end of the year, against each continuing policy, a sum equal to the second part of the premium, or the deposit; and that the possession of this sum is the test of the solvency of the company. 2. That the deposit in question, thus held in reserve against any particular policy, is the "reserve" belonging to that policy; is, in some sense, the property, not of the company, but of the policy-holder; and that it can never justly be appropriated, without his consent, to any purpose but the payment of his claim. This theory forms a consistent and beautiful system of thought. The assumptions on which it rests are easily comprehended; the calculations which it requires to determine the values of insurances are such as any boy of fourteen, with a turn for figures, can thoroughly learn in a few weeks; and he who has learned them almost inevitably persuades himself that he is a complete master of the science. The fascinations of this theory have been strong even for actuaries of high rank; it is not surprising, therefore, that for a whole tribe of amateur actuarlings and sciolists they have been irresistible. These gentry have re-echoed and exaggerated the cautious and tentative approval given to the system by certain eminent writers, until it has become the popular form of conceiving the subject, has found recognition in the laws of most of our States, and has been generally adopted as the test of the business by nearly all the criticism of it which claims to be intelligent. It has been extensively countenanced by the companies themselves, under the guidance of an able school of actuaries; and to this day many of their most successful officers, while well aware that it leads to countless inconsistencies and evils in practice, are so fully possessed of their belief in it as to be ready to throw all blame rather on the facts than on the theory.

That it has, as a theory, its uses as well as its beauties, can not be denied. But as it is currently held and applied in practice, it is

misleading, dangerous, and destructive. The two inferences from it, which are mentioned above, are in practice false, and have been the sources of most of the difficulties with which Life Insurance now struggles. In the first place, the use of net valuations of reserve as a test of solvency, though not positively enjoined by the statute law of New York, has become the uniform practice of the State authorities here as in most of the States. It is rather worse for this purpose than no test at all. A company may be, many companies have been, for every commercial purpose, as far removed from danger of insolvency as the Bank of England, when a net valuation of reserves by the legal standard would show a vast deficiency. A company may be, some have been, hopelessly bankrupt by a fair commercial standard, when such a valuation, faithfully made and given to the world by authority of the State, invited public confidence. For the ability of a company to meet its insurance contracts depends upon a variety of circumstances, of which this valuation regards but one, not always the most important. This is particularly and notoriously the case with a company which consists entirely or largely of paid-up insurances; for two reasons: first, because the system makes no allowance whatever for expenses on this class of business, but assumes that the entire work of the company will be conducted gratis—an assumption not justified by experience in human affairs; and secondly, because in practice a company is never brought into this condition except by wholesale lapses among the sound lives paying premiums, so that its mortality is sure largely to exceed the estimates. Nevertheless, it is a general truth, that if a company's lives are fairly selected and widely distributed, if its business management is free from extravagance and dishonesty, if its contracts with agents and other assistants are prudently made, and if its investments are safe and productive, then there is no danger that it will be found wanting by such a valuation, unless it is selling its insurance too cheap, either by premiums too small, or by dividends too large. In this case the valuation becomes a wholesome check; the necessity of meeting it compels the management to refrain in competition from lowering its prices too far. The supervision which carefully insists upon all the other conditions of solvency named may reasonably find an ally in this. But in practice our State supervision has concentrated all its attention on this point, and disregarded the others. It has magnified this into exclusive importance, and taught or compelled the companies to sacrifice every thing else to the ap-

parent attainment of this standard. It has educated the public to trust this test alone, and to regard the published reports of the departments as disclosing an order of merit in the companies, founded solely on the strength of the nominal reserve. A few facts, easily understood, will make the errors of this course obvious.

In the year 1848, the largest Life Insurance Company in America, a mutual association, made an enormous dividend to its members. The principles on which surplus should be distributed in such companies had not been thoroughly studied; no scientific expert was consulted or thought of; the method of distribution adopted was to pay back to every contributor indiscriminately that percentage of his entire payments which the trustees "guessed" they could spare. The company went on triumphantly in its prosperous career; business flowed in on every side; the best scientific skill was obtained to guide the management; and it was then discovered that the dividends had been one half larger than theory would justify, and that, upon a net valuation, the funds of the company were insufficient. Had State supervision then existed, and applied its present rules at any time during the year 1848 or 1849, the Mutual Life Insurance Company would have been declared insolvent, and forced into dishonorable liquidation. Yet, by a just commercial standard, there was no institution in New York at that day more sure to meet all its obligations. The application of a net valuation as a guide rescued it from even apparent danger, and made its security manifest for the future; but the application of the same process as a test of solvency would have ruined it. On the other hand, two New York companies have recently been dissolved as bankrupts. They were extreme cases of bad management; of management, there is too much reason to believe, reckless and dishonest. There is no other business, however, in the world which any intelligent man would venture to call insolvent, until he should have evidence that, at their present cash value, its resources are less than its obligations. The resources of a Life Insurance company are its entire investments, including the premiums for which it holds contracts secured by the pledge of its insurances; its obligations are its bills payable, together with the present value by the tables of all its insurances. If the resources in this sense exceed the obligations, by a margin sufficient, with the best management, to pay current expenses, there is no evidence of insolvency, and the presumption is that the company, if properly conducted, will pay every just debt. But so prepossessed have been the public mind and its

organs, the ministers of the law, with the narrow theory of net valuations, that these companies have been thrown into bankruptcy and dissolved, by the act of law and with the general acquiescence of the community, simply because they fell short of the artificial and false standard in question. No inquiry has been made to this day concerning either of them, to determine whether or not it is insolvent by a true commercial standard. One of them, at least, as far as the knowledge of the courts or of the public extends, was probably as strong, by an ordinary commercial standard, as the great company before mentioned was in 1848. Had legal supervision been equal to its plain duty, it would first have ascertained the truth on this point, now likely to remain forever unknown; and, having removed and punished the guilty managers, would have continued the administration of the great trust, in better hands, for the benefit of the outraged policy-holders.

The adoption of this test of solvency exerts an insidious influence for evil in many ways. When an official supervisor finds a company so reduced by bad management that it can not fairly meet the test, he sees before him the alternative, either to apply the rule rigidly, and thus bring ruin upon the institution, to the good only of receivers and [lawyers; or to relax his scrutiny, accept overestimates of assets, connive at exaggerated, qualified, or, in a word, false statements, adopt them as his own, and trust to the promises of the officers and the "recuperative powers" of the business, for the future. Being a man, he will usually, if not corrupt or oppressive, take the latter course. But indirection and deceit once begun, rarely cure themselves; a management which has brought a company below the high standard of a net valuation, will very rarely fail to bring it lower; and the merciful course is, in the majority of cases, but a circuitous route to a worse ruin. But even if it succeeds, and the company recovers its standing so that it can make honest returns again, the effect on the morality of the business and of its supervision must be pernicious. Every such case becomes an irresistible plea for connivance in all other cases which are not obviously hopeless, and is naturally regarded by any management in distress as not only justifying them in concealing deficiencies, and thus obtaining time for recovery, but as making this an imperative duty. Three years ago, the officers of the Security Company knew that their reserve was deficient; but they also knew that if this fact were revealed, the interests of their policy-holders would be sacrificed, while they believed that by concealing it the company

might be saved. Hence a mistaken sense of the duty of protection overcame the duty of truth; every step onward entangled them more deeply in deception, and the delay only added disgrace to failure. No punishment can be too severe for the crime; no expression of public scorn can too strongly emphasize the warning this case gives to other men in places of trust. Yet a personal sympathy with one who has yielded to the terrible pressure of such a situation, not for his own gain, but to prevent loss to others, need not be wholly withheld by those who can understand how, shackled by circumstance,

"His honor rooted in dishonor stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true."

But apart from these enormous practical evils, the test of net valuations is utterly indefensible, even in theory. In the estimates on which the business is founded, every assumption is wisely and necessarily taken, not at the average indicated by statistics, but with a margin for safety. The mortality assumed is not that hitherto experienced, but is the maximum which it is supposed can be reached under unfavorable circumstances. The amount charged to cover expenses is not that which the most prudent management has found necessary, but that which, beyond all question, is believed sufficient for every emergency. The rate of interest at which the company computes that its funds will accumulate is not the current rate in the community, but a rate so low that it can be surely obtained as a minimum for generations to come. But the probabilities in any case are very great that, with good management, the mortality will be indefinitely less, the expenses less, and the interest greater than the estimates. The probability that all these margins will be lost, under such management, is inconceivably small. Yet a net valuation assumes that they have no existence. The error in this assumption is enormous. To illustrate it, take the case of a single company now in business. Its reserve, January 1, 1877, which it is required to hold as the condition of legal solvency in New York, is \$72,097,309, while the company by its own standard actually holds in reserve \$77,502,062. If, by any combination of disasters, such as earthquakes, pestilences, or national repudiation, its reserve fund should now be reduced to \$72,000,000, it would be declared insolvent, and would probably be made the prey of legal cormorants. Yet it would in fact be further from commercial insolvency, as a business institution, than the strongest mercantile house in the country. Discarding the net valuation fancy, and

accepting facts as they are, we find that company has never yet received so little as six per cent per annum on its investments for a series of years, although the State standard credits it with but four and a half per cent; that it has never consumed in expenses one half the sum charged for the purpose in its premiums, although the State assumes the whole to be necessary; and that its mortality has fallen short of the tabular expectation by more than twenty per cent. Let the valuation be made by the facts, on the assumption that future experience will be little less favorable than past, and we shall find that with a reserve of \$45,000,000 on January 1, 1877, this company would have enough to warrant an unqualified confidence in its commercial prosperity.¹ With that sum invested as its assets are invested now, and with a continuance of its present management and of its existing contracts, it would require no new business; it would find it necessary to sacrifice no class of its members; but, apart from great and unforeseen changes affecting the constitution of society, it could go on until the claim of its last policy-holder should be paid in full. In other words, this company would now, under the law, as administered in New York, and as sustained by public opinion, be driven into bankruptcy, were it *only* so strong that if thirty-seven millions of dollars of its funds were destroyed, it would still be commercially worthy of trust.

If we apply this system to particular contracts, its absurdity is perhaps still more glaring. The following illustrations are taken

¹ For the use of any who may wish to examine these assertions critically, I add the following estimates, kindly furnished me by the eminent actuary of the company, Professor William H. C. Bartlett:

The company's own reserve, including special guaranty funds for contingencies not considered by the State departments, is, at 4 per cent	\$77,502,062
The net valuation, New York standard, 4½ per cent.....	72,097,309
The net valuation at 5 per cent.....	67,519,333
“ “ 6 “	60,700,189
Reserve on a four per cent valuation of actual premiums, after deducting a margin for expenses of one half of one per cent per annum on current risks (a larger sum than the expenses hitherto incurred).....	59,876,544

Thus the company holds, above the amount which its experience proves to be necessary, a margin on interest alone of more than \$17,000,000; on expenses of nearly \$18,000,000; and on mortality alone a very large sum, which has not been exactly determined. Enough is known to prove that the assertion in the text is far within the truth; and if I may hazard a conjecture, it is that with present net assets of \$40,000,000, in addition to its premium income, this company would probably have enough to meet all its contracts at maturity.

from a criticism published by Mr. Emory McClintock in the *Insurance Times* for October, 1869:

"A man aged forty-four takes out a life policy for \$10,000 in the 'Mutual' on the 1st of January, 1863, paying annually a premium of \$366. Six years later the same man obtains from a proprietary company another policy for the same amount, agreeing to pay the same premium. These two contracts are now identical, for we have the life the same, the amount assured the same, and the premium annually receivable the same.

"Were a third company asked to assume these contracts on the 1st of January, 1870, it would as willingly take one as the other, and would require the payment of the same bonus for re-assurance in the one case as in the other. The reserve or re-assurance fund which the law requires the companies to keep, and wanting which they must be wound up as insolvent, should, therefore, be the same in both cases. How is this requirement met by the method of valuation now followed in this State and in Massachusetts?

"Here are the reserves which would be required in these States from the two companies in question, on the same life, the same amount assured, and the same premium, as above stated:

	Proprietary.	Mutual.
New York.....	\$204.53.....	\$1185.55
Massachusetts.....	216.13.....	1282.79

"That is to say: while a third company would charge the same sum for re-assuring the policies, should that course be necessary, an unjust discrimination is made in the official valuation. One company is 'solvent' when holding \$205 to meet its liabilities on a certain contract, while another holding \$1180 against the same contract would be declared 'insolvent,' and wound up by due course of law! Suppose that on the 1st of January, 1858, a lad of fifteen obtained a life policy from the leading Mutual office before referred to, assuring \$5000 for an annual premium of \$99.45. Exactly ten years later he obtains a second policy from the same company for the same amount, and with the same premium. At the end of the year 1868, both contracts, in which the same company assures the same amount on the same life for the same annual premium, are valued by the Superintendent. The contract dated 1868 is valued at \$30.06, and as far as this policy is concerned the company is pronounced 'solvent' on proof being furnished that it holds this sum in reserve. The other contract, dated in 1858, absolutely identical with the former as far as the future is concerned, is gravely considered to be a much more alarming liability, and the company must hold \$257.07 to meet it or be declared bankrupt! Away with a system so inconsistent, so dangerous, so utterly stupid!

"I denounce the system of net valuation as unsound and unjust, and trust that all who believe in fair play will join in demanding its immediate abolition."

This criticism, being unanswerable, has remained unanswered. But the system remains rooted in the habits and prejudices of the companies and the public; and above all, intrenched in that last stronghold of economical superstitions, the statute law. This may not surprise us, remembering that the wrong and injury of the sys-

tem of taxation for protecting particular industries were so fully demonstrated a century ago as to have been a recognized scientific truth ever since; and yet that this system still remains a legal burden upon the prosperity of the United States. Yet it will be strange if the intelligent managers of the insurance business do not persistently instruct and appeal to public opinion on the subject, until this fanciful, arbitrary, and unjust test of solvency shall cease to be enforced.

But it is not by erecting a false standard of solvency that the theory of net reserves has wrought its worst effects. It is by misleading public opinion; by teaching men to expect from Life Insurance what it can never give; by spreading everywhere erroneous views of the rights of policy-holders. Doubtless the managers of companies are themselves mainly responsible for the general acceptance of the doctrine. They have believed in it, as an abstraction; they have embodied it in their publications, have taught it to their agents, and have permitted and encouraged them to use it, and a hundred inferences from it, in soliciting business from the people. Life Insurance has been offered as a profitable investment; a policy has been represented as a security always possessing a mathematical cash value; insurers have been persuaded that when they make a contract for life, and pay a small fraction of the price, running in debt to the company for the remainder, they really incur no obligation, but become the possessors of a valuable property. Life Insurance has been compared with savings banks, as if the annual payments were deposits to the credit of the insured, so he could look upon his accumulating fund, and count it up from year to year. The only proper motive for insuring life is the desire for protection against its uncertainty; but this theory has made it easy to appeal to another and often a stronger motive—the desire for accumulation, and to enlist it in a pursuit by which it can not possibly be gratified. Thus the fundamental truth has been obscured and forgotten, that insurance is an expense; that it can only be had by paying for it; that it belongs to outlay, not to income; that its purpose is to distribute loss, not to make profit; and that its direct effects, while they save multitudes from poverty and want, must in the end leave at least equal multitudes the poorer for having had it. This is true, indeed, only of its direct effects; for its value to society in the aggregate we must look further, and we shall have to look long and far before comprehending its vast beneficence. By throwing upon the multitude a part

of the unforeseen disasters which would crush individuals and families, it diminishes the element of chance in the distribution of the rewards of industry, and thus strengthens the foundations of our civilization. Though it is concerned solely with the distribution of wealth, and has no direct bearing on its production, it is probably of more substantial service to the community than would be a simple addition to its productive powers equal to the entire sums with which it deals. Its ideal form would be such a social organization that every calamity which no prudence can avert should fall, not on the individual, but equally upon the whole mass of society. But when a large number of productive lives, under a mutual agreement, place a part of their means in a common fund, out of which the loss of any by death shall, to a certain definite extent, be made good at the cost of all, we have perhaps the best attainable approach to this ideal, the most beneficent form of association in the business world, and the highest communism of which human nature is capable. Yet it remains true without qualification, that the man who contracts for an insurance on his life, with no need or desire for pecuniary protection against the hazard of death, is either a deceiver or deceived. If he takes the policy expecting thereby to add to the probability that he will live or die the richer for it, he either mistakes the nature of the business, or intends to cheat the company. Hundreds of thousands of men have been induced by the various schemes, devices, and reasonings to which the theory of net reserves has given birth, to buy insurance in hope, not of protection, but of profit. Under this delusion they have assumed obligations in the payment of premiums which many can not meet, and others, as their eyes are partly opened, will not. But when their policies are dropped, the same theory comes forward with logical consistency, and tells them that they have a property in their insurance which is inalienable; and they demand back their premiums, or at least the "net reserve" on their policies, believing themselves robbed if the demand is refused. Now the companies discover that the theory they have sanctioned leads to their own destruction; yet many of them are so fettered by their own fixed idea of its truth that they can only contend blindly and with an imperfect conviction against its most ruinous consequences.

For all this embarrassment and wrong, it is idle to seek any complete and ideal remedy. The errors that have been committed will have disagreeable results for the companies and for many of their members. There are doubtless in this country thousands of men,

who, deceived by the representations of land-owners or builders, or by their own sanguine hopes, have invested their savings, during the recent period of inflated markets, in paying a fraction of the price of houses and lands, giving mortgages for the rest of the purchase-money, and who, by the disappointment of these hopes, have lost the entire sum thus invested. Many of these are cases of hardship, which deserve sympathy and aid. But higher interests than those of any or many individual estates require the maintenance of legal rights and the enforcement of contracts. Individuals will often suffer, and buy experience at a fearful price; but society must preserve its foundations. One thing only it can do for these unfortunate purchasers of property who can not complete their purchases. The mortgagees, by that principle of equity which has become incorporated with the law, shall have no interest in the property beyond the debt that remains unpaid. If it more than suffices, at the value which it actually commands, to pay this debt, the purchaser takes the surplus as his own. There is a close analogy between such disappointed purchasers and the policy-holders in Life Insurance companies, who either repent of their bargain, or are unable to carry it out. We have seen that the rule of forfeiture in such cases would act most unequally, and would often work grievous injustice. We have also seen that the fancy of a surrender-value, founded on the reserve, and drawn at the option of the insured, is false in principle and destructive in practice. But a practical solution of the difficulty, which is safe for the companies and just to all their members, is to be found in adopting the principle which equity has applied to all mortgages of land. Let the insurance be regarded as pledged to the company solely as security for the annuity or annual premiums contracted to be paid. Since there is no open market to determine the value of the pledge, let the company, the only purchaser to whom it has any value, take it at the net price which it appears to have according to the company's own tables of mortality. If this price exceed the value of the annuity secured by it, as determined by the same tables, let the difference be given to the owner of the policy, in insurance—the commodity in which the company deals. In other words, whenever a policy lapses by its terms, let so much of the insurance terminate as is equal in value to the premiums promised and unpaid, and let the rest be kept in force. This plan is simple, intelligible, and just to all; it is precisely analogous to the rule of equity administered in every civilized land when other kinds of property are pledged; and it is safe to assert that it

would never have been sought to make any other principle of adjustment in such cases compulsory on the companies, but for the general abuse of the theory of net valuations.¹

¹ Perfect equity would add two conditions, which, however, do not change the principle of adjustment, but protect it. First, that the value of the insurance forfeited, of the annuity waived, and of the reduced insurance renewed, be all computed by a special mortality table, constructed from lives carefully selected at the age at which the surrender is made, and not by the general table used in determining premiums and net reserves. This is necessary, in order to avoid the effects of selection against the company in surrenders, already explained, especially at advanced ages. Secondly, that the scale of premiums actually contracted for, the office premiums of the company, be constructed on scientific and equitable principles. The premiums now in use are unscientific and inequitable, for two reasons: 1. Because the net annual premium is made the four per cent annuity which the single net premium will purchase; that is to say, the company invests all that part of its funds with which it buys annuities at four per cent; thus even when the State law requires it to receive four and a half per cent on its aggregate assets, it lends the greater part of these assets to its members at four per cent. This practice leads to endless inconsistency and much actual evil. It directly and strongly encourages the policy-holder to run in debt for his insurance rather than to pay for it; since no man will pay cash for an article when he can mortgage the article itself for the purchase-money at a rate of interest far below the market, and it compels the company to attempt to make up for its loss in the investment of the net single premium by an irregular exaggeration of the proper loading for expenses. 2. Because the loading is made a uniform percentage of the net level premium, so that one who insures at forty-five is charged fifty per cent more for expenses, and one who insures at fifty-six twice as much as one who insures for the same amount at twenty-five; although the contract of the first, on the average, has much more than twice as long to run as that of the last. The proper loading would include, for the negotiation and other expenses of executing the contract, a percentage of the gross amount insured; and for the expenses of conducting the company, a percentage of the gross amount of insurance carried each year. In well-conducted companies, the inequity of the premiums in use is mainly adjusted, at least where the policy continues in force to maturity, by the contribution plan of dividing surplus. But it seriously vitiates, in application, any system of computing surrender-values, and ought to be adjusted, for many reasons, in computing original premiums.

These considerations also solve the vexed problem of commissions. There is no question that the commissions commonly paid to Life Insurance agents are lower, on the whole, than those paid to any other class of negotiators in the commercial world. Thus the aggregate commissions paid in 1875 by all the Life companies doing business in New York were \$5,425,135, upon new risks negotiated for \$299,276,337, and old risks maintained in force of \$1,622,766,809. At the rate of one and one quarter per cent upon new insurances, and one eighth of one per cent upon continued risks, the commissions would have been \$5,769,412.72, or much more than they were. Yet these rates are but a fraction of those commonly charged in Wall street for negotiating sales of new bonds or stocks. But the real defect in the system of commissions is that they are generally made a percentage of the annual premium, the amount of which varies widely without relation to the service rendered the company by the agent.

In this discussion of the relation of a company to its policy-holders, I have confined myself to considering their rights as purchasers of insurance. But in mutual companies the policy-holders are also partners in the business. Here there is no opposition of interests between the buyers and the sellers, as classes; the buyers of insurance are the company, and together share, each in proportion to the amount of his policy, in its gains and losses. Since all the assumptions are made with an ample margin for safety, there is usually a surplus, often a very large one, after paying losses and expenses, and providing an ample reserve fund. This surplus belongs, not to the insured as purchasers of insurance, but to the holders of participating policies, as partners in the association. The rights of purchasers are precisely defined by their contracts, and must first be made secure. The rights of partners are contingent upon the existence and amount of the surplus or so-called profits. The circumstance that in the mutual companies the two classes of rights are held by the same persons, has led to much confusion of thought. The two must be carefully distinguished, or neither can be properly understood. The funds of the company consist of two parts. First, the reserve, or amount which it must hold to be sure of meeting all its liabilities at maturity. This is the property of the company, just as the general deposits of a bank are in law the property of the bank. As in a bank each depositor has a property in the debt of the bank to him for the amount of his deposit, payable on demand or at a fixed time, so each purchaser of insurance has a property in the debt of the company to him for the amount of his policy, payable at its maturity. It is the duty of each institution to hold the aggregate fund sacred to the purpose for which it is appropriated. The second part is the surplus, which is the property of the whole body of partners. It is defined by the charter who these are. They may be an incorporated set of stockholders; they may be the entire number of the insured; they may be a special class of policy-holders who have bought their participation in this fund by paying larger premiums than others. In any case, the right of each of them in the surplus is the right of a partner, and is wholly distinct from the right of the purchaser of insurance, and subordinate to it.

The surplus must be distributed among the partners, and if these are stockholders, it is done with obvious and perfect equity by giving each one an equal percentage on the stock he holds. But if they are policy-holders, the problem becomes exceedingly

complex, and presents difficulties which are formidable to the actuary. It is not completely solved; but, fortunately, the general principle of the solution is well settled, and any faithful and uniform application of it which is agreed upon by the parties is fully defensible, and results in determining the rights of each, if not with ideal precision, at least with an exactness and delicacy unapproached in any other complicated business transaction. The principle is simply, that the surplus belongs to the partners in the ratio of their several contributions to it. This is a rule of universal validity, and applies equally whatever method be adopted for estimating the proper reserve. The price of insurance has been fixed upon assumptions, each of which is made extreme, so as to be safe beyond question; and upon each of them an indefinite margin of profit is expected. By paying this price the partner has bought, besides his insurance, the right to a return of the margin or excess by which it shall in the end prove to have been greater than its actual cost. The first definite apprehension of this principle and its consistent application, under the current theory of reserves fifteen years ago, proved a memorable era in the science of Life Insurance. But to understand the change it produced, it is necessary carefully to distinguish the principle itself from the theory to which it was then applied, and with which it became associated. Its discoverers, whose conceptions of the business were formed under the theory of net valuations, with the doctrine of individual reserves, embodied it in a detailed plan of distribution, wrought out with rare ingenuity and completeness. "The contribution plan," therefore, came before the world, with the weight and prestige which their admirable discovery could not fail to give to any adequate expression of it, but entangled and imbedded in a set of notions which not only are unessential to the principle, but are, as we have seen, erroneous of themselves, and pernicious in their influence. The general assent justly given to the true law of distribution, when once formulated, naturally brought with it assent, almost as general, to the mistaken conceptions with which it was thus connected. It remains for competent actuaries hereafter to free the law from these parasitic fallacies, and to give its vital truth full scope under unperverted notions of the quantities dealt with. The real "reserve" of a company is the sum which, at the assumed rate of interest, will meet all its obligations at maturity—the present value, in other words, of the whole amount it has insured; and of all the expenses of carrying on and completing

its existing contracts; and may include, does commonly include, more money invested in annuities secured by insurances than is invested in loans secured by mortgages of land and houses. When proper methods and formulas are framed for ascertaining the surplus above this reserve, and for distributing it among the partners in the ratio of their several contributions to it, we shall have a contribution plan which will reveal the full beauty of the principle, and give full scope to its beneficent equities.

Under such a system the vexed question of surrender-values and lapses will be relieved of all its difficulties. The rule given above recognizes only the claims of the retiring member as a purchaser of insurance abandoning his contract. It gives him every right which he has as such purchaser, but none as a partner in the business. It would be obviously wrong to take from the partners who remain to fulfil their contracts, and assume the risks of the future, any part of the marginal surplus which may or may not be hereafter produced, for the benefit of one who withdraws. But as soon as the surplus has ceased to be contingent, and has actually been produced and ascertained, the right of each partner accrues to his share in it; and this share may equitably be added to the surrender-value, if any, to which, upon withdrawing, he is entitled as a mere purchaser of insurance. But as long as his pledged insurance, in its value to the company, is less than the value of his promised annual premiums, it is a wrong to all remaining members, insurers as well as partners, to require the payment of any surrender-value whatever. It is for this reason that every law or regulation for surrender-values, founded, like the existing laws of Maine, Massachusetts, and Michigan, on the theory of net valuations, is unjust in principle, and may, under circumstances likely at times to occur, become destructive in practice. No such law has yet wrought irreparable damage, because none has ever consistently exacted the full amount which its theory required, because the rates of mortality and interest actually experienced have always left wide margins upon the assumptions originally taken; and, above all, because the business as a whole has been hitherto new, and the lapsed and surrendered policies have been nearly all in their early years, so that the gross injustice done by these laws to the members whose policies are surrendered after a long period of insurance have scarcely been felt. It will be seen by the careful reader that such members are entitled to a larger surrender-value than they receive under any law that is founded on net valuations—far larger than any company

can pay if such laws are enforced, and that they will receive the full value belonging to them under the plan suggested in this paper.

To complete our survey of what is wrong in Life Insurance, it would be necessary to gather the teachings of experience, under the guidance of the principles already laid down, upon the entire subject of State supervision, and upon several branches of the practical conduct of the business. But a minute examination of these topics would far transcend our limits, and it must suffice for this occasion briefly to suggest views which have not been hastily formed. The existing system of supervision is the creature of the protective policy in government, and has no place in sound economy or statesmanship. But it does not follow that its sudden abandonment is either practicable or desirable. It has grown into important relations with the companies and the public, and produced needs which it, however imperfectly, supplies. Waiving all objections to its existence, and accepting it for the present as unavoidable, practical men will inquire how it can be made useful. A part of the answer will not be intelligently disputed: it must be administered by wise and skillful men, holding office by a tenure independent of mere political influences, and for a period long enough to become familiar with its duties. These conditions have never yet been regarded in the legislation of our States, and until they are secured, insurance supervision will be an institution from which habitual evil may be expected, and only accidental good. Further, it must be made real; no longer confined by law and custom, resting on false theory, to the application of an absurd numerical test of solvency, and a sweeping certificate that the law finds every virtue, given wherever it fails to find one—a comparatively secondary—fault. It must be enabled to inquire into the character of trustees and managers, the methods used by them in dealing with the public, the scientific and the commercial value of the tests applied by the company to its own security. It must have jurisdiction to investigate and interpret the contracts offered to the public, and those actually made with purchasers of insurance and with participants in profits, and to enforce them equitably. It must have power to detect in its beginnings any attempt by managers to abuse their trust, any trap set by them to catch unwary customers, and any misrepresentations made by them either to attract business or to avert distrust; and to inflict adequate punishment. Its license to issue policies must be made satisfactory evidence that the company licensed deserves confidence. This is what the fact of its existence promises to the citizen; and if

it falls short of this, except as all human institutions fall short of their ideal, it is worse than useless. This must be its aim, and in some substantial degree its achievement, or it is a fraud upon the public, wrought in the name of government and law.

To accomplish these ends insurance supervision must be transferred from the executive branch of the government to the judicial branch, to which it belongs. The duties in which it can be useful are such as only a special tribunal, administering an extraordinary jurisdiction with full judicial powers, can ever perform. The present laws confer upon a political office, a branch of the executive, summary but indefinite powers of supervision over these trusts, not one of which can be exercised except upon an authoritative interpretation of the statutes conferring it, and, at the same time, leave the interpretation of these statutes and the enforcement of that interpretation wholly to another branch of the government, the judiciary of the State. The Insurance Department appears to be clothed with vast authority, and to be under an enormous responsibility; but in practice it is fettered and embarrassed at every turn, not only by the necessity of obeying and appealing to the courts, but by its liability to be checked in every measure by any designing person who can employ an attorney. The actual result is, that it has boundless power to harass and injure law-abiding companies, but is outwitted and defied by those which are in dishonest hands. If the work to be done were but the enforcement of a perfect and exhaustive code, it would be properly an executive duty; but it is the supervision of a system of trusts, in which every question of details requires the application to complicated facts of the principles of equity. No tribunal has ever been devised from which its performance can be expected or hoped, except one formed on the plan and armed with the powers of a high court of equity.

Such a tribunal would produce, not words, but work. It need not vex the legislature and the public every year with a volume of useless, unintelligible, and misleading figures, prefaced by essays in which every paragraph is a painful compromise between the desire to express some real conviction of a smatterer in science, and the necessity of courting the favor of political demagogues. But it would quietly labor to prevent the mischief which the present system vainly and blindly gropes after and seeks to detect, till long after it is hopelessly done. It must be able, by summary proceedings, to ascertain the beginnings of mismanagement; to compel proper changes in the managers and trustees; to reorganize a

company, if need be, not after it is ruined, but when it is first threatened with danger; to assume full responsibility for the proper administration of the trusts it controls. Were it once properly constituted, its existence would be an almost complete guaranty that its extraordinary powers would never need to be exercised. But its ordinary jurisdiction ought to extend to the settlement, without appeal, of every contested claim; and it might properly, and with the acquiescence of every honest man, be authorized, for the willful and deliberate resistance of a just, or payment of a fraudulent claim, to remove any officer or trustee. Above all, in the melancholy case of a company which should, by any disaster, be rendered actually insolvent, this tribunal should be charged with the duty of applying the remnants of resources for the benefit of the purchasers of insurance, by distributing them, to the full extent that the wisest administration can secure, in the form of the insurance purchased by them. For the only method of distribution in such cases now known to our law, although the direct logical result of the current theory of net valuations, is the crowning absurdity which that theory has produced. It gives each man his proportion out of the wreck of the reserve, on the assumption that all the lives in the company are equally good in their expectation; reversing the first principle of insurance, it throws the burden on those who most need help, and makes of a false and fanciful hypothesis a pretext to rob and crush the feeble and the dying. On the value of these suggestions concerning supervision, it would be unreasonable to expect an immediate unanimity of opinion; but the minds best qualified to judge of them, and to which I submit them with most confidence, are the able and upright men, and they are many, who are, or have been, insurance superintendents or commissioners under existing laws.

Upon Life Insurance management as it is, it would not be difficult to write a criticism which should be at once truthful and severe. But if it were intelligently written, it would astonish most the men whose clamor against the companies is now the loudest; for it would pass in silent contempt the charges on which they mainly rely, and would still find in the business, difficulties, errors, and even wrongs enough to make a plausible case for its suppression, before minds from which all its merits and benefits should be concealed. Yet such a case would not be half so strong as one similarly made up for the suppression of manufactures, mines, railroads, banks, or fire insurance, or of government itself; because,

on the whole, the scientific basis of Life Insurance is far more perfect than that of any of these, and the deviations from its requirements in practice have been proportionally far less serious and damaging. Tested by the standard of its ideal aims and methods, Life Insurance has achieved a success more complete, and has suffered, in detail, failures less disastrous, than any other form of associated human enterprise. Such a criticism will have its own value, when it can be offered as a check and a guide to the managers of the business, under the resistless pressure of a calm and enlightened public opinion. The time is not now, when the spirit of Alcibiades and of the Gracchi, of Cade, Robespierre, and Lord George Gordon, is revived in our land, and has for the moment singled out this institution as the object of its fury. It has been the trade of the vulgar demagogue in all ages, wherever industry is depressed and labor overwhelmed with anxiety and want, to stir the passions of the populace, to set apparent need above right, to use the prejudices he creates so as to seize for himself the high places of power. The attempt by a few to practice this trade is now the disgrace of our own political life; nor is it confined to the petty orators of city gambling dens and remote Granger clubs, but has aspired to use as its unconscious aids a small part of the respectable press, and has defiled the very throne of republican justice—our halls of legislation. That it will come to naught is as certain as that the intelligence and morality of the people will prevent, in all other respects, the ruin of society. But meanwhile the passions of a mob are clamorous to be enacted in statutes, and to control our governments and courts in dealing with these vast interests. Better than this would be the direct plunder of corporate wealth by a violent and hungry populace; for even this would not so deeply corrupt the moral foundation of our free society. If we must have mob law, let us have it at first hand; and spare us the mockery of its administration by tools, with the pomp of legal forms and in the name of government. It will not come to this; but that it may not, the duty of the hour is a frank appeal to public opinion, which is sure to be right in its calm and final judgment, even where it is wrong in its first fevered impulse. Reform in a business is not easy when all its energies are on the strain to prevent its destruction.

The appeal against hasty, ignorant, and therefore destructive, legislation has one practical argument which is conclusive: it is that every serious evil in Life Insurance hitherto has been the

distinct result of legislative interference. I have shown how a false theory imbedded in law, and, with the help of law, in public opinion, has brought ruin on some companies, and embarrassed all, by preparing the way for the present crisis of misunderstanding and distrust. But it has never, perhaps, been observed that the vast number of lapsed insurances, which are the bane and danger of the business, have been directly produced by a more sweeping and injurious interference of government, which was not aimed at this institution, but fell indiscriminately upon all moneyed institutions in the land. In 1861, the nation repudiated its demand debts, except as a currency of broken promises would pay them, and disguised the repudiation by forcing all private creditors to accept a similar pretense of payment. Every enterprise felt the consuming stimulus of fever; fictitious wealth abounded, creating imaginary wants; all goods, insurance among them, came into extraordinary demand; and vast sums of nominal money flowed into the treasuries of the companies. They were invested with greater care than any similar part of the wealth of the country, invested, indeed, so that when the bubble burst, when the wild waste of extravagance and war was counted up, and the funds of other corporations and other men dwindled away, these remained, substantially, dollar for dollar, accumulating interest upon their nominal value. But all men who borrowed of them the price of insurance, agreeing to repay it in annual premiums, like those who borrowed upon other pledges, were required, as the currency recovered value, to pay more and more real money. Thousands, in the flush of the nation's dream of wealth, bought more insurance on this form of credit than they need when real values are restored; thousands bought more than they can pay for. The annual premium income of the companies is more than \$83,000,000; for every fall of ten per cent in the price of gold, more than \$8,000,000 are added to the actual payments upon these annuities of policy-holders. Many of them, contracted for when the currency dollar was worth forty cents, are daily called for when it is worth ninety-five cents. The real amount payable is thus multiplied just at the time when trade is unsettled and industry most distressed; when the people are awakened to a sense of poverty and are least able to pay—a state of things clearly foreseen by every economist from the day the legal-tender act was passed, but in spite of their demonstrated foresight and earnest protest, forced upon the country by timid politicians, because it afforded them for a few years an ostrich-like escape from facing the truth of

the situation. To throw blame for these disasters upon the companies, that is, upon the policy-holders who are able and willing to remain and bear the burden of the change, or on their managers, whose wisdom has simply made their trust secure in spite of the nation's error, is a folly which need not be left to foreign nations and the next ages to reprove.

In so far as the management of Life Insurance is pursued as a profession, by a distinct body of men, it deserves, and will retain, the respect and confidence of the public. It would be narrow prejudice to claim for it, in intellect and morals, superiority to any other profession requiring equal learning, ability, and character; and it is no less narrow to imagine it inferior to any other. Under the general laws which control the supply and demand of personal services in all branches of labor, it has employed a fair representation of the mind and morals of the community. In the precise scientific form of its plans and methods, in the absolute equity of its principles, in the rigid limitations which the law of trusts imposes on its enterprise, and in the beneficence of its aims, it has peculiar educational influences for good on the minds trained under it, and peculiar safeguards against wrong. It also has temptations and dangers which are peculiar, the worst of which come from errors in law and in public sentiment. But when malice speaks of this profession as a conspiracy to deceive and defraud the people, to bribe governments and legislators, to override justice by cunning and corruption, the insult is offered less to the profession itself than to the intelligence and character of the nation. Dr. Dodd, a clergyman, was justly hanged for forgery; Professor Webster, a physician, for murder; and it is earnestly to be wished that any Life Insurance manager who has flagrantly disgraced his profession and violated his trust, meet a punishment equally prompt, adequate, and exemplary. But the suspicion that professional men, united only by professional aims, could combine for illegal and immoral purposes, or could tolerate for an hour the suggestion of such a combination, is as absurd as to charge that a medical society is a conspiracy to facilitate murder, or the clergy a conspiracy of forgers.

There is but one end for which it is possible that this profession should "conspire"—the instruction and enlightenment of public opinion. If the general attention and watchfulness which it has now attracted have their proper effect, they will induce wise and honorable managers to embrace a great opportunity; and in the educated convictions of the people to lay a secure foundation for the future

of the institution. For this purpose it is not necessary that each company should sacrifice in any degree its own independence, its own methods of business, its control over and responsibility for its funds and contracts. But the companies have within themselves a large staff of trained and thoughtful men, capable of most varied intellectual work. They have hitherto produced in this service a body of literature, full of force and ingenuity, but confined almost wholly to three classes: first, technical and professional writings, which are often contributions to science, but have no public beyond the profession; second, elementary papers, designed to explain the mathematical principles of the business to the common mind, and especially to expound and glorify the system of net valuations with its logical accompaniments; third, expositions and puffs of special plans of insurance, or of the triumphant success of particular companies, too often joined with comparisons to the damage of other plans and companies, or at least suggesting such comparisons to the solicitors, who are expected to circulate these tracts, and to enforce their arguments. Of these divisions, the first already forms a scientific library of permanent value, and grows larger and better every year. The rest, the popular literature of Life Insurance, however useful parts of it may have been at times, is, as a whole, decreasing in usefulness, has already done much harm, and ought to suffer a radical change. It should become the means of bringing before the public the simplest and most comprehensive views of the business, in all its relations, expressed with the dignity of a true professional spirit, and with the independence of each writer's personal convictions. Such views are at once the most intelligible and the most profound. The worthless and misleading attempt to make every man his own actuary must be utterly discarded. The purchaser of insurance needs to know mortality tables and valuations no more than the purchaser of a house to know the cost of bricks, or the consumer of bread to be an expert in bakers' wages. The fancy that this is the kind of knowledge to guide an insurer can be dispelled only by giving him the knowledge that is a sure and final guide. Each reader must be instructed in the principles, relations, and facts of the business, so that he can answer for himself the questions: Do I need insurance? If so, how much? Upon what plan? What are my rights and obligations, as a purchaser, on this plan? Where can I obtain it most safely and cheaply? The proper answers to these questions include all that the public care to know upon the subject; and a community in which the mass of men

are able intelligently to answer them, each for himself, will be the paradise of Life Insurance. Public opinion, reformed in the only useful way, by the instruction of its component minds, will become the discriminating critic of all companies, and the indestructible support of good ones; and its faithful organ, the newspaper press, will cease to view the business as a black art, whose mystery makes it doubly suspicious, and will heartily join in raising and maintaining the standard of the general intelligence. It were foolish to wish that the independent press should be the ally of any class of corporations, whose interests or aims are distinct from the public welfare; or that it should ever regard the possession of corporate powers with other than a jealous eye, watching against the beginnings of encroachment on rights or of deviation from law. This would be to wish destruction to a main safeguard of society. But if the companies whose every use of their franchises is strictly limited by the beneficent purposes for which they have been granted, will resolutely bring forward in public discussion every principle and detail of their work, illustrated by the known truths of human life, of finance, economy, and law, but few years will pass before these principles will become a part of the common stock of thought, accepted and assumed in all current discussion of the subject as fully as are the customs of our retail trade, or the elementary rights of citizenship. In a free community it is not sufficient that the administration of a public trust be perfect—it must be transparent also.

This is the first reform needed in the conduct of Life Insurance. Public criticism has often been ignorant; it has been felt to be rude and oppressive; the temptation has often been irresistible to deal with it as with an enemy. It must be welcomed as a friend, and instructed so that it shall be a useful check and competent guide. Many have suffered so much from widespread prejudice and misdirected censure, that they will declare this course hopeless. Yet to the mind that is accustomed to watch the inner forces which control society, it does not seem so hopeless to-day as it seemed twenty-five years ago that the French nation could ever understand and acquiesce in the principle of freedom in trade; as it seemed ten years ago that British public opinion would ever comprehend and act upon the duty of submitting the Alabama claims to national arbitration; as it seemed four months ago that the ruling party in some of the Southern States would quietly give up faction to patriotism. To despair of any set of truths, whether theoretical or practical, is unworthy of an age in which the wonderful mechan

ism of the printing telegraph and of the telephone is intelligently discussed in daily newspapers, and in which such vast inductions as the conservation of force or the theory of organic development, still unheard of within a young man's memory, have already become part of the common consciousness of educated mind.

In the proposed reform lies the way to all others that are possible or desirable. Recent events have shown a grave and widening breach between public sentiment and the institution of Life Insurance; one which, left to the causes that have produced it, might widen into active enmity. Yet the public sentiment, on the whole, is and must ever be the sentiment of policy-holders. To make friends of them is, on the part of their trustees, the first dictate of self-preservation. Let us admit that this has been sincerely attempted in two ways: first, by doing general and substantial justice to them, while leaving them largely in the dark as to what justice requires, and how it is done; second, by making such concessions to large numbers of them as can not be made always and to all: it is now plain that in these ways the end will never be reached. The most perfect management ever known will fail to satisfy, unless its merits are made and kept plain and beyond dispute; the largest concessions which recklessness itself can grant will only excite to further demands those who do not comprehend the limits which their rights as a class impose upon their interests as individuals. A third way, the true one, remains: the boldness of complete and aggressive candor; and this, for institutions whose existence hangs upon the good-will of the community, is the way not only of shrewd policy, but of safety and dignity.

DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE position of the English Church is, I have reason to believe, very little understood in America. Analogies are naturally applied to the case of the territorial church-establishment of England derived from the circumstances and history of the early, and at first in a sense established, Churches of the various colonies, and afterwards sovereign States, of America. But there is more of contrast than of analogy, between the conditions of church-establishment which obtained in America for a century and a half, and those which have been characteristic of England.

The established Church of England, indeed, holds a position in relation to the people and in regard to other Churches in the country, which is almost, if not altogether, unique among the nations. The established Church of Scotland, of course, is in a similar position, only in some respects still more advantageous, but the case of Scotland I must for the present leave quite apart. I am speaking of England as compared with either the United States or France, Germany, Italy, or any other great European nation. The Church of England is, indeed, established and endowed, but it does not derive a farthing of revenue from public taxation. Its endowments, with an extremely insignificant sum total of exceptions, belong to one or other of three classes. Either they were originally, and in the very rise of the earliest English Christianity, voluntary dues rendered with one consent of zeal and principle first by the community and then by the lords of the land, until, by immemorial usage, by undisturbed appropriation, and by universal recognition as an inalienable property right, they had become, by common law, the sacred inheritance of the Church; or they have been direct legal gifts and settlements bestowed upon the Church during the period when it was the one national church, the only church known or thought of in the land; or they consist of dona-

tions or bequests deliberately settled upon the Church of England, the Anglo-Episcopal Church, since the rise of Nonconformity.

The first of these classes of endowments consisted mainly of the tithe-charge. This ancient revenue was forty years ago commuted into a sort of rent-charge. The commutation, however, was fixed at a decidedly low estimate, and is made to vary partly in proportion to the rental, and partly according to the average price of corn during the seven years preceding. It can, therefore, in no strict sense be regarded as a tax. It is property, ecclesiastical property, but not a public tax or rate. If the tithe-charges were to be remitted, rents would be increased by the amount of the remission. The tithe is therefore no tax, rate, or charge on the tenant, and as to the landlord, the land came to him subject to tithe, whether he bought or inherited it, and the charge has not been increased since it became his. In fact, he and the Church are, in a sense, co-proprietors of the land, as the Church has been co-proprietor with all former owners. The right and title of the Church is, in almost every case, far more ancient than that of the lay proprietor, whatever be the antiquity of his inheritance.¹

As to the other classes of endowments of which I have spoken, it will not be pretended that they involve any thing in the nature of a tax or impost. As in the case of other endowments, questions may be raised, especially respecting those which have descended from times anterior to the restoration of monarchy and episcopacy, as to their original designation and intent, as to the degree in which, as now administered, they fulfill the purposes for which they were originally given. It may possibly be contended, indeed, that both the tithe-charge and these endowments, or at least the

¹ On the question of political economy the "Penny Cyclopædia" is an unimpeachable authority, one also which can not be suspected of any bias in favor of ecclesiastical privilege. The following passage on the subject of Tithes, taken from that Cyclopædia, bears directly upon the point dealt with in the text: "Tithes are unlike any other tax which, being found injurious to the State, may be removed on finding others. They are not the property of the State; they are payable not only to the Church, but to lay impropiators; they have been the subject of innumerable private bargains; land has been sold at a higher price on account of its exemption from tithes; in short, the various relations of the society have been for centuries so closely connected with the paying of tithes that to have abolished them would have been a gross injustice and spoliation to many, and no advantage to the community; for the whole profits would immediately have been enjoyed by those whose lands were discharged from payments to which they had always been liable, and subject to which they had most probably been purchased."

more ancient portion of them, should be applied to some secular national object, or should be distributed in some way, for the benefit, in due proportion, of all the different ecclesiastical denominations. But it can not be alleged that these endowments are equivalent in any way to a levy upon individual citizens, or bring any pecuniary charge or burden on any one.

So far, indeed, as respects such endowments as have come to the Church of England since the rise of Nonconformity, that is, to speak roughly, during the last two centuries, it is evident that, as they are, with very few and very special exceptions, all of them of private origin—the fruit of voluntary Christian zeal and liberality—they differ in no respect as to their nature from the endowments which, during the same period, have come into the possession of other Christian denominations in the country. And these endowments constitute, of themselves, a source of wealth to the Anglo-Episcopal Church such as would suffice to place it far above any other denomination in its pecuniary resources. During the last quarter of a century, according to a parliamentary return lately issued, not less than a million pounds sterling a year has been contributed towards one branch only of ecclesiastical enterprise and extension, the building or restoration of church fabrics. This return, indeed, does not include the case of any church towards the building or restoration of which less than five hundred pounds have been contributed. So that it must represent a sum total considerably larger than the annual million. And it is altogether exclusive of all that has been done in the same period—all that has been collected and paid—for the building of day and Sunday-schools, and of parsonages, and for the endowment of new district churches and the increase of old endowments. On all these objects vast sums have been expended. Probably as much has been contributed for the founding of new and augmentation of old endowments, endowments of incumbencies and of bishoprics, as on church buildings, while on school buildings and furniture during the last thirty years it seems certain that the average yearly outlay within the Church of England can not have been less than about £150,000.

DISENDOWMENT.

Such being the nature, and such the vastness and the range of the endowments of the Church of England, it is evident that, if the question of disestablishment is held, as by most English Dissenters it seems to be held, to involve the question of disendowment, it

becomes a very serious and far-reaching question indeed. To discontinue a tax or rate levied for the support of a particular church—due notice being given and personal interests being saved or duly compensated—is a comparatively simple operation. This has been done in most of our English colonies—in none of which, I believe, is there to-day any established church. But the case of the Anglo-Episcopal Church stands quite apart, and, if dealt with at all, must be dealt with on altogether different principles. Confiscate the tithe revenue of the English Church, and not only cautious statesmen or conservative lawyers but judicial historians will declare that the rights of property are threatened very seriously when thus, without any evident necessity, the most ancient property in the realm is dissolved by the will of Parliament. On this point Mr. Freeman, so well known to your readers, has declared himself most clearly and strongly in a little book lately published under the title “Disestablishment and Disendowment.”¹ Touch the endowments given or bequeathed during the last two centuries, and all charitable endowments and bequests, for whatever object, must be laid open to parliamentary appropriation for any so-called public purposes, while the maxims of law, which at present guarantee the security or regulate the administration of such endowments, will have received a fatal blow. If, indeed, it could be shown that the Church of England was hopelessly corrupt and had become a public and an incurable nuisance, the most extreme measures of confiscation would be warranted. But apart from such a demonstration, it is hard to see on what ground disendowment could be justified as a measure compatible either with equity or with the general security of property.

Some plausible, perhaps even weighty, arguments might indeed be advanced on behalf of treating the property endowments of the Church of England down to the rise of Nonconformity as belonging of right to the Christian churches of England in general—all of whom combinedly are now doing the work which for a thousand years was done by the one national church of the land,—while the property and endowments which have accrued to it during the last two centuries are allowed to belong of right and exclusively to the modern Church of England, as hitherto organized and established. But no way has ever been suggested of working out such a view as this. To which church, or on what principles to any special church in

¹ See pp. 14-17.

each particular locality, should the cathedrals or the ancient parish-churches be assigned? On what principle should the ministers or pastors be chosen for such cathedrals or churches? What, in particular, should be done with Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, Canterbury Cathedral, York Minster? On what principle should the ancient parochial and other revenues be, from year to year, distributed among the various denominations, parish by parish, denomination by denomination? These questions, and questions such as these, meet us the moment we try to construe into practical application the theoretic considerations now in view. It is no wonder, accordingly, that the more closely men look into the question of disendowment, even although they may be, by no means, in love with many of the dominant characteristics of the Church of England, the more insuperable appear the difficulties in the way of disendowment.

THE ENGLISH AND THE IRISH CHURCHES.

Many persons, indeed—not having ever really seen what the problem of disestablishment meant either for the one country or the other—thought, or rather supposed, for thinking was hardly involved in their case, that the disestablishment of the Irish Church had completely settled the question, both of disestablishment and of disendowment, for England as well as for Ireland. But in truth there is no parallel whatever between the two cases. The Irish Protestant Church never was, in any age, the Church of Ireland, or of the Irish people. It was an alien church, imposed on a repugnant people by foreign conquest. It was a superficial ecclesiastical deposit, having no roots in the ancient history or traditions, in the life or the love of the nation. Whereas the English Church grew up for centuries as the one church of the whole nation, and was identified absolutely with its whole life, and with all its functions and activities. The English Church strikes its roots far down into the primeval soil of English institutions, and of national rights and conventions. Its property rights took their origin with the beginning of property rights in England. Its parish churches have been truly national property, the inheritance of the parish, in all its generations, and for every grade of its inhabitants, for more than a thousand years. Its cathedrals have gathered round them the national traditions, and are temples consecrated, not only to the worship of the nation's God, but to the memory of the nation's

glories through all its ages. The case of the English Church is not in analogy but in contrast with that of the Protestant Church in Ireland.

Nevertheless, as to this point of disendowment, let us consider the precedent of Ireland, and see what lessons it should teach us. The Irish Church, we are told, has not only been disestablished but disendowed. Disendowed? Yes, with such a disendowment as leaves it still largely endowed, having gained freedom at the sacrifice of a portion only, in reality, of its revenues, whilst it retains, although never more than the church of a minority, all the churches and cathedrals. If the Church of Ireland has retained such treasures, and such a vantage-ground, notwithstanding her disendowment, how partial and illusory a business, on the like principles, would the disendowment of the Church of England be, how much larger a proportion of her revenues would that great and ancient church be likely to retain? The compensation to be given would have to be vastly larger in England than in Ireland—much larger even in proportion. Mr. Gladstone has publicly stated that the *minimum* amount, on his calculation, would be ninety millions sterling! The operation could only, by any possibility, be effected at an enormous cost. At such a cost opposition might possibly be bought off, the immense compensation to be paid and the liberty to be achieved being considered by churchmen as together constituting more than an equivalent for the claims and revenue sacrificed. But this would not really be disendowment; it would be a compromise, leaving the Church still very largely endowed, but, at the same time, free from all parliamentary or organized lay control, and at liberty to develop into any extent and degree of superstitious High-Churchmanship, of virtual Popery. The Church would unquestionably carry off, as a part of her spoils, the cathedrals and the parish churches. Thus, by the way of disestablishment and (so-called) disendowment, these grand national temples, full of holy memories, and of ancient glory and renown, full of potent influence and of sacred spells for those who have them in their hands, instead of being, as heretofore, the property of the nation, would become the property of a sect—in all likelihood of a peculiarly exclusive and intolerant sect.

EFFECT OF DISESTABLISHMENT.

Disestablishment, in one sense, would make very little change in the condition of church affairs in England. It would involve the removal of bishops from the House of Peers. To many Churchmen

this is a matter of profound indifference ; in short, it is in no way essential to the idea of church establishment in England, any more than in Scotland, where there is an established Church but there are no bishops. It would also involve the repeal of the law which at present precludes an Anglican clergyman from being a member of the House of Commons. It would involve throwing open public service chaplaincies to ministers of all denominations. But already the principle of this change is conceded in the sanction of Wesleyan and Roman Catholic chaplaincies among British soldiers and seamen. It would do away with all parliamentary control over the lands and discipline of the Church of England. Perhaps more Churchmen, especially High Churchmen, than Nonconformists would gladly welcome this change. It would do away, not necessarily with lay-patronage in general, but with government patronage and power in the appointment and translation of bishops, and also in the appointment of incumbents to certain livings. But this power might be done away, and yet the position of the Established Church in regard to the country and people be in no way weakened or revolutionized. Indeed, many church reformers, in order to maintain the Establishment as such, have urged that lay-patronage altogether should be either done away, or greatly modified in its character and correlations. What more changes disestablishment would produce I do not at present see. It must ever be remembered that there is a Church Establishment in Scotland as well as in England, and that, except in the control of Parliament, scarcely any one circumstance which has been supposed to appertain to the union of Church and State in England, is found in connection with such union in Scotland.

Leaving, however, apart the question of disendowment, that of disestablishment may still remain, and I am not sure but that disestablishment will come about in a way little thought of, as it would seem. I mean by the way of progressive reform. All reasonable men are agreed that many things in the Established Church demand reform. The churlish and, as I think, altogether unworthy and indefensible policy which has been advocated by some extreme enemies of the Church of England, the policy of opposing all attempts to reform that church, and so letting it remain in as bad a condition as possible, will not, I am sure, find favor either with the country or with Parliament. Indeed, I doubt whether, if any really good projects of reform should be brought forward, any considerable proportion, even of the bitterest opponents of the pre-

sent alliance of Church and State, would dare to attempt the obstruction of such projects. Already, during the last twenty years, some considerable steps have been taken in reformatory legislation on behalf of the Church of England. Much more, however, remains to be done. If all that is demanded in the way of effective and equitable reform and reconstruction were to be accomplished by successive measures of parliamentary legislation, the reformed church might wake up some day to find itself disestablished—and much the better for it. The last stage in the process of disestablishment would be the passing by Parliament of an act which would do away with parliamentary control over the Church. Such a measure, however, could not be passed until complete provision had been made for the constitutional autonomy of the Church, on the broadest basis of representation, lay as well as clerical, by means of parochial boards, provincial synods, and a national convocation. Lay-patronage, in its present form, and clerical exclusiveness of administration and representation, would both need to be done away. To the end of its history, the endowed Church of England is bound to be national, whether parliamentary or not. In the parishes its nationality might take form and effect in the absolutely unsectarian basis of its representative board or council, in relation to which the franchise might be coincident with the rights of citizenship; while, at the same time, a due co-ordination of episcopal or quasi-episcopal authority might prevent, what indeed would be a thing intolerable and by all means to be avoided, the direct government of parochial services and spiritualities by large meetings of popularly elected rate-payers. From the parish meeting upward, representation, lay as well as clerical, might be carried through the whole structure and organization of church assemblies. In this way the Church might be as it has never been yet, and as no mere denomination could be, or would desire to be, a national institution. Thus reformed, there would be an effective guarantee that it could never become a mere intolerant and superstitious High Church sect. When the laity had been fully brought within the different church assemblies by a system of effective representation, carried through the whole organization, it would no longer be necessary, as it is at present, for Parliament directly, as the representative assembly of the nation, to do all the work of legislation for the Church. The power of legislation for the Church would then have been conferred by Parliament on the Church itself, the laity having their due place in its organization. The power of Parliament would

only need to be invoked if any fundamental changes should afterwards need to be made in the charter by which the Church would have obtained its constitution and secured its rights.

It is only, as I imagine, by some such process as that just indicated that the English Church can be disestablished. So long as Parliament legislates directly for the Church, it will be an established church. Until Parliament has made complete and articulate provision for the supply within the Church of that national element which belongs to it of right, and which Parliament hitherto has represented, it will have no right to abdicate its own authority in relation to the Church. When it has made such provision, and has legislated itself out of direct relations to the Church, the one essential link will have been severed which, for a century past, has in England and Scotland held together Church and State.

Such a national, and yet not parliamentarily established, church as I have now attempted to sketch, would meet some important demands of a nation in such a stage of development as the English. I may assume that its formularies would be broadly catholic in character, and its terms of communion simple and free. I will suppose, further, that it would, at the same time, admit freely within itself the formation of voluntary societies, whether called orders or communities, whose conditions of fellowship would be special and strict. Such a national church—a sort of general or residuary national church, to which those Christians would naturally resort who had no special denominational convictions—might be in not unfriendly relations with the denominations around it; and, including such orders or communities as I have described, its average tone of fervor would probably not be lower, to say the least, than would be that of the different denominations generally, if all could be placed, as sects, on the same ecclesiastical and social level.

It seems, indeed, to be a special advantage possessed by an endowed national church—whether legally “established” or not—that it is able to provide for those persons who neither have, nor are likely to attain, any definite convictions in regard to the specific points of doctrine or theory which are represented by the various sects respectively, but who yet desire to attend church and to partake of the Lord’s Supper. I do not know that we have any right to force all men to choose whether they will adopt a Calvinistic or an Arminian creed, whether they will stand upon the Presbyterian or the Congregationalist platform of ecclesiastical theory and government. Many men have no inclination to think at all about such questions,

and would altogether refuse to adopt any one conclusion in particular among them all, and yet they wish to attend divine worship and to be recognized as Christians. For these men to have the alternative of either deciding between a number of sharply-defined sects, or of finding themselves disowned by all Christian communities, would not be, I venture to think, a desirable thing. On the other hand, the process of "liberalizing" or nationalizing the sects may, I beg to be allowed to think, easily be carried too far, with very undesirable results, so far as respects the simplicity of character, the strictness of discipline, and the true spirituality of the respective denominations.

Such being, for England, the essential elements of the question as respects the Established Church in its relation to other churches, and, in particular, as respects the point of disestablishment, whether, on the one hand, with, or, on the other, without disendowment, it is in reality no matter of surprise (although in America I know that it is generally thought very surprising), that the efforts of anti-State-Church dissenters during more than a generation past to "disestablish" the Church of England have produced so little effect. Doubtless they have helped to dispel some terrors and some superstitions. It is no longer a necessary article of faith with devout and docile English Christians that the Christian character of a nation depends on its maintenance of an established church. However absurd such a tenet may sound to American readers, it was commonly held in England thirty years ago.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH.

Whatever may have been the faults of the Church of England, the English people have refused to regard it as a nuisance to be abated, or a "upas tree" to be cut down and rooted up. All the time the hostile societies have been at work, the Church, despite its divisions, its latitudinarian errors in this direction, its quasi-Popish heresies and audacities in that, has continued to do more and more work, in many respects better and better work, has revived throughout all its breadth and all its borders, has distanced all its competitors in self-denying zeal, in home missionary labor and energy, in voluntary church development and church extension, in versatility of adaptation to the manifold and ever-varying conditions and wants of society at large. It stands in a vastly more powerful position, it is intrinsically far more full of vitality and resources, it includes, even in proportion, an immensely larger aggregate of

wealth in every kind—endowments, churches, parsonages, schools—and of zealous and trained agents, both clergy and laity, than it did forty years ago. At this moment, although school boards have been in operation for six years, and notwithstanding all that has been done for half a century past in the way of founding and maintaining schools by other organizations, such as the British and Foreign School Society, or other churches, such as the Wesleyans and Roman Catholics, three fourths of all the public elementary day-schools and of all the Normal college power in the kingdom, have been established by, and are in the hands of, the Church of England. If anywhere, again, not only the Church of England, but Nonconformity—especially ancient Nonconformity, to wit, the Independents and the Baptists—might have been expected to be strong, wealthy, and liberal, I should have said it would be so in London, where, from the days of Owen, Baxter, Howe, Bates, down to the present day, there has been such a succession of Nonconformist luminaries. Nevertheless, year after year, of the amount collected on the "Hospital Sunday," during several years past, from all denominations, on behalf of the Metropolitan Hospitals, the constant proportion which is contributed by the Church of England is three fourths of the whole.

The crisis of the struggle between the Church of England and its antagonists took place some years ago. At that time the anti-State-Church party was full of high and confident expectation. It was thought that the disestablishment of the Irish Church had foredoomed the Church of England. It was believed, with a degree of assurance and fervor that it is hard for cool critics to understand—how altogether unwarrantably, has since been signally demonstrated—that Mr. Gladstone would be the man to do it. It was further believed and boasted that the anti-State-Church party, strengthened as the extreme Dissenters had now been by the alliance, for this work and this season, of the Positivist political party—would be in a position of power and pre-eminence such as to enable them to dictate terms to the liberal party, and to compel both the disestablishment of the Church of England and the abolition of denominational education by the establishment of a universal secular system of public free schools. All these expectations have been disastrously falsified. The extreme anti-State-Church party could not force their policy on the liberal party, or make any impression on the leaders of that party. But they could and did divide and seriously weaken the liberal party, and produce a won-

derful reaction in favor of religious education, of the Church of England, and, in general, of conservative principles. How long the new lease of power to the Conservatives will last, it needs a prophet to tell. But at present there is little sign of any turn of the tide. Even the conduct of Lord Beaconsfield in regard to Bulgaria and Turkey seems to have done only a passing injury to his party. Already the wound which his course inflicted would seem to be healed.

The Church of England, as has been indicated, is not established as other churches, for the most part, are established. It is the established church, but no one is taxed for its support. It is established, but was never established by any statute of Parliament. It is established, but all other churches are free, and all people in the land have the fullest liberty to support, or, if they think good, to set up, whatever church or churches they may choose. It is established; but if it were "disestablished," the country would probably be scarcely aware of the difference. The Church of England would awake the next morning, after disestablishment had been consummated, and find itself in all essential respects the same as it was before.

The Anglo Episcopal Church, even though "disestablished," would still remain the ancient national church of the country. Her magnificent endowments could not be taken from her without loosening the foundations of property. She would retain her gorgeous cathedrals—most of them recently and splendidly restored by voluntary contributions—her stately and beautiful minsters, her venerable parish sanctuaries, laden with the memories of bygone centuries, her wonderful modern creation of "district" or new parochial churches—one of many rich harvests which have sprung from the ecclesiastical and religious "renaissance"—the new spring of spiritual life and voluntary zeal—which has burst forth since the century began.

She would retain her hold upon the great universities of the country, on the churches attached to them, and on the college chapels. She would still be the Church by unbroken ancestral and traditionary ties, and by every bond of educational and social influence, of the nobility and gentry of England; she would also be the Church, for the most part, of the rural peasantry, and not seldom of the town artisan or operative. Three fourths of the public elementary day-schools of the country would still be conducted in her buildings, and managed by her clergy. She would con-

tinue to be the Church alike of the classes most distinguished by culture and refinement and of the wealthy parvenu; of the easy-going latitudinarian and of the enthusiastic and semi-ascetic devotee; of traditional ecclesiasticism and "catholic" superstition, and also of a silent but mighty host of reverent, recluse, and meditative spirits to whom her liturgical prayers and litanies, and chantings, her penitential wailings and inspiring anthems, the chastened devoutness of her pulpit ministrations and the tender solemnity of all her services, are inexpressibly dear. Parliament might have ceased to legislate directly for the Church, but this change would certainly not be felt. During the last four or five generations, how very rarely has Parliament interfered with the Church of England, or done any thing in the way of ecclesiastical legislation! "The less of such interference, the better for the Church and its position as an Establishment," would certainly be the feeling of most churchmen; and if we were to say, "The less need of such interference the better," I suppose the saying could hardly be disputed by any. The Bishops would be absent from the House of Peers; but their presence and their influence there have, in regard to the vast mass of legislation in general, been in the past so insignificant and so imperceptible, that they would not be missed. They would be present elsewhere, in convocation or in synod, to take part in legislation for their own communion.

THE CLERGY AND THE UNIVERSITIES.

The mere fact that, as a rule, the clergy of the Church of England belong to one or other of the two ancient and famous Universities of England, although it may not be one of the most fundamental of the ties and influences by which the Church of England is bound to the nation, is yet one of no ordinary strength and importance. The freemasonry of those Universities is one of the most potent elements in English life. Its relation to the society of to-day has some analogy with that of knighthood formerly to mediæval society. As squires to knights, so are undergraduates to graduates; and as knighthood constituted a society independent of the gradations of feudal rank, a society of which all the members were on a footing of equality, not only with each other, but—in respect of chivalry—with the highest in the land, so the fellowship of the Universities constitutes an independent basis of society in English modern life, standing on which every member of the Universities, whatever may have been his original circumstances, takes

rank as a gentleman, who may not unfitly or presumptuously occupy a seat at any table and move in any circle in the country, if only he has character to match the position in which he is placed. There is in fact no levelling influence in England comparable to that of the Universities. In this respect it reminds one of the relations of American citizenship to European society, so strikingly exemplified in the case of Mr. Ticknor. An American citizen is of no social rank, or rather he may be of any social rank. All depends on his intrinsic merits, or on his merits combined with his accomplishments. If he is a thorough gentleman and at the same time an engaging man of the world, he is the equal alike of commoner and of peer, of squire or of duke, of the *petite* or the *grande noblesse*, in any European country; he has or may have the *entrée* to any circle, however exclusive, however high. Something of the like effect belongs to the scholarly fellowship and freemasonry of the Universities. The phrase the "republic of letters" has still its place and force; and well-accredited members of the great Universities, like the citizens of the American Republic, may, according to their merits and accomplishments, have the *entrée* to any circle in the land. A University man, in short, is presumed to be a scholar and a gentleman.

If this point be truly understood, it will be seen how vital an element it is in the power exercised by the Church of England that its clergy are University men. I mean by University men, Oxford or Cambridge men; for members of the London University, whatever their position and attainments, hold no such key to society and social influence, as the members of the old national Universities; the reason of this being, that the London University, besides being quite modern, is not a residentiary institution but a mere examining and certifying board. The Anglican clergy, as University men, are socially in their right, apart from their merely clerical character, when they enter the homes of their most aristocratic or most exclusive parishioners. This places all parties at their ease, and enables the clergyman to fulfill his professional duties with a dignity and independence which otherwise, and especially if he were himself of inferior breeding and connections, it might be very difficult, perhaps impossible, for him to show.

When the time has come—if it ever should come—that the Nonconformist ministers of England are largely supplied from the ranks of University men, that fact will do more than all besides to

give Nonconformist ministers as such, that social status which is at present the special form of equality they most covet.

Many of them seem to imagine that this form of equality will be secured by the disestablishment of the Church of England, and it is this idea, indeed, more than any other which sharpens the passion of their demand for disestablishment. The idea is a mistake, a complete delusion. It involves a wonderful perplexity of cause and effect. But, let a crowd of distinguished University scholars enter their ranks, and, whether the Church of England is disestablished or not, they will find that such ministers will at once command the social recognition which is so greatly coveted, and that the entire order of clergy to which they belong and the church communion in which they minister will be correspondingly elevated in social position and national recognition.

I may refer to the case of Scotland as a striking illustration of the principle I have now stated. In that country the clergy of the different Presbyterian churches, whether the Established Kirk, the United Presbyterians, or the Free Church, stand, as nearly as possible, on the same social level. A certain precedence no doubt is conceded in society to the Established Clergy, as belonging to the original Kirk, some order of precedence being convenient; but that precedence is merely formal. Substantially all clergymen rank alike, all mingle in the same circles, all are treated by the public and by society with the same respect, and, I may add, with great and ceremonious respect. Now the reason of this is not merely to be found in the fact that all are alike Presbyterians, and that the fond superstitions of the apostolical succession theory have no influence on the robust Scottish mind—being limited in Scotland to the feeble and numerically insignificant Episcopalian communion, a communion which counts scarcely any adherents except among the old and high gentry families of Scotland, or the Parliamentary peerage who live so much in England. It is the rather to be found in the fact that the clergy of all the churches alike are equally well educated, and, besides a thorough and protracted course of preparation in their own church colleges, have graduated in the same national universities. Under such conditions, the ministers of all the churches stand naturally on the same social level.

CHURCH REFORM.

Doubtless the condition of things affords a powerful argument, if not for disestablishment, at least for Church Reform. On this

point Mr. Gladstone offers remarks well worthy of consideration in his review of Mr. Martin's "Life of the Prince Consort," in a recent number of the *English Church Quarterly Review*. The Church of England needs a discipline and, within limits, an autonomy of her own, even if she is not to be disestablished ; and, in particular, one of her most pressing needs is a due provision for parochial autonomy, also within limits. Absolute autonomy, unchecked in all directions, could not be allowed in a national or a collective (or connectional) church. But limited parochial autonomy is a real necessity of life and spiritual progress, and would afford a basis for other necessary organic reforms. It is a calamity that, within reasonable limits, the custom of generations, perhaps of centuries, should not be held good against the revival, or, perhaps, the enforcement for the first time, of any general law of the remote past. Nor should great changes be possible in a parish without the consent of the parishioners.

The one point of vital importance in the controversy between the Ritualists and the Low Church is the Eucharistic service. The extreme sacramentarians make this service dramatic and symbolical in such a sense that it teaches in reality the doctrine of the Mass ; indeed, they now speak of the service as the Mass. Transubstantiation, the Real Bodily as well as Spiritual Presence of the Saviour in the elements, after the priest has consecrated them, the worship of the elevated "host," these are the points of ritualism which are really important—these are all-important. Other ritualistic usages may be follies, vanities, tricks, and gauds, which disguise and dishonor the Gospel ; but these are worse, at least to a Protestant—they are heretical and idolatrous.

I have had occasion thus far to refer only to the two great antagonisms in the Church of England. All, however, know that there is another party, hardly, perhaps, to be called intermediate, an independent party which, with something like philosophic impartiality, views both contentions, a party which, under different designations, has existed for centuries, never very numerous but often powerful, and perhaps to-day more powerful than ever. Their succession within the Church of England has included the Arminian divines of philosophic culture rather than High Church proclivities, and also the Cambridge Platonists, of the Stuart and Commonwealth period ; the Latitudinarians and Comprehensionists of the age of William and Anne and the early Georges ; and the Broad

Church of to-day. Chillingworth and Stillingfleet, Smith and Henry More of Cambridge, Tillotson and Secker, Hare, Thirlwall, Stanley, and the Neo-Platonizing divines of this generation, of whom Maurice and Kingsley were the chief lights and leaders, have belonged to this succession. The school itself, however, has had and still has its own varieties, varieties of essential importance, but of which I have no space to speak. The Broad party is, in fact, an *omnium gatherum* of inconformables and liberal thinkers of several schools and of no school.

DENOMINATIONS IN ENGLAND.

It is difficult to estimate the proportions in which the population of England is distributed in its religious preferences between the different churches. There are, indeed, nearly 150 different denominations which have been certified to the Registrar General. After consulting the leading denominational registers, and such standard works as the "Statesman's Year Book," after studying also the statistics published by the Registrar General, I have made the estimate, necessarily but a rude approximation, which I am about to give. I take the population of England and Wales as 24,000,000, and I set down the different families of churches as having adherents in the following proportion; meaning by *adherents* all who have any preference for one denomination rather than another, however much they may have neglected public worship—all in short, who, if obliged to choose and declare a church attachment, would name the particular church in question. Besides these, however, I allow a quarter of a million for those men and women and children who have lived entirely outcast from all religious connections or ideas, or sensibilities whatever—too small an allowance, I daresay. This being premised, the following is my estimate; the sum total including, of course, men, women, and children, however young:

The Established Church.....	13,000,000
Methodists of all varieties.....	4,200,000
Congregationalists	2,100,000
Baptists	1,500,000
Presbyterian (Modern).....	250,000
Roman Catholics.....	2,000,000
All other denominations.....	700,000
Of no denomination.....	250,000

24,000,000

The adherents of the Established Church outnumber those of all other denominations combined; and the preponderance of influence is easily understood to be much greater, when the rank and quality of the adherents are taken into account, than the mere numbers alone would indicate. All the nobility, the gentry, the great moneyed classes, including the great majority of the wealthiest and most considerable manufacturers, as well as nearly all the merchant-princes and the members of the banking houses, the professional classes generally—especially those of eminence—belong to the Church of England. The great majority, also, of the peasantry cling to the old national church. In great towns, too, it is not to be denied that far more Christian work is done among the working classes by the Established Church than by any other communion.

The superior influence of the Established Church extends over nearly the whole breadth of the country; and where it falls to a low level, it is not among the most politically important or influential populations.

The Congregational denominations have established powerful churches in all the large towns, in which there is maintained a ministry ordinarily cultivated and often powerful. Their want of a connectional character, however, is a great drawback in the way of organization, united action, missionary enterprise, and general progress. I am obliged to conclude, after taking much pains to inquire in all parts of England, that during the last twenty years, these churches—contributing, as they do, a very valuable element to English life—have declined in influence; have declined almost everywhere in comparative numbers and influence, in many places have declined absolutely. Nor do I think that the agitation they have carried on against the Church of England has helped them, although I think it likely that it has contributed much to public enlightenment, and not a little to the instruction of the Church of England. The agitation has been wanting in consistency—for example, the pleas put forward twenty years ago for the abolition of church rates are irreconcilable with the grounds on which it is now contended that the Church of England should be disestablished and disendowed; has been wanting in largeness of view, in statesman-like handling and character; has been altogether too narrow, and heated, and partisan. At this moment the Church of England is, despite that agitation, and even despite its own intestine discords and divisions, immensely more powerful in England than it was thirty years ago.

THE PHILADELPHIA EXHIBITION.

PART I.—MECHANISM AND ADMINISTRATION.

IN the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW for January, 1875,¹ appeared an article by Professor Hart, which contained a detailed discussion of the causes of the comparative failure of the Vienna Exposition of 1873, having especial reference throughout to the preparations then making for the celebration of the American Centennial. Professor Hart's article was most timely, and did excellent service in pointing out the sources from which danger at Philadelphia was to be apprehended, and in affording judicious suggestions for meeting the sudden and sharp exigencies of an International Exhibition.

"The Centennial" has come and gone, and we may now inquire, not as Professor Hart was compelled to do respecting the Viennese Exposition, was it a failure? but how far was it a success, and to what was its measure of success owing? Reserving to a future paper all criticism of the Exhibition as a display of things beautiful or useful in themselves, or characteristic of the arts, industries, and social life of the nations represented, it is proposed in the present article to consider the Mechanism and Administration of the Exhibition. In this view we may speak of the goods arriving at Fairmount Park prior to May 10, 1876, as if they were a single line of articles from a single country.

And, first, it may be said that in the one point in which the Vienna Exhibition most notably failed, namely, readiness at the time of opening, the Philadelphia Exhibition afforded more than a success—little less than a triumph. This goes not, however, wholly to the credit of the Administration. An accident of the situation did much; nature did more; while a great corporation, itself the noblest product of American skill and energy exhibited at the "Centennial," contributed most of all to make success possible.

The accident of the situation was that a large proportion, probably one third, of the goods destined for display had to undertake an ocean voyage. Just as one is far more likely to miss a railway train than to lose his passage on an ocean steamer, so goods having to

¹ Volume II., No. I.

come from distant ports are likely to be shipped with a promptitude which will more than compensate, in the whole mass, for the possible detention of individual cargoes by maritime disasters. So that, notwithstanding casualties which occasioned considerable delay in the Russian and Spanish departments, the foreign exhibits were on hand at an earlier date than those from the United States. Thus the foreign arrivals, commencing as early as January, reached their highest point in the week ending April 15, while the American arrivals reached a maximum, by a very steep ascent, during the week ending May 6. This comparatively early arrival of the foreign exhibits was a great gain, affording an inestimable relief to the last days and hours of installation.

Nature, also, had done much to facilitate the disposal of goods. The varied surface of Lansdowne Plateau not only allowed, but suggested and strongly invited, the erection of numerous buildings devoted to separate sections of the Exhibition. Even the miscalculation of space required, which involved the erection of several annexes not contemplated in the original scheme and certainly disturbed somewhat the harmony of the general plan, greatly facilitated the work of bestowing the goods brought to the gates of the Park. Operations proceeding simultaneously in twelve or thirteen separate structures were liable to far less of misadventure and delay than would have been possible in placing the same bulk of goods under one roof, however ample. The following table presents the weight of goods bestowed in each of the nine principal buildings of the Exhibition, the several "annexes" not being separately reported:

	POUNDS.
Art Department.....	2,100,900
Main Building.....	20,168,801
Machinery Hall.....	19,542,989
Agricultural Hall.....	6,534,766
Horticultural Department.....	418,031
Shoe and Leather Building.....	574,387
Carriage Building.....	1,574,103
Women's Pavilion.....	98,698
U. S. Government Building.....	2,658,705
All other, including material for the construction of buildings belonging to foreign governments, and also live-stock received.....	3,445,278
	<hr/> 57,116,658

To the officers of the Pennsylvania Railway, moreover, is due a degree of credit which can not well be exaggerated, for their astonishing dispatch of business during the weeks, the days, the hours, preceding the opening. The efficiency of that great industrial corporation, directed by a single will, remained throughout the Exhibition a source of ever-fresh wonder to the intelligent visitor. What with the disposition to procrastinate, which is ineradicably in human nature; what with the fears of manufacturers that an advantage might be taken by competitors if their goods should be too early placed in order; what with the natural desire to use all the time possibly available for bringing to perfection, both in substance and in finish, the samples to be exposed to the gaze of millions of visitors, and subjected to the critical examination of experts, an undue proportion of the American exhibits were delayed until the last weeks and days of preparation, when any, the slightest, momentary congestion of freight at the nodal points would have defeated the efforts of the Administration for a prompt and clear opening. But the fears which, in spite of the high reputation which this railway has long maintained for efficient management, harassed the friends of the enterprise, were vain. The Corliss engine did not perform its appointed work, hour by hour, revolution by revolution, from May till November, more perfectly than this great corporation, with its thousand locomotives, and its fifteen hundred miles of track. The precision and promptitude with which the well-tamed and well-trained monster of Machinery Hall delivered his mighty blows were fully equalled in the exactitude with which the inward freight of the Exhibition was discharged inside its gates, and turned over to the Administration.

I said, turned over to the Administration; that was a mistake. After all the perils of flood and field had been safely passed, the foreign goods had still to encounter the evil genii of red tape, bearing commissions from the Treasury Department at Washington. What with misunderstandings between the customs authorities at Fairmount Park and the Collector of Philadelphia, the inadequacy of the inspecting and appraising force at the critical periods of the Exhibition, and the thoroughly vicious traditions of the Treasury Department, the administration of the customs service was little creditable to our government, and contrasted very unfavorably with the non-political management of affairs. It ought to be no more difficult to pay a tax bill of Uncle Samuel's than a freight bill of Colonel Scott's; it ought to take

somewhat less time and patience to get a bale of goods from Liverpool to Philadelphia, than to get it across a purely imaginary line at the latter place. But such was not always the case. Foreign exhibitors and commissioners were harassed to the last degree by the requirements of treasury agents, who, with the best intentions at once to do justice to the Government and to facilitate the delivery of exhibits, were unable in such an exigency to discriminate between essentials and non-essentials, or were themselves constrained by instructions from Washington, emanating from some official brain which had not been refurnished with ideas since the days of Jackson. Even in its later attempts to adapt its regulations to suit the necessities of an International Exhibition, where goods to the value of many millions were discharged in a week—a large part of them not being commercial in character, and but few of them received through the agency of professional importers—the department showed the same inability to meet the occasion which was so painfully exhibited by the War Department, and especially by the Adjutant-General's office, during the first winter of the war.

I do not mean to reflect upon Secretary Bristow, whom I honor as a faithful and able public servant. The fault lay in the immemorial traditions of the Treasury Department, and in the hopeless conservatism of subordinate officials, in mortal dread of establishing troublesome precedents should they recognize the peculiar exigencies of the service at Philadelphia. But one excuse could have been offered for the first regulations issued from the Treasury, October 3d, 1874, governing the entry of goods for exhibition, namely, that the requirements of the law were positive, and allowed no discretion. But this excuse can not answer in the present case, inasmuch as, without entering into an examination of the Act of June 18th, 1874, to ascertain whether the regulations in question were not more strict than contemplated by Congress, we have the fact that those regulations were actually annulled by the circular of November 1st, 1875, in the pure despair of the authorities at the overwhelming difficulties which were encountered in the attempt at their enforcement; while the second body of regulations were importantly modified by the circular letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, June 1st, 1876. These facts dispose of the plea that the Treasury Department was constrained by the law, and leave the authorities to stand in the position of a stupid if not wanton adherence to requirements not necessarily involved in the law, and found so burdensome to foreign commissioners and exhibitors, as to give

rise to continual complaint and remonstrance from them and from the officers of the Exhibition. The department at Washington never rose to an appreciation of the situation, and to a true discernment of the wide difference between the entry of goods for exhibition or even for sale after exhibition, and ordinary importations of a commercial character conducted by professional importers in the routine of regular business; but was crowded forward from one position to another, by the pressure of the accumulating inconveniences and the increasing odium caused by the ill-conceived programme of 1874, or by the sheer impossibility of carrying those regulations into effect.

More than one hundred and fifty thousand packages, weighing over forty-five million pounds, had been received by the 9th of May. Not less than fifty thousand of these packages were destined for the Main Building. Of the service of trucks and barrows and movable platforms, by which this vast body of goods was distributed among the several spaces allotted to exhibitors; of the unpacking of show-cases and of goods over those twenty crowded acres; of the discipline by which unreasonable and refractory exhibitors, agents, and attendants were kept from collisions through the hurry and furious excitement of the last days of preparation, and made to work in subordination to the general interest and to a common end; of the grand clearing-out, extending far into the night,¹ by which the seeming chaos of the 9th of May was brought into order for the opening ceremonies, time will not allow me to tell. The accomplishment of the work was highly creditable to Messrs. Torrey and Pettit, the chiefs of the Bureaus of Transportation and Installation.

By an Act of Congress March 3d, 1871, it was enacted that an Exhibition of American and Foreign Arts, Products, and Manufactures should be held, under the auspices of the Government of the United States, in the city of Philadelphia, in 1876; but it was provided that the Government of the United States should not be liable for any expenses attending such Exhibition.

The same Act provided for the appointment by the President of Commissioners [each having his alternate], not more than one from each State and Territory, on nomination of the governors of the States and Territories respectively, who should report to Congress, at the first session after their appointment, a suitable date for

¹ It is estimated that seventy-five tons of rubbish, packing material, etc., were removed by the janitor's force within the twenty-four hours preceding the opening.

opening and closing the Exhibition; a schedule of appropriate ceremonies for opening and dedicating the same; a plan or plans for the buildings; a complete plan for the reception and classification of articles intended for exhibition; the requisite custom-house regulations for the introduction into this country of the articles from foreign countries intended for exhibition, and such other matters as in their judgment might be important.

The Commission thus authorized was not constituted a corporation, and had no power or means conferred upon it to carry out the purposes of the Act. It could not hold property, it could not sue or be sued. The Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, was chosen President of the Commission, and occupied that position continuously till the close of the Exhibition.

The constitution of a body for such a purpose, upon such a basis, can not be regarded as fortunate. The appointment of a Commissioner from each State and Territory was a piece of buncombe, off the apparently inexhaustible mass of that precious material which became the inheritance of the American nation at its birth. To organize and conduct an International Exhibition is a great work. It is a purely practical matter, requiring the minimum of theory and politics, and the maximum of executive efficiency and responsibility. A Congress, for such must a body of forty-seven delegates be called, can not satisfactorily order or supervise such an enterprise, whatever the virtues or abilities of its members.

Unfortunate as was the mode of appointment taken for constituting the Commission, the choice in not a few States fell upon men fitly representing the inventive and administrative genius of America; men who, had they been found in close proximity, and been formed into a small Board of Direction, in continuous session, would have lacked no element of success. Foremost in service among them is to be named the Hon. D. J. Morrell, who was one of Pennsylvania's many admirable contributions to "the Centennial." It was mainly owing to his high character and great pecuniary responsibility that, notwithstanding the insufficiency of the Commission's powers in the matter of the receipt and disbursement of funds, considerable amounts were actually subscribed and paid in before the constitution of the Board of Finance. It was mainly to his foresight and energy that the irremediable defects of the Commission were met by the creation of the later corporation. Important as was the contribution made by Mr. Morrell to the

success of the Centennial from 1873 to 1876, his great work, that which could not well have been otherwise supplied, that without which the Exhibition might not have been, was during the years 1871 and 1872.

The difficulties inherent in the scheme of maintaining a continuous organization, extending through five years, composed of members in equal number from all the States and Territories of the Union, appear strikingly in the statistics of the *personnel* of the Commission. Between 1872 and 1876, fourteen Commissioners and twelve alternates resigned their office. Such wholesale losses, while easily explained on the ground of the great inconvenience to professional and business men in traveling over the vast spaces of this continent, and remaining absent, weeks at a time, from their places of residence, could not but affect the continuity of plan and administration in a work in which the element of continuity was eminently needed. The mortality among the Commissioners is not to be explained in the same way. It is quite remarkable that among this limited body occurred no less than nine deaths during the period in question, six among Commissioners and three among alternates. Altogether, sixty-seven persons held the office of Commissioner, and sixty-four that of alternate.

The first year's labors of the Commission, which was not organized until March 4th, 1872, were not greatly productive. Of plans there was no scarcity—plans for buildings, plans for opening and closing ceremonies, plans for classifying and arranging exhibits; but little progress could be made with such inadequate powers and means, or rather in the absence of all powers and means. The Commission was not only not a pecuniarily responsible body; it was not even a body for pecuniary purposes. The time for further legislation had manifestly come, and Congress, by the Act of June 1st, 1872, created the Centennial Board of Finance, consisting of numerous persons named in the Act, who were constituted a corporation, with all the rights ordinarily incident to an incorporate existence, and with power to "purchase, take, have, and hold," or "grant, sell, and at pleasure dispose of," all such real and personal estate as might be required in carrying into effect the provisions of the Act of 1871. This corporation was empowered to invite subscriptions to a capital stock of ten millions of dollars, to issue certificates of stock, and to use the proceeds of such subscriptions and sales of stock in "the erection of suitable dwellings, with their appropriate fixtures and

appurtenances, and for all other expenditures required in carrying out the objects of the said Act of Congress."

The organization of the corporation was to be effected as follows: A meeting of the corporators named in the Act, and of all other persons who at a given date should have subscribed for stock, were to elect a board of twenty-five directors, out of a list of one hundred stockholders selected and nominated by the Centennial Commission. These directors were to hold office for one year, and until their successors should have been qualified; were to organize themselves by the choice of a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer; and were vested with full power to manage and control all the property and estate of the Exhibition, from the subscription of stock on to the liquidation of the remaining assets, and the distribution of the surplus, if any, to stockholders at the close of the Exhibition. By the same Act the Centennial Commission was made a corporation.

An amusing illustration of the manner in which the doctrine of the rights of "each State and Territory," in respect to the Exhibition, was carried into the simplest details of what should have been, if it was not, business, is afforded by the law organizing the Centennial Board of Finance. It was therein provided that the call for the meeting of stockholders to choose directors should be published in a newspaper or newspapers "at the capital of each State and Territory." Inasmuch as, upon the subscription lists reported at the conclusion of the hundred days for which the books were kept open, twenty-one States and eight Territories appeared as not having subscribed one ten-dollar share among them, it would seem that the expense and the formality of proclaiming a shareholders' meeting at these twenty-nine capitals might have been avoided. One bunch of postal cards might, perhaps, have served for the six other States and Territories which reported an aggregate subscription of \$340.

It would, no doubt, have been better had Congress, in view of the inadequacy of the Commission under the Act of 1871, provided for a radical reorganization, by constituting a single corporation, in which should be vested both legislative and administrative powers, having a Board of Directors, few in number, and appointed without reference to the political "claims of locality." But the existing Commission was not disposed thus to recommend its own dissolution, and Congress gave effect to its wishes, as we have seen, by erecting a separate corporation for the control of the finances.

But while division of authority and of responsibility is always to

be deprecated, nothing could be more admirable than the character of the Board of Directors thus called into existence for the conduct of the practical business of the Exhibition. Of the twenty-five Directors, sixteen were from the State of Pennsylvania (all but two residents of Philadelphia), known to each other and to the community in which they were to exercise their office. Four were from the neighboring States of New York, New Jersey, and Virginia. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Alabama, Illinois, and Missouri furnished the remaining members.

To an enterprise in which her fame and fortune were so deeply involved, it was not doubtful that Philadelphia would contribute her ablest and purest men. Despite the bad reputation of the local politics of the city, the Board of Finance stood so high in character that from first to last no taint of fraud or suspicion of jobbery rested upon any part of those gigantic undertakings. Not only were the members of the Board lifted high above the possibility of dishonor; but the large commercial experience of some of its members, the long administrative training of others, put them in a great measure beyond the impositions of dealers and contractors. Between a board thus composed, and the ordinary "building committee" or "business committee" of a college, a parish, or a city council, was a contrast almost ludicrous. Victory was already achieved when the conduct of the finances and the executive control of the Exhibition were placed in such hands. These were the sort of men who have made the Pennsylvania Railroad what it is, and they imported into the management of the affairs of "the Centennial" the same thoughtful energy, the same strong, practical sense, the same singleness of aim and unity of administration, to which that great corporation owes its remarkable success.

Giving their time gratuitously to the work, they neither made up for the absence of salaries through perquisites and patronage, nor suffered their freedom from a pecuniary obligation to excuse them from any share of the responsibility they had assumed. Ordinarily, we may say that unpaid service is the poorest kind of service, because men are apt to take that fact as sufficient reason for indifference, negligence, inattention, and non-attendance; or else to plead the fact as justification to themselves for putting friends and relations into office, or securing incidental advantages from the control of disbursements and appointments. None of these vices, so familiar in the political management of affairs, in this and more or less in every country, appeared at Philadelphia. Day by day, through the

long period of preparation, through the times of suspense when the fate of the enterprise trembled in the balance, through the exciting six months of the Exhibition, and through the tedious period of liquidation and adjustment, the President of the Board and the chairmen of the more important committees were to be found at their posts, pursuing the public interest as intelligently and as eagerly as ever they sought their private gain. Such an administration of a great trust deserves full and cordial mention, not merely that honor may be given to whom honor is due ; but because it affords an example of what might be effected in our civil service, if only it could be divorced from politics.

The non-political constitution of the Board showed itself, not less distinctly, in the entire absence of publicity which attended their proceedings. So far as I know, the Board of Finance never held an open session, never had a reporter present, and there is neither authentic record nor vague tradition of "a speech" having been made in their meetings from the date of organization down to the present time. Like plain, sensible, practical men, having a great work to do, they set themselves to do it as simply, cheaply, and effectively as possible, with no attempt at self-glorification, with no efforts at vulgar display. Throughout the whole Exhibition the conduct of the Board of Finance was singularly dignified and honorable.

Eminently to the President of the Board, Mr. John Welsh, of Philadelphia, are the thanks of the nation due. A man of antique virtues and modern talents, the many years which have built up the noble structure of his good name among his fellow-citizens have taken nothing from the alertness or the vigor of his powers ; in him severity of principles and simplicity of manners are found not incompatible with that conciliatory disposition and that genius for compromise which are a prime condition of success in all administration, but which assumed especial importance at Philadelphia, not only by reason of the peculiar exigencies of an International Exhibition, but also from the anomalous character of the management.

No sooner were the Directors of the Board of Finance appointed and called to exercise their duties, than the most serious differences of opinion were developed as to the relative powers and duties of the two corporations. In part, these differences were inherent in such a double-headed administration ; in part, they were due to want of legal skill in drafting the Act of 1872. The Commission was disposed to regard the Board of Finance as its creature,

called into existence to perform certain specific duties mainly relating to the collection and custody of funds, but subject to the votes of the Commission as regards the objects and the amounts of expenditure, and responsible to the Commission, as both the governing and the auditing authority of the Exhibition.

The view taken by the Board of Finance was widely different. It held that the powers of the Commission were essentially those of legislation; the powers of the Board were executive. The plans for the grounds and buildings were to be adopted by the Commission. They were to be executed by the Board. The rules and regulations governing rates for entrance and admission fees, or otherwise affecting the rights, privileges, and interests of exhibitors and the public, were to be fixed by the Commission. They were to be carried into effect by the Board, in which was, by this view of its powers, vested the appointment of all the officers who might be required in every department of the Exhibition, for the performance of executive duties.

So far did the Board of Finance carry this view of their powers under the Act of 1872, as to hold that the only power of appointment remaining in the Commission was that relating to the choice of judges and examiners for award of premiums to exhibitors; while the executive acts permitted to the Commission were but two—first, the awarding of premiums, and second, the final auditing of the accounts of the Board.

It is not worth our while here to discuss the questions at issue between the two corporations upon legal grounds; the vital fact was, that the Board of Finance, in their exclusive control of the funds, were masters of the situation, and could successfully have asserted their unabated claims, had they chosen to do so regardless of the consequences to the general enterprise.

With this fundamental difference of theory and of feeling between the Board of Finance and the Commission as to their relative powers and duties, and with constantly recurring occasions of disputed authority keeping this difference fresh and clearly cut, collisions or deadlocks, prejudicial in the highest degree to the interests of the Exhibition, and perhaps scandalous to our national fame, were seriously to be apprehended; nor did the ever-ready newspaper correspondent fail to be on hand to improve the opening for sensations. Nothing but that rare good sense and conservatism in practical affairs, which the American people, and in a lower degree even American politicians, have inherited from their English

fathers, and which their social, industrial, and political experiences have still further developed, would have made it possible to carry forward the Exhibition from this point to a successful issue. On a smaller scale, with a lower stake, the compromise at Philadelphia in 1876 prefigured the compromise of rights, but not of right, at Washington in 1877. Thus the Exhibition was saved. Those within the Administration could see that, in a degree, expenses were enhanced, efficiency impaired, discipline relaxed, by a double-headed management; to an attentive ear, there was some grating and jarring of the machinery; but the great public was not allowed to know that there was a divided authority presiding over "the Centennial."

In this policy of mutual concession and conciliation the Exhibition enjoyed the highest good fortune in the mediation between the Board of Finance and the Commission, of the gentleman who had been chosen by the Executive Committee of the latter body to the position of Director-General.

Mr. Goshorn had already acquired reputation in the management of the Cincinnati Exposition, but not even those who best knew the fact or the reason of his success in that capacity had a right to anticipate that he would achieve so great a triumph upon the larger field and under the more difficult conditions of Philadelphia.

Mr. Goshorn is one of those rare men in whom the continued exercise of power does not tend to generate the disposition to regard authority as an end, rather than a means. He is one of those rarer men in whom the capability of prompt decision and energetic action is compatible with the disposition to let well-enough alone, a certain willingness to allow difficulties to work themselves out, and even, in a degree, a tolerance for anomalies—qualities essential to the perfect temper of administration. With him, System remains always servant, not master, being maintained just so far as to secure the maximum of advantage with the minimum of obstruction and expense, but never observed for its own sake. With a sufficiency of self-assertion, he respects the authority of his subordinates, and encourages spontaneity of official action. Such a man is eminently fitted to preside over a work which has no traditions or prescriptive limits; where the entire service must in a brief time be built up from the ground. In such a position, rigidity of plan and administration may be as injurious as undue facility. Freedom of growth, not tending to tumefaction, and freedom of movement, not tending to turbulence, are essential to the right development of an enterprise like that at Philadelphia.

Nor were the executive abilities of Mr. Goshorn more conspicuous than the good sense and good feeling with which he conducted the negotiations between the Board of Finance and the Commission. Commanding the complete confidence of the former corporation, while officially representing the latter, occasions for dispute multitudinous were lost in him, and, like the river Alpheus, never reappeared. Probably the art of judicious pigeon-holing was never carried to greater perfection, and the capacity of the human memory to conveniently forget never more strikingly exemplified. Intrinsically just as between man and man, and devoted with a rare enthusiasm to his great work, Mr. Goshorn was not more thoroughly obeyed than respected within the gates of the Exhibition.

One of the points most strongly contested between the Board of Finance and the Commission was the control of the police. In this the former corporation had necessarily a deep interest. Responsible for vast amounts of property to be protected against petty depredations, wanton abuse, organized burglary, and the ever-recurring danger of fire, the Board felt the appointment and the discipline of the constabulary to be a matter of vital concern. On no point, however, did the Commission more strenuously insist than on its absolute power over the police of the Exhibition. The Board of Finance had, I am disposed to think, the weight of argument on their side, and they enjoyed also the adventitious advantage, that the police required to be commissioned by the Mayor of Philadelphia, the public sentiment of which city, it need not be said, set strongly in favor of the authority of the more local corporation. The dispute was, however, compromised, the two corporations uniting in the choice of a chief officer. This compromise, though securing for the time the peace of the Administration, was not fortunate in its results upon the order or the pecuniary receipts of the Exhibition.

The admission of the authority of the Commission in the premises carried with it, according to our American ideas of politics, the right of individual Commissioners to make nominations; just as Congressmen at Washington, having to vote appropriations for the departments, claim and obtain¹ the right to name the persons to be appointed within those departments from their respective districts. And here was shown most strikingly the difference between the business way and the political way of looking at appointments. A board of railway directors called to organize a body of watchmen to

¹ Written before the Presidential Message of March 5th, 1877.

protect the stations and freight houses of their line, would simply inquire, how can we best and cheapest secure the weight of character and the personal accountability necessary for this trust. Other things equal, they would greatly prefer to take men from the immediate neighborhood. A man known in the community, accountable to its public sentiment, living decently with his own family, would possess an advantage in applying for such a position over one coming from a distance, personally unknown to the appointing power, and, if appointed, to be withdrawn from the conservative influences of domestic life, and more or less from the wholesome restraints of public sentiment. This is the business way of looking at the matter, and this was the view of the Board of Finance.

The political way is very different. No one who knows department life at Washington but has been amused by the unaffected indignation with which the average Congressman receives the intelligence that a new messenger or an additional laborer has been appointed from the District of Columbia instead of being summoned from Texas or Massachusetts. To waste such a precious substance as patronage on a people who have no electoral votes seems to a Butler, a Boutwell, or a Logan like despite to a good providence which has graciously opened the way to please a discontented constituent, or "fix" some doubtful school district up among the hills.

In fact, the political method prevailed largely in the appointment of the police. The sacred rights of "each State and Territory" were admitted; a place on the force became "an office," in the true American sense of the term; and Commissioners brought their constituents from across the Mississippi, and perhaps from over the Sierra Nevada.

Now let us note a single feature of the result. The large force thus rapidly recruited, without any sufficient inquiry as to health and physical fitness for the duties, subjected to trying sanitary conditions, living irregularly as to eating and sleeping, obliged to be out at all hours and in all weathers, unaccustomed to the climate and the water of Philadelphia, exhibited a rate of sickness and mortality equal to that of a new regiment encamped in an unfavorable locality. Diarrhœa, dysentery, and typhoid fever spread through pretty much the entire force, prostrating large portions of it at once, and affording the material for most of those reports of unhealthfulness which deterred multitudes from their anticipated visit to Philadelphia. It was the sickness among the "Centennial police" which

formed the actual substance of every successive tale of horror telegraphed by the correspondents of an unfriendly or a sensational press.

The Commission appear to have taken somewhat too literally the injunction of the Act of 1871—to prepare a *complete* plan for the classification of articles intended for exhibition. During the sessions of 1872-4 the subject received no small share of the attention of this body. The many discussions and the voluminous reports thereon finally issued in a system of classification of a wholly impracticable degree of minuteness and complexity. The scheme had ultimately to be abandoned; but not until it had seriously delayed and deranged the plans for the erection of the buildings, the competing architects having been required to adapt their designs to the requirements of the classification. It was probably due to this demand that none of the public competitors produced results which were, or under the circumstances could be, carried out. It is only just to the architects of the United States that this should be stated. The task set for them was a wholly impracticable one.

Whether for display or for adjudication, a classification, instead of being a matter of exquisite and refined theory, is the most purely practical thing in connection with an exhibition of arts and industries. The disposition to refine and multiply distinctions is one which will always be strongly felt, but it should be stoutly resisted. A few score of broad natural divisions are all that are required. Whatever is more than this comes of the great enemy of all world's fairs. It took the Commission somewhat more than four years to find out that classifications are made for exhibitions—not exhibitions for classifications.

The first resolution of the Commission contemplated a gigantic building or enclosure, to contain about fifty acres of floor space, within which exhibits were to be arranged in a two-fold order—geographical and systematic; and it was to the accomplishment of such a stupendous result that the efforts of the engineers and architects were originally directed. Fortunately, this scheme had to be abandoned, on account of the vast expense involved. It was a project eminently undesirable, architecturally, landscape-wise, and for the purposes of exhibition.

To have doubled the size of the Main Building, while retaining its general plan of a Vanderbilt railway station, would have added nothing whatever to its impressiveness; to have attempted to throw

“twice as much bigness” into a structure which should be any thing more than symmetrical, which should aspire to cathedral proportions, and aim at absolute architectural effects, would have involved an impossible expenditure, and would probably not have found, on the spur of the moment and through sealed bids, the needed architectural genius. Again, to have put substantially the whole display into one building would have been to disregard the clearest intimations, the most urgent invitations, of nature. “The more,” says Mr. Bayard Taylor, “the disposition of the Main and subordinate buildings is studied, the more their admirable combinations of convenience and picturesque alternation will be appreciated by the visitor.” The loss of these effects would have been poorly compensated by a cheap St. Peter’s, placed on any one of the noble sites in which Fairmount Park abounds. But no more was it desirable to cover the world’s display under a single roof, if we consider the convenience, the pleasure, or the enlightenment of the ordinary visitor. An exhibition of the products of art and industry should be governed by the most practical principles, having express and constant reference to human limitations. The best of us can see little and understand less in any single period of time which his physical requirements of food, sleep, and rest will allow him to devote to sight-seeing. He will be none the happier or wiser for being assured by a guide-book or a rolling-chair conductor, that all the products of the world are actually represented under the roof beneath which he stands, if, before he must sleep or eat again, he can visit but an inconsiderable fraction of the whole. And when he returns, after a period of refreshment, to his hard work of sight-seeing, he will neither understand nor enjoy what he finds the more, simply because it is within the same enclosure. The subjects exhibited within any structure, at an exhibition, should be numerous and various enough to allow of picturesque effects, and to avoid monotony. The building itself should be large enough to be reasonably impressive. Beyond this, mere additions to length and breadth and height, and the multiplication of halls and aisles, serve no true purpose.

I can entertain no doubt that the millions of visitors enjoyed the display of products better by reason of their division among half a score of considerable buildings, found rest to body and mind in the transition, got closer to things, and brought away clearer images, and more of them, than if every thing had found a place in the Main Building. I do not believe that even the many-sided, all-embracing

Shakespeare, had he visited Fairmount Park in the summer of 1876, would have hesitated to own that he enjoyed the Kansas and Colorado display all the more for its being set up in a building of its own—a little bit of the world by itself—instead of finding its due place in a theoretical classification, “both systematic and geographical.”

The scheme of a single gigantic structure having fortunately failed, the plans of the buildings actually erected, except those which were built under appropriations from the city of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania, were prepared under the joint action of the Director-General, with the Executive Committee of the Commission, and the Board of Finance. Theoretically, the plans came from the Commission. The fact, however, that the Board of Finance were able to say what they could and what they would provide the means for, made mutual co-operation and concession in this matter absolutely necessary. The contracts and the superintendence of the construction were exclusively in the hands of the Board of Finance, as well as the preparation and improvement of the grounds, their drainage, water system, and all the practical appliances for the comfort and convenience of visitors and exhibitors. Three of the principal buildings—those erected with funds provided by the city and the State, namely, Machinery, Agricultural, and Memorial Halls—were from the first wholly in the hands of the Board of Finance.

Under the strong practical impulses of the Board of Finance and the stringent pressure of financial necessities, the larger buildings, with the exception of Memorial and Horticultural Halls, took shape according to the service for which they were designed. Viewed otherwise than with reference to their purpose, not one of them could be æsthetically commended; but, so considered, they were admirable adaptations of the arts of construction to the uses of an exhibition. Appropriateness of design, neatness of execution, relative thoroughness of workmanship, characterized generally the buildings erected by the Administration. Perhaps the two greatest triumphs at once of ingenuity and of taste, when the exigencies of construction, the limited time, and the limited means at disposal are taken into account, were Agricultural Hall and the Art Annex.

Horticultural and Memorial Halls having been erected by the State and city in which they are situated, as permanent structures, and having been designed for the accommodation and display of

limited classes of objects, are fairly to be judged upon purely architectural principles. The former, in the Moorish style, upon a noble site, and springing out of a superb floral garden, was the delight of all eyes during the months of the Exhibition. The latter, far more pretentious and expensive, combined with an imposing exterior many admirable practical adaptations of interior construction, though not without some equally marked defects, whether we consider the immediate uses of the Exhibition or the permanent service of an Art Museum and School.

In the paper to which we have heretofore referred, Professor Hart remarked: "After all that may be said and done, the people of Philadelphia hold the fate of the Centennial in their own hands." Fully did the people of the city and the State which had claimed the privilege of celebrating thus conspicuously the anniversary of the nation's birth, realize that on them must the burden rest, as theirs should be the gain and the glory of success. Of \$2,277,940 subscribed by individuals within the United States to the stock of the Exhibition, \$1,749,468 came from Pennsylvania alone. Of the other States, New York contributed \$266,922; New Jersey, \$106,574; New England, in all, \$89,274; the Pacific Slope, \$14,244; the rest of the country, \$52,468. The subscriptions of eight States sank to \$100 or less each; one of "the Immortal Thirteen" contributing but \$50, and one of the younger sisters but \$20.

Thus were Philadelphia and Pennsylvania left to bear the burden of the Exhibition, and well was the exigency met. The State appropriated \$1,000,000; the city, \$1,500,000—these munificent appropriations being represented in Fairmount Park by three of the permanent structures, Memorial, Machinery, and Horticultural Halls. The appropriation by Congress, during the session of 1875-6, of the sum of \$1,500,000, fairly set the enterprise on its feet, free of debt, and sure of success. It was, perhaps, well enough that the contribution of the General Government was so long delayed, and that it was no greater. Had that appropriation been earlier or larger, Philadelphia and Pennsylvania would have something less upon which to congratulate themselves, and the country would have lost the display of public spirit and business energy which brought the Exhibition so far forward without national assistance. Congress had, however, previously provided, at the expense of over \$500,000, for the erection of an admirable building for the accommodation of the Government exhibits, and for the creditable representation of the various departments. Nearly twenty of the States and Territories made

specific appropriations for the erection of buildings upon the grounds and for the expenses of collecting and forwarding exhibits. These appropriations aggregated more than \$400,000. The architectural results were in some cases fearful; but several pretty cottages and one or two more pretentious structures of real merit were added thereby. The expenditures on the part of nearly forty foreign governments, imperial or colonial, in connection with the Exhibition, are estimated at nearly or quite two millions of dollars. Of all the governments represented, Japan made the greatest exertions, if measured by expenditure. The contribution of Great Britain to the architecture of the Park, in the erection of St. George's House, was by far the most valuable, both for instruction and for enjoyment. The presentation of this mansion, at the close, to the city of Philadelphia was a most graceful act of kindness and courtesy on the part of a government which had found and improved so many opportunities to show its generous good-will to the people of the United States.

Who that was present on "Pennsylvania Day" will ever forget those thronging multitudes that more than filled every building, every room and aisle, that overran every avenue and path about the grounds, and formed in vast masses upon spaces ordinarily sacred from the foot of the Centennial visitor? More than a quarter of a million of Americans were that day gathered within the gates. The popular attendance was, after all, the great triumph of the American Exhibition; the crowds were the most notable thing exhibited. It is not presumptuous to say that no nation in the world could have gathered in its capital such throngs of decent, orderly and intelligent people as visited Fairmount Park during September and October. Of riot and tumult there was never a symptom; of ruffianism or lewdness the display was incredibly small; of drunkenness, despite a freedom in the exposure of ales and wines to which the majority of visitors were wholly unaccustomed, the instances were fewer, in the whole course of the Exhibition, than often at a country fair in a single day. But it was the intelligence of the mass of visitors that was most notable. Not that they were, generally, well informed—far from it; but in their inquisitive interest, in their sense of mechanical relations, in their quickness to separate the essential from the non-essential, in their faculty of apt, close questioning, and their ability to seize and comprehend a succinct statement of processes or of uses, they afforded perpetual wonder,

even to those long familiar with the characteristics of the American mind.

The aggregate attendance was the more remarkable, because the Exhibition was held near a city which could afford no large local patronage—a city, too, which is not greatly visited in ordinary times. Not only is Philadelphia in population a city of the third class, but the suburban population is very scanty. If we draw a circle around New York with a radius of fifteen miles, we shall include nearly two and a half times the population of Philadelphia and its vicinity; while the people who are gathered in and about New York are far more a sightseeing and visiting generation, more alert and cosmopolitan, more mobile and impressible, than the good people of the Quaker City. Moreover, had the Exhibition been held in New York, there would have been a large attendance upon it, incidental to ordinary business or professional sojourn in the city. New York is eminently a city of passage. Fifty persons visit New York five times where ten persons not of Philadelphian birth or connection visit Philadelphia once. “An afternoon at the Park” would have been to large numbers merely an incident of frequent trips to the former city; but going to Philadelphia was a business by itself, incidental to nothing, and not to be lightly undertaken. The grand aggregate of paid admissions to the Exhibition was 8,004,274.¹ Of these 588,992 were at half price upon the “cheap Saturdays;” 74,214 were at half price on account of schools, etc.; 90,448 were at half price for the stock yards. Almost exactly seven millions and a quarter paid for their admissions at fifty cents each; and despite the grumbling of the public and the thunders of the press, they paid it in half-dollars; but of this more anon.

It was to be expected that the attendance would vary greatly; but it was due to the extraordinary and wholly unprecedented heat of the summer, sustained through weary weeks and months, to the greatest discomfort of body and mind, and to the actual imminent danger of prostration or death, that the admissions sank so far below expectation in July and August.

¹ As an illustration of the thoroughness of the drain upon the population, I may instance a small town in the interior of Massachusetts, two hundred and seventy miles from Philadelphia. Of the 3749 inhabitants, three hundred and forty-six by actual register visited the Exhibition, some making more than one trip. And now follows the strangest fact in the connection. While of the fourteen colored residents of the place one went to Philadelphia, not one out of the 880 Irish, French, and French Canadians in the population was among the visitors.

The following is the daily average, by months, of paid admissions:

May (from the 10th)	19,946
June	26,756
July	24,481
August	33,655
September	81,961
October	89,789
November (to the 10th)	102,100

The persistency with which the Board of Finance clung to the plan of requiring the payment of admissions in single pieces of money has been made the subject of unfavorable comment in almost every quarter; and few were the visitors, however enthusiastic over "the Centennial," who failed to indulge themselves in at least one good growl at the management which refused two quarter-dollars for one admission. Yet without fancying that the Board meant thereby to symbolize the great lesson of our national history, that the whole is more than, and better than, the sum of its parts, we may find a simple practical reason for this order which justified its retention at the cost of a considerable aggregate inconvenience to the eight millions of visitors. The gate-keepers of the Exhibition, generally without professional experience, were called on to discharge the duties of cashiers under very trying circumstances. They were, upon their personal accountability, to verify the denomination and the validity of each piece of money tendered in rapid succession, without offering any obstruction to the stream of passage. Not only was the mental effort of the gate-keepers reduced to a minimum by requiring payment in single pieces, but the danger of receiving bad money was also greatly diminished. Even before the reappearance of silver, the fifty-cent note was comparatively scarce. A gentleman, in the ordinary course of travel or of business, would receive three, five or ten quarter dollars for every half dollar which was paid him. The result was, that most visitors found themselves at the gates of the Park for the first time without the necessary fee. This took them to the Centennial Bank or to the exchange office, where skilled cashiers rapidly verified the one, two or five dollar bills which they offered, and paid out in return fifty-cent notes fresh from the Treasury, crisp, clean, and unmistakable. When it is remembered in what an ineffably dirty and crumbled state our fractional currency is allowed to circulate, and, moreover, that of packages sent to Washington

for redemption, twenty, thirty, and even forty per cent are often impounded as counterfeits, it will perhaps be easier to excuse the authorities for taking special pains respecting the eight millions of half-dollars they were to receive, and upon which they must rely for meeting the current expenses of the Exhibition.

The statistics of passenger transportation in connection with the Exhibition are most impressive. The maximum service for a single day was on "Pennsylvania Day," when there were run into and out of Philadelphia, on the two great lines of road, 638 passenger trains, in which were 2993 cars with 130,245 passengers; while in addition over 200,000 local passengers were transported to and from the Exhibition on the tracks of these roads.

The total attendance of visitors, paying and free, during the continuance of the Exhibition was 9,910,966. The movement of this vast number in the two trips, going and coming, on the occasion of each visit to the grounds, is estimated by the Administration as follows:

Railroad, city trains.....	3,574,528
Railroad from without the city.....	2,334,804
Tramway	10,557,100
Steamboat.....	556,500
Carriage	803,000
On foot.....	1,996,000
Total.....	<u>19,821,932</u>

It was not to be expected that a service so extraordinary should be rendered without more or less of inconvenience. Few visitors to "the Centennial" but will long retain the remembrance, grievous at first, but softening to a humorous tone with the lapse of time and the repetition of the story, of the annoying or the painful delays or discomforts of their transit over the "horse railroads" of Philadelphia. More than two hundred and sixty miles of streets are traversed by tramways which, in ordinary seasons, afford a cheap, decent, and reasonably prompt mode of conveyance over the "magnificent distances" of this old, quaint city; but which, in the summer of 1876, were choked with traffic to a degree involving great annoyance and often serious physical discomfort and suffering, which made no small deduction from every day's pleasure, and added not a little to every day's weariness and pain.

The Exhibition encountered grave difficulties and even serious dangers, at the start, from the anomalous character of the Adminis-

tration. Aspiring to be an International affair, it was at first very much in dispute whether it was even national. Commenced under Philadelphian and Pennsylvanian auspices, it sought recognition from other cities and States of the Union only to be distinctly disavowed or coldly neglected; while its appeals to the General Government resulted only in an "indorsement" of a very doubtful sort.

The Act of 1871 declared that it was fitting that the completion of the first century of the nation's existence should be commemorated by an exhibition of the natural resources of the country and their development, and of its progress in those arts which benefit mankind; and that no place was so appropriate for such an Exhibition as the city in which occurred the event it was designed to commemorate; and further, that as the Exhibition should be a national celebration, it should have the sanction of the Congress of the United States; but the same Act expressly provided that the United States should not be liable for any expenses attending the Exhibition. This stipulation may have been just, but its incorporation into the Act constituting the Commission was not adapted to give the Exhibition a standing abroad. The injury done in the law might perhaps have been healed by administration in the Department of State; but Mr. Fish, moved, we may fairly suppose, by the discredit attaching to the reputation of the United States at Vienna, took the trouble to convey to foreign governments, through our Ministers abroad, an express caution as to the irresponsible character of the enterprise.

Had the Exhibition been tainted by the jobbery which so infests our public administration, and which was by some particularly apprehended on account of the bad name of the local politics of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania; and had it proved in the result, whether by the perversion of trusts or by lack of popular appreciation, a pecuniary failure, like that of 1873, Mr. Fish might well be congratulating himself now upon his foresight and caution in not allowing the Government of the United States to be involved; but as it has turned out, with the Exhibition an unquestionable success of which the nation is proud, and with that most extraordinary of results, a surplus in the treasury, the friends of the enterprise not unnaturally feel that they have cause to be angry at what they consider the gratuitous obstructions offered by the Department of State.

Within the United States, the anomalous character of the pro-

posed Exhibition soon ceased to greatly influence its prospects. The high character of the Board of Finance removed all fear of jobbery or corruption; while the habits of thinking and acting among our people rather favor voluntary associated efforts, no matter how vast the object to be attained. But they do not do these things so in Europe; and it was without question due to the lack of a definite political, as distinguished from a legal, character in the enterprise that some of the most important governments of Europe were represented so tardily and so inadequately. I speak not now of exhibitors and exhibits, but of the official representatives of the several governments.

Of all foreign countries, Great Britain was foremost in the completeness and the cordiality with which the invitation of the Centennial Commission was met. The regrettable speech in which Senator Sumner urged that England would resent being asked to participate in a celebration of her own humiliation and defeat, would appear to have appealed strongly to the manhood of that noble nation. In every way and in every place the official representation of Great Britain at the Centennial of American Independence, whether in Fairmount Park or at Independence Hall on July 4th, while the grandson of Richard Henry Lee read out the Declaration and the bands played Yankee Doodle, was thoroughly worthy and dignified. The British Commissioners bore themselves, from first to last, as if they had a warm interest in the success of the Exhibition, and rendered to the Administration a hearty and sympathetic support on every occasion of embarrassment or difficulty. To say that the conduct of "the mother-country" was complimentary to the United States, is to say the least thing that could be said. It was more and better. It was honorable to herself, and did honor to the community of nations.

From the French and German Governments, however, no such generous recognition was obtained. The Commissioner-General of France did not come to the country at all; and while he has diplomatically disavowed the outrageous imputations contained in a letter attributed by general report to him, his influence was unmistakably disparaging, if not actively hostile, throughout. Nor was the authority of M. du Sommerard delegated in a manner to give dignity to the Exhibition, nor was it used to add to its harmony.

The German Government was through the whole period of preparation and inauguration represented by a Commission of German-American residents; but some weeks after the opening, the

most eminent of the German Judges, the accomplished Professor Reuleaux, of Berlin, was announced as Imperial Commissioner-General, soon, however, to be recalled in consequence of his too frank criticisms upon the character of the exhibition made by his country.

But while the foremost nations of Europe thus paid slight attention to the Exhibition, the "new countries"—in which somewhat inappropriate term I include some of the oldest countries, as China and Japan, the colonies of Great Britain, and two of the South American States, Brazil and the Argentine Republic—showed an active interest in the anomalous enterprise at Philadelphia, taking the practical view that, however the scheme originated, and whatever the auspices under which it was to be held, the interests of their trade were deeply concerned in a full and creditable representation of their products before the people of the United States.

That feature which formed the chief novelty of administration at Philadelphia was the system of awards adopted at the instance of Mr. Beckwith, Commissioner from New York, who had, as Commissioner of the United States at Paris, in 1867, been strongly impressed with the inadequacy of the traditional European method of conferring distinction upon meritorious products, by the distribution of graded medals, bronze, silver, and gold; with the addition in some cases of "honorable mention;" in others, of decorations, ribbons, stars, and crosses. Manifest as were the faults of this scheme as carried out at Paris, the experience of Vienna, in 1873, showed conclusively that the best interests of international exhibitions required the adoption of some substitute. Almost any plan of recognizing and rewarding merit might easily prove to be better than that so long in use.

The radical defect of the medal system is that it conveys no practical information. The bronze medal, or the cross of the Legion of Honor, even if given with discrimination, merely signifies that the product awarded is good; but it does not answer the question with which Socrates was wont to confound his adversaries: *Good for what?* On the contrary, it may easily become the means of misleading the public and the body of purchasers, through the failure to state the uses to which the product may best be applied, or the conditions under which alone its use may be advantageous. Thus, to take a familiar illustration, let us suppose that a New England farmer, inquiring respecting the comparative merits of two mowing-machines, one of which he proposes to purchase, learns

that the Triumph machine obtained the gold medal at Paris, while the Farmer's Pride brought off only a silver medal. Our farmer is determined to "get the best," and orders the Triumph. When it arrives, he finds it an instrument of a high perfection of parts, great reach, and rapidity of operation; but, to his sorrow, he also finds that it is unsuited to his rough, side-hill farm, all hummocks, stumps, and stones, and it is knocked to pieces in a month. He can not repair it himself, to send it away to be repaired would cost not a little; and, besides, it has broken down in the height of the season, and men and teams have to stand idle in consequence. But if we reverse the supposition and let the gold medal be awarded by a group of judges, the majority of whom are from districts like New England in surface, to the Farmer's Pride, not a few Illinois cultivators might have cause to lament that in their determination to get the best (of course that which wins the gold medal must be the best) they had purchased a machine which, while it would pay for itself in a single season in Massachusetts, is so short in its reach, so stout and heavy in its parts, so slow in running, as not to be worth taking as a gift, if it is to be kept at work with men and teams on a Western prairie, perfectly even in surface, and without either stumps or stones.

In the same way, we might have a rifle which, by every ordinary test, whether for the marksman or for the sportsman, might far surpass its next competitor in the elements of accuracy, range of fire, and ease and rapidity of working, and for all peaceful uses have an almost indefinite preference; yet, for military purposes, to be placed in the hands of whole armies, composed in large measure of ignorant and clumsy men, many of them raw recruits, to be used under the most trying conditions, distant from all opportunities for repair, and where even a momentary disrepair would be utterly fatal—such an implement might properly be subordinated to another which approached it in no one of the three elements of merit indicated.

These simple illustrations—and hundreds more might be offered—may serve to show that the words good and best, in respect to all industrial products, are wholly relative, and that Old Socrates's question is one which needs to be answered by the international judges in a world's fair, if any practical information is to be given to the purchasing public, or indeed if that public is not to be misled by the awards.

Under the system adopted for the American Exhibition, the

medal, uniform in all cases as to size, design, and material, becomes only a token that the exhibitor has received an award. The question, What was that award? is only answered by the report of the examining judge, setting forth the characteristics of the product, the elements of its merit, and, so far as practicable, the degree of merit. In other words, the report is the real award. It answers Socrates's question. The medal simply declares that the product is good; the report tells what it is good for, where good, and how good. Its adaptation to the uses designed, its economy, its efficiency, and every other recognized advantage of a product, come thus within the scope of the judge's report.

A second advantage, incidental, it is true, but not unimportant, results from this plan of reporting on the product. The judge, being expected to give a discriminating statement of the reasons for award, is much less likely to be perfunctory in his examinations. Obligated to dwell on the product sufficiently to write intelligently about it, he will, in not a few cases, reverse his first judgment, finding a sham beneath a brave show, or discovering liabilities to accident or to waste in the subordinate parts of a machine whose general design is good, but which has not yet been adequately worked out.

But the scheme of awards as adopted at Philadelphia, upon the earnest and intelligent advocacy of Mr. Beckwith, sought to effect a reform in still another direction. At previous Exhibitions premiums have been declared upon the reports of sections, by an "International Jury" consisting of six or eight hundred members. Upon this jury the several nations, except that under whose auspices the Exhibition was held—which, of course, had a membership altogether out of proportion, generally amounting to one half, or more, of the entire number—were represented according to their relative importance, or according to the space occupied by each in the Exhibition. The jurors were appointed by the governments of their respective countries, served without compensation or the payment of expenses (so far as the administration of the Exhibition was concerned; their own governments might or might not make some allowance therefor), and, when formed into groups for the adjudication of the different departments of the Exhibition, became the members of a body whose verdicts were delivered through the chairman, with no individual responsibility attaching thereto.

Now in this system there clearly were several unfortunate liabili-

ties: First, that from the lack of compensation, or even of allowances for personal expenses, many of those who were most to be desired as judges would be unable to serve. Second, and perhaps more important still, that of persons accepting such appointments, many, perhaps the great majority, would, in the absence of compensation for their services, feel very much at liberty to go and come at their pleasure, especially as the work of adjudication dragged wearily towards the close; that the absence of one juror would become an excuse for the absence of another, and that thus the juries would continually tend to the condition of a rump, where a few persons, actuated either by a peculiarly urgent sense of duty, or by some special interest, personal or national, in the results, would become the actual working body, using the authority of the whole to give effect and dignity to their decisions. Third, that jurors thus set to "represent" their respective countries in the adjudication of products would not only find themselves disposed, but would to a considerable degree feel it their duty, to give their attention mainly to securing the largest number of medals for their own countrymen, and for this purpose would use solicitations and form combinations with the jurors of other countries, and through pursuing this object lose sight, more or less, of what should be the sole object of such an adjudication—the rendering of equal and impartial justice to all.

So strong are these liabilities in the very nature of the traditional European system, that it will not be invidious to say that such evils have notoriously existed and done much to impair the authority of the premiums awarded thereunder. At Philadelphia it was sought to substitute a plan which should make the examination of products for award somewhat more judicial in form and character. The reports were in all cases to be made over the signature of the examining judge, who would be accountable to the Administration and to the world for the opinion and the recommendation contained therein. The concurrence of a majority of the judges of the group was made a condition of an award; but this did not detract from the fullness and directness of the responsibility devolving upon the one specially charged with the examination.

Again, the idea of giving each country, or at least each principal country, representation on each group of judges, as if that were necessary to any country having justice done it in the awards, was distinctly repudiated. In fact, at Philadelphia, Great Britain had a

judge upon only seventeen of the twenty-eight main groups, France on but fourteen, Germany on but twelve; countries occupying less space still in the Exhibition had to be content with having judges on eight, six, four, or even two groups. Thus, from the very constitution of the board, it resulted that the notion that judges represented their respective countries was done away with, and in place of a feeling of being bound to promote the triumph of his own nationality, each judge found himself under the strongest obligation of honor to regard equally the interests and the claims of exhibitors from countries which had no member on the group.

Again, the allowance of \$1000 to each foreign and of \$600 to each American judge, assured the acceptance of this position by many who would otherwise have been compelled to decline, and at the same time gave a steadiness and persistence in the attendance which could not have been secured in the case of judges having no pecuniary relations to the Administration.

Such was the so-called "American System of Awards" as put in operation at Philadelphia, May 24th. In some respects it resulted in a success greater than could have been anticipated; in others, it encountered difficulties due either to intrinsic defects of the system, or to want of the proper provisions, which seriously impaired the value of the results. On the whole, it may be said that the plan fairly vindicated itself on its first trial, and exhibited a capability for much greater benefits when applied under more favorable conditions, and with the advantage of the experience of Philadelphia.

When the marked indisposition which Europeans have so persistently maintained to visiting the United States is considered, the *personnel* of the body of foreign judges was fairly a subject of note and congratulation. At home, the political character of the Commission, in which the appointment of judges and examiners was expressly vested by the Act of 1872, gave to considerations of locality somewhat more force than desirable; but the American list of judges was a very brilliant one. Many of the most illustrious names in the United States were to be found upon the roll; while of members less widely known, the great majority were of men expert in their specialties and thoroughly fitted for the delicate and arduous work of examination.

The appeal to the internationalism of the judges resulted in a success most gratifying, not only in the immediate instance and for the prospects of future exhibitions, but in reference to far wider interests. I could conceive nothing more promising for the cause of

international peace than the manner in which these two hundred and forty judges, thus put upon their honor to disregard considerations of nationality, responded to this demand. Especially did the judges from the North of Europe, and pre-eminently those from the Teutonic nations, come most handsomely up to the high standard thus raised before them. The bearing of the English judges, in this respect, was above all praise. The names of Sir Charles Reed, Sir William Thomson, Dr. John Anderson, Captain Douglas Galton, Mr. Lowthian Bell, Sir Sidney Waterlow, Sir John Hawkshaw, Major W. H. Noble, and their distinguished colleagues, were a sufficient guarantee of the ability with which their duties would be performed; but it was not to have been believed that any body of men could so utterly have discharged themselves of all national prejudices, to enter with such impartiality, such cordiality even, into the examination of the very products in which the United States are pressing England with the severest competition, frankly recognizing every good thing, from whatever source it came, and oftentimes surprising their American colleagues with the fullness and the heartiness of their commendation of processes and products familiar to us.

Let a single fact illustrate this most striking feature of the adjudication. The woollens manufacture is the largest single industrial interest in the world, that which is most widely spread, and that in which competition is most searching and intense of all known to commerce. It is that, moreover, in respect to which our "American system" of protection has (whether it has helped us or not) hurt England the most. Yet, of the fourteen judges on the wool and woollens group, five of whom were Americans and nine foreigners, of as many different nationalities, every judge signed every award recommended. An American member was assigned to write the general report of the group, while some of the most appreciative and even enthusiastic reports on American products were written by a British judge, formerly Mayor of Bradford, the principal seat of the English worsted manufacture.

But while, in these respects, the system of awards at Philadelphia succeeded almost beyond expectation, it yet experienced some drawbacks in its practical application, due to the want of early and adequate preparation, and to the absence of certain conditions and limitations which are required for the highest effectiveness of the system. Though the classification of articles had been the subject of discussions and reports ever since 1872, the actual assembling of the judges found some of the largest classes of products in the Exhi-

bition omitted entirely from the list prepared for their use, which had subsequently to be assigned sometimes to groups overburdened with duties and pressed for time; while the service suffered at the outset from the lack of the simplest mechanical arrangements.

More serious in its effect upon the permanent results of the adjudication at Philadelphia was the lack of certain conditions and restrictions to which, as experience has shown, if indeed it might not have been seen beforehand, this scheme of awards should be subjected, having reference to the class of articles which should receive attention in the reports of the judges. Petty exhibits, especially such as are not of a commercial character, can not be advantageously dealt with under the American system. If an exhibitor who presents a can of maple syrup, a few bottles of home-made wine, or a piece of hand-worked embroidery, is to receive an award simply upon the merit of the individual samples shown, without respect to the extent of his display, or to the amount and economical importance of his production, the reports of the judges will be so multiplied, and their subjects will become so trivial, as in no small degree to impair the authority and the dignity of reports on exhibits of importance.

It was the lack of such restrictions which allowed the awards to be swollen, under the eager solicitations of exhibitors and the easy good-nature of a few judges, to above thirteen thousand in number. No small part of the products thus noticed were well enough in a small way, but not of sufficient importance to justify their being formally reported on. Every such addition necessarily takes something from the value of the awards conferred in the more important departments of the Exhibition.

But while, from the want of such limitations as have been indicated, the popular effect, and even perhaps the intrinsic value, of the awards at the Exhibition were somewhat impaired, the system adopted at Philadelphia would have amply vindicated itself in the estimation of the public and of the exhibitors generally, had it not been for the unfortunate reopening of the adjudication, through the appointment by the Centennial Commission of a Committee on Protests and Appeals, consisting of its own members, and the association with them of certain "Judges on Appeals."

Doubtless some cases of hardship would have remained had the work of the regular groups been allowed to stand without alteration or addition. Some exhibitors had been overlooked, though almost always through their own inattention or neglect of

positive requirements.¹ Some mistakes, too, had doubtless been made in haste, in prejudice, or through misapprehension. But the proportion of exhibitors having any just cause of complaint was far smaller than the proportion of suitors who fail of their rights in any human court, through the expense and delays of the law, or through the infirmities of judges. Absolute justice is done nowhere on earth. The Commission could fairly have rested after the work of the regular judges was completed, satisfied that essential justice had been done, as fully as could be expected. Certainly, no equal amount of hard work had been performed by "the international jury" of any previous Exhibition.

In an ill-advised mood, however, the Commission reopened the question, as has been stated, by the appointment of a Committee on Appeals. This committee was constituted of five members, Messrs. Kimball, McNeil, Dufur, Morrell, and Corliss, the two last-named being among the most eminent members of the Commission, men of high ability and character, and of great knowledge and experience of affairs. They were, however, men in large and active business, who had already submitted to great sacrifices, and could ill afford the time to canvass and sift the claims of thousands of disappointed exhibitors.

Twelve gentlemen, of whom ten accepted the service, were appointed as Judges on Appeals; of the ten, seven had been members of one or another of the twenty-eight principal groups in the original adjudication. Several of these appointments were of men excellently qualified for the trying duties thus imposed upon them.

It was in the reference of cases by the Committee on Appeals to the Judges on Appeals that the principal—perhaps I might say the single²—scandal of the Exhibition arose. It is manifest that

¹ There is no reason to suppose that a score of exhibitors, who had filed the required papers for the information of the judges, had failed to secure an examination.

² I do not dwell on the temporary refusal of the Centennial Commission to allow the names of the examining judges to appear in connection with the reports, according to the scheme promulgated, under which exhibitors had sent their goods and judges had accepted their office. This, though creating much ill-feeling at the time, left no lasting results, as the Commission were soon compelled, by the force of public sentiment, and by threats of legal proceedings on the part of one of the most eminent manufacturing firms in the United States, to retrace this false step, and give to the reports the weight of the names of the examining judges. Exhibitors whose recommendations for award were signed by Sir William Thomson, of Edinburgh; Prof. Francis Reuleaux, of Berlin; Dr. John Anderson, of Woolwich; or President F. A. P. Barnard, of New York, were not likely to remain content with an anonymous publication.

to allow one exhibitor a re-examination, giving him a new chance of receiving an award from a new jury, while denying such a privilege to another exhibitor, otherwise in the same position, would be to do gross and inexcusable injustice ; and, accordingly, we find the Committee on Appeals promulgating the rule, that no person whose exhibits had been fairly examined by the former judges should be entitled to re-examination. Had the Committee on Appeals acted up to the letter and the spirit of this regulation, no serious complaint could have been made ; but, as matter of fact, the Committee referred cases by hundreds to the Judges on Appeals, without either consulting the Bureau of Awards or searching the records of the original groups to ascertain whether due examination had been made of the products submitted ; and, in some more flagrant instances, the Judges on Appeals were directed to take up cases where the Committee were distinctly advised by the Bureau of Awards that the products had been rejected for want of merit by the former groups. This was carried so far, that some of the Judges on Appeals waited on the Chief of the Bureau to complain that cases, in some instances marked "special," were placed in their hands, of whose examination they had been personally cognizant while serving as judges of the regular groups.¹

Of course, such partiality, to use no harsher term, could not be shown without evoking much indignation from the hundreds of exhibitors who had been refused a re-examination, or without strong opposition and earnest protest from those who desired to see the work of the former judges respected, and "the American system of awards" saved from dishonor. But apparently nothing could have restrained the wholesale operations of the majority of the Committee—which thus found itself in possession, for all practical purposes, of the full powers of the Commission (which had, and could have, no opportunity seriously to review the action of its Committee), with authority to bind and unloose—had it not been for some loud and emphatic blasts from public opinion, through newspapers, East and West, which brought the Committee to a somewhat abrupt halt, but not before much mischief had been done.

¹ The Committee, therefore, were in error when they reported to the Commission, November 11th : "Your Committee took up each and every case, *sought all the information in the hands of the Bureau of Awards, and from such of the judges as were present.*" [See printed report.]

The following brief statistical statement will fully bear out the criticism of the Committee's action, which I have given here—first, to satisfy the reasonable claim of the American and foreign public to know how far the awards were tampered with; and secondly, to give this matter its proper place in the history of the Centennial Exhibition.

Of the total of six hundred and twenty-eight awards which resulted from the re-examinations thus held, twenty were in favor of exhibitors respecting whom the Bureau of Awards had expressly notified the Committee on Appeals that their products had been examined and rejected by the judges of the regular groups; four hundred and fifty-two were cases which had been referred to the new judges by the Committee on Appeals without the knowledge of the Bureau of Awards.

TENNYSON.

ALFRED TENNYSON, now sixty-seven years old, must be classed among the most fortunate poets of all time. He discovered the true capacities of his genius while still in the first freshness and ardor of youth, overcame doubt and hostile criticism before his prime, and has already lived to see his predominant influence upon the poetic literature of his day. Whatever judgment may be passed upon his work, his position and influence are beyond dispute. Posterity may take away a portion of what he has received, but can not give him more. It is possible, therefore, although he is still vigorously and successfully productive, to review his literary career with something of the unreserve which we usually apply only to the authors of the past.

Mr. Stedman, in his "Victorian Poets," has discussed Tennyson's genius with such breadth and clear judicial insight that the outline is complete. I should not venture upon a field so competently surveyed, were my purpose precisely the same. But there is always a certain difference in individual vision, even when it has the same general direction; and, moreover, I propose to deal entirely with some characteristics of Tennyson's poetical growth and development, which, although they have not been overlooked by his critics, are capable of fuller illustration than they have yet received. The poet's intellectual biography, as we deduce it from his works and such scanty details of his life as are generally known, is of a very exceptional and interesting character: it illustrates the value of art in literature as that of no other famous poet, with the possible exception of Schiller. Unlike as are the two, their lives coincide in the utmost devotion to a definite aim—in the one case fulfilled in spite of poverty, persecution, and all manner of adverse circumstance; in the other, in spite of early discouragement, later ease, and the temptations of an almost unlimited popularity. Schiller's first literary venture, "The Robbers," carried Germany by storm, and made his name known in France and England; Tennyson's only provoked the bewildered wrath of Christopher North

and the flippant satire of Bulwer. Schiller experienced the inevitable reaction of popular favor, as he began to do sounder and stronger work; Tennyson slowly and steadily won that favor, by disregarding the sneers which greeted his early performance and holding to his faith in the divine right of poetry. The former died just as the consciousness that his achievement was recognized by the world came to him from the world; the latter has lived for twenty years in the proud consciousness of such recognition. Yet the governing principle of the two lives has been the same,—and the end has nobly justified it. Poetry says to her chosen, "Give up all that thou hast, and follow me!" Yet how few of them that are called heed the call! Nay, how few are able to heed it! For the poet is not less, but more, a man: dowered with "the love of love," he least of all men can renounce wife, home, and family, and the duties they include. Unless born under a fortunate star, and released from the petty cares that wear away by slow attrition the eager keenness and brightness of his imaginative faculty, he is too often compelled to choose between the temptation of turning to lower and more remunerative labor, and the prospect of making those nearest and dearest to him bear the weight of his sacrifice. Schiller heroically resisted the temptation; but in Tennyson's case it was probably never present, at least in its bare, inexorable form. He was not rich, but neither could he be called poor. We have, as yet, but little knowledge of his life from the age of twenty-two to thirty-two; but that very fact indicates that this period was marked by no serious vicissitudes of fortune. As far as the world knows, his days have preserved a singularly even tenor. What emotional experiences, what periods of spiritual anxiety and suffering, he has passed through we do not know—and do not need to know; but for thirty years we have seen him moderately prosperous in external circumstances, and leading a quiet life of surrender to his art.

The fact that such exclusive devotion has been possible to him gives him a separate interest in the long line of the world's poets. He took the talent, bestowed at birth, early estimated its full character and value, and invested it, at cumulative interest, in all attainable and serviceable knowledge. Few poets—perhaps none—have ever been so clearly conscious of the exact quality of their gift, and so wise in their disposition to increase it. His intellectual biography is, therefore, more important than the rather uneventful story of his life, and if I attempt an outline of it up to a certain point, I may be able to throw some little light upon his works from

a source outside of the direct line of criticism. In such a biography the starting-point is no less important than the terminus. It is quite natural that an author should seek to suppress his first crude efforts, and the more so in Tennyson's case, since they give not the slightest earnest of his later performance. His share in the first volume, "Poems by Two Brothers" (published in 1827 or '28),¹ can not be very accurately ascertained now, but the book is so absolutely devoid of poetic ability that further knowledge is not required. Nevertheless his prize university poem of "Timbuctoo," beginning with distinct Miltonic echoes, yet constantly breaking into brief strains which prefigure the character of his own later blank verse, lifts itself high above the prim conventional level of its fellows. Compared with the resounding platitudes of Heber and Milman, it expresses an independence of conception remarkable in one so young. In fact, the lines—

"Divinest Atlantis, whom the waves
Have buried deep, and thou of later name,
Imperial Eldorado, roofed with gold;
Shadows to which, despite all shocks of change,
All onset of capricious accident,
Men clung with yearning hope which would not die,"—

might have been written at any later period of his life. They illustrate the first distinct characteristic of his genius—an exquisitely luxurious sense of the charms of sound and rhythm, based upon an earnest if not equal capacity for sober thought and reflection. These two elements coexisted in Tennyson's mind, but were not developed in the same proportion, and are not always perfectly fused in his poetry. Take away either, and the half of his achievement, falling, leaves the other half utterly insecure. The aim of his life has been to correct and purify a power which he possessed almost in excess at the start, and to add to its kindred and necessary power by all the aids of study and science. In this aim, as I shall endeavor to show, he has both succeeded and partially failed.

His early poems show a considerable amount of intellectual struggle. We find in them traces of the influence of Milton, Shelley, and Barry Cornwall, but very rarely of Keats, of whom Tennyson has been called, singularly enough, the lineal poetical child. Indeed he and Keats have little in common except the sense of

¹ So far as I know, there is but one copy in this country: it is in the possession of the Rev. Dr. E. H. Chapin.

luxury in words, which was born with both and could not be outgrown. But the echoes of Shelley, in the poems afterwards omitted from the volume which Tennyson published in 1830, are not to be mistaken. Take this stanza as an example :

“The varied earth, the moving heaven,
 The rapid waste of roving sea,
 The fountain-pregnant mountains riven
 To shapes of wildest anarchy,
 By secret fire and midnight storms
 That wander round their windy cones,
 The subtle life, the countless forms
 Of living things, the wondrous tones
 Of man and beast are full of strange
 Astonishment and boundless change.”

The sign-manual of Barry Cornwall is even more distinctly set in the following :

“When will the stream be weary of flowing
 Under my eye?
 When will the wind be weary of blowing
 Over the sky?
 When will the clouds be weary of fleeting?
 When will the heart be weary of beating,
 And nature die?
 Never, oh ! never, nothing will die :
 The stream flows,
 The wind blows,
 The cloud fleets,
 The heart beats :
 Nothing will die.”

The poems from which these stanzas are taken, as well as “The Burial of Love,” “Hero to Leander,” and “Elegiacs,” are written from the inspiration which dwells in melody and rhythm; the latter is a not wholly unsuccessful attempt to add rhyme to the classic elegiac metre :

“Creeping through blossomy rushes and bowers of roseblowing bushes,
 Down by the poplar tall, rivulets babble and fall.
 Barketh the shepherd-dog cheerly ; the grasshopper carolleth clearly ;
 Deeply the turtle coos ; shrilly the owlet halloos ;
 Winds creep : dews fall chilly : in her first sleep earth breathes stilly :
 Over the pools in the burn watergnats murmur and mourn.
 Sadly the far kine loweth : the glimmering water outfloweth :
 Twin peaks shadowed with pine slope to the dark hyaline.
 Lowthroned Hesper is stayèd between the two peaks : but the Naiad
 Throbbing in wild unrest holds him beneath in her breast.”

Here the conception, as a picture, is so obscure that two different landscapes are suggested. Yet in the fragment we seem to discover the seed out of which Swinburne's poetry might have germinated. Where, then, shall we look for the seed of Tennyson's? I do not refer to imitation or even to unconscious influence; but there is usually something in each generation of poets—often some slight, seemingly accidental form of utterance—which, in the following generation, expands into a characteristic quality. Examples of poetry written for pure delight in sound and movement are rare before Shelley's day; and his influence upon Tennyson was very transient. A better prototype is furnished by this glittering little carol from Coleridge's drama of "Zapolya:"

" A sunny shaft did I behold,
 From sky to earth it slanted :
 And poised therein a bird so bold—
 Sweet bird, thou wert enchanted !
 He sank, he rose, he twinkled, he trolled
 Within that shaft of sunny mist ;
 His eyes of fire, his beak of gold,
 All else of amethyst !"

The substance of this is absolutely nothing, yet the sound forever lingers in the ear like the whisper in the folds of a sea-shell. Tennyson's "Claribel" is a precisely similar example, with a melody in the minor key. In the volume published in 1830, the poems "Lilian," "Adeline," "The Sea-Fairies," "The Dying Swan," "The Merman," and several others, are almost equally slight in conception, while brimming with the luxury of a rhythm which touches the intellectual palate like a mellow, perfumed wine. In "Mariana," "The Poet," and the sonnet to "J. M. K.," we find the earnest, contemplative side of the poet's nature, still lacking the certainty of his rhythmical genius, but already indicating the basis upon which he has built up all that is most enduring in his later work.

Inasmuch as the first of these two distinct elements is undoubtedly that which marks Tennyson's place in English literature, and accounts for his almost phenomenal popularity, it deserves a careful consideration. We find premonitions of it in Byron's "Stanzas for Music;" in passages of Keats's "Hyperion;" in Shelley's "Sky-lark," "Arethusa," and the choruses in "Prometheus Unbound;" in Coleridge, Mrs. Hemans (whose passing popularity is almost wholly forgotten now), and Barry Cornwall. But in Tennyson it first found

superb embodiment. Before him no poet dared to use sound and metre in the same manner as the architect and sculptor use form, and the painter form and color. It was a new delight, both to the ear and to an unrecognized sense which stands between sensuousness and pure intelligence. Because, more than most poets, he consciously possessed his power, he rapidly learned how to use it. His "Mariana," written at the age of twenty, is an extraordinary piece of minute and equally-finished detail. The scenery represents that of the marshy lowlands of Lincolnshire; the theme was suggested by a phrase of Shakespeare (a peculiarity wherein Browning, in "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came," has followed Tennyson); and the poem is a picture in the absolute Pre-Raphaelite manner, written more than a dozen years before Pre-Raphaelism was heard of in art. Tennyson, once, in talking with a fellow-author about his own reluctance to publish his poems, said, "There is my 'Mariana,' for example. A line in it is wrong, and I can not possibly change it, because it has been so long published; yet it always annoys me. I wrote:

‘The rusted nails fell from the knots
That held the peach to the garden-wall.’

Now, this is not a characteristic of the scenery I had in mind. The line should be: 'That held the *pear* to the *gable*-wall.' But the truth is that one who feels the forlornness and desolation of the ballad will not ask whether this or that detail is strictly true of the scenery which the author may have had in his mind. We are reminded of some of our own art-critics who turn away from the face of a saint or hero to find fault with the form of a leaf or pebble in the foreground. The chief defect of Tennyson's poetry is indicated in this over-anxiety in regard to unimportant details: it will be referred to again when I come to speak of his total achievement.

No English poet, with the possible exception of Byron, has so ministered to the natural appetite for poetry in the people as Tennyson. Byron did this—unintentionally, as all genius does—by warming and arousing their dormant sentiment: Tennyson by surprising them into the recognition of a new luxury in the harmony and movement of poetic speech. I use the word "luxury" purposely; for no other word will express the glow and richness and fullness of his technical qualities. It was scarcely a wonder that a generation accustomed to look for compact and palpable intellectual forms in poetry,—a generation which was still hostile to Keats and

Shelley, and had not yet caught up with Wordsworth—should at first regard this new flower as an interloping weed. But when its blossom-buds fully expanded into gorgeous, velvety-crimsoned and golden-anthered tiger-lilies, filling the atmosphere of our day with deep, intoxicating spice-odors, how much less wonder that others should snatch the seed and seek to make the acknowledged flower their own? Tennyson must be held guiltless of all that his followers and imitators have done. His own personal aim has been pure and lofty; but, without his intention or will, or even expectation, he has stimulated into existence a school of what might be called Decorative Poetry. I take the adjective from its present application to a school of art. I have heard more than one distinguished painter in England say of painting, "It is simply a decorative art. Hence it needs only a sufficiency of form to present color: the expression of an idea, perspective, *chiar' oscuro*, do not belong to it; for these address themselves to the mind, whereas art addresses itself only to the eye." This is no place to discuss such a materialistic heresy; I mention it only to make my meaning clear. We may equally say that decorative poetry addresses itself only to the ear, and seeks to occupy an intermediate ground between poetry and music. I need not give instances. They are becoming so common that the healthy natural taste of mankind, which may be surprised and perverted for a time, is beginning to grow fatigued, and the flower—as Tennyson justly complains in his somewhat petulant poem—will soon be a weed again.

But this is the one point wherein the poet, truly apprehending his art and rarely devoting all his powers to its service, oversteps its legitimate frontiers. His later omissions from the volume of 1830 have been made with a correct instinct, and I have revived them with reluctance, because they were necessary illustrations, in endeavoring to describe his poetic development. The volume published in the winter of 1832-3 is a remarkable advance in every respect. We see that indifference or ridicule have been powerless to stay the warm, opulent, symmetrical growth of his best powers. In the "Lady of Shalott," "Ænone," the "Lotus-Eaters," the "Palace of Art," and "Dream of Fair Women," we reach almost the level of his later achievement. In some of these the conception suffices to fill out the metrical form; the exquisite elaboration of detail is almost prescribed by the subject; and the luxuries of sound and movement, while not diminished, are made obedient to an intelligent melodic law. Rarely has a young man of twenty-two

written such poetry or justified such large predictions of his future. Yet he was still almost unnoticed and unread. Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Moore, and Lamb were then alive, yet we find no word of the new bard in their correspondence of those days. Bulwer's sneer, in his "New Timon," came twelve years later. For a decade thereafter Tennyson was silent, though not discouraged: we know very little of his life during this period, yet we may infer somewhat of its character from his later activity. We must suppose that he calmly waited, not doubtful of his power because of his very consciousness of it, but only the more ardently turned to its complete development through varied study, earnest thought, and free imagination. We may conjecture that more was written in these years than he has preserved; for when we reach the volume of 1842, we find every former characteristic of his verse heightened and purified, not changed. Only a sportive element, which does not quite reach the humorous, is introduced; it is another chord of the same strain. Midway between it and his poems of imaginative sentiment lie his idylls of English country life, wherein we seem to detect some remote influence of Wordsworth. With the exception of "Dora" and "The Gardener's Daughter," they are hardly to be called poems. The fault of over-attention to detail makes itself most keenly felt when the subject is barely realistic; we are more willing to notice the texture of cloth-of-gold than of russet frieze.

Such poems as "Morte d'Arthur," "The Talking Oak," "Locksley Hall," "Ulysses," and "The Two Voices," wherein thought, passion, and imagination, combined in their true proportions, breathe through full, rich, and haunting forms of verse, at once gave Tennyson his place in English literature. The fastidious care with which every image was wrought, every bar of the movement adjusted to the next and attuned to the music of all, every epithet chosen for point, freshness, and picturesque effect, every idea restrained within the limits of close and clear expression,—these virtues, so intimately fused, became a sudden delight for all lovers of poetry, and for a time affected their appreciation of its more unpretending and artless forms. The poet's narrow circle of admirers widened at once, taking in so many of the younger generation that the old doubters were one by one compelled to yield. Poe, possessing much of the same artistic genius in poetry, was the first American author to welcome Tennyson; and I still remember the eagerness with which, as a boy of seventeen, after reading his paper, I sought for the vol-

ume,—and I remember also the strange sense of mental dazzle and bewilderment I experienced on the first perusal of it. I can only compare it to the first sight of a sunlit landscape through a prism: every object has a rainbowed outline. One is fascinated to look again and again, though the eyes ache.

The four succeeding volumes—"The Princess," "In Memoriam," "Maud," and "Idylls of the King"—exhibit more variety, perhaps, but no higher reach of technical achievement. There is a limit to the latter, so far as it is the result of devoted effort; and he who could write "Mariana" at twenty-two and the "Morte d'Arthur" at thirty-two had little to learn through that channel. All possible loftier effects depend upon the intensity of a self-forgetting imaginative or intellectual passion. Whoever will read the speech of Arthur to the Queen, in the idyll "Guinevere," will find the fitting example. Tennyson's power of receiving strong and multiform impressions can not be for a moment doubted; but one who possesses so consciously the rarest qualities of his art, and so deliberately devotes his life to the perfection thereof, is exposed to a danger which he can never entirely recognize, and thus overcome. The artistic sense, so constantly and exquisitely refined, acquires an insidious mastery over the free idea, and partly conceals it under the very perfection of illustration which is meant to present it in its full proportions. That higher sense, which determines the relative value of such illustrations, becomes dulled: each asserts its equal right, and receives equal attention, so it carry a tempting epithet with it; and the reader is constantly hurried back and forth, to and from the theme of the poem, by metaphors and descriptions so bright, keen, and true, that each must be separately enjoyed. We do not walk as in a path, towards some shining peak in the distance; but as over a lush meadow, where new, enchanting blossoms, to the right and left, entice our steps hither and thither. A poetical conception requires perspective, balance of tints, concentration of the highest light, no less than a picture: where, from beginning to end, every detail is presented with equal prominence and elaborated with equal skill, there is no resting-place for the mind, as, in a similar picture, there is none for the eye. I do not mean that this is a pervading fault of Tennyson: his instinct is too true to allow it to vitiate his most earnest work; but his methods of labor do not allow him wholly to escape it. There are few forms of knowledge which he has neglected, and few which he has not used in the service of poetry. He rarely mistakes through deficient perception, but very

frequently through correct perception, asserting itself without regard to its proper place and value. All objects present themselves to him with such distinctness of illustration that he forgets the unfamiliarity of the reader with their qualities. When he writes of a "clear germander eye," how many are there who know or remember that a germander is a wild plant with a blue flower? He speaks of hair "more black than ash-buds in the front of March"—and we are obliged to pause and consider whether ash-buds are black. Only a few will recall the fact that they are an intense, glossy brown. In "The Princess" we find:

"Walter *warped* his mouth at this
To something so mock-solemn that I laugh'd,
And Lilia woke with *sudden-shrilling* mirth
An echo like a ghostly woodpecker,
Hid in the ruins."

I italicize expressions which are simply unusual—original by force of will—not happy, nor agreeable. It is quite impossible to imagine laughter the echo of which sounds like a ghostly woodpecker! In "Audley Court" we come upon this passage:

"A damask napkin, *wrought with horse and hound,*"
. . . "a dusky loaf that smelt of home,
And, half cut-down, a pasty costly made,
Where quail and pigeon, lark and leveret lay,
Like fossils of the rock, with golden yolks
Imbedded and injellied; last, with these,
A flask of cider from his father's vats,
Prime, which I knew."

Here we must have even the pattern of the napkin, the ingredients of the pasty, and the narrator's indorsement of the cider! To be sure, "Audley Court" is a sportive exercise of the author's mind, not a poem; but this tendency to emphasize each particular by a clever word or phrase exhibits itself in many of his earnest and even noble poems. The exquisite little poem of "The Brook" is set in a curious framework of lovers' quarrels, selling horses, and emigration to Australia, and we are furnished with some unnecessary geographical facts:

"Katie walks
By the long wash of Australasian seas,
Far off, and holds her head to other stars,
And breathes in converse seasons."

Mr. Fields informs us that the italicized line is a special favorite with the author, on account of its sustained rhythmical quality. It is certainly a fine line, but not equal to the following, in Bryant's poem of "The Sea:"

"The long wave rolling from the Southern Pole
To break upon Japan."

In the prologue to "The Princess," the lunch in the ruins is "silver-set"—a fact nobody cares at all to know—and Lilia taps with a "silken-sandalled" foot. But the last canto of this poem furnishes the most striking, because most beautiful, illustration of a description out of place. The wounded Prince, tended by the haughty Ida, describes that scene of the late night melting into dawn, when the barrier between the hearts of the two was suddenly struck down:

"and all
Her falser self slipt from her like a robe,
And left her woman, lovelier in her mood
Than in her mould that other, when she came
From barren deeps to conquer all with love;
And down the streaming crystal dropt; and she
Far-fleeted by the purple island-sides,
Naked, a double light in air and wave,
To meet her Graces, where they deck'd her out
For worship without end: nor end of mine,
Stateliest, for thee! but mute she glided forth,
Nor glanced behind her, and I sank and slept,
Filled thro' and thro' with love, a happy sleep."

The italicized passage contains an exquisite, rapid picture of Aphrodite, floating along the wave to her home at Paphos; but what must we think of the lover who, in relating the supreme moment of his passion, could turn aside to interpolate it? Its very loveliness emphasizes his utter forgetfulness of the governing theme; and, whether the situation be called dramatic or not, it is amenable to the strictest laws of dramatic art. So, in the wonderfully musical idyll which Ida soon afterward reads, the maid is represented as living aloft among the glaciers, and the man as a dweller of the valley,—the reverse of the usual fact; and this passage:

"the firths of ice,
That huddling slant in furrow-cloven falls
To roll the torrent out of dusky doors,"

is almost incomprehensible to one who has not looked with his own

bodily eyes upon the *Mer de Glace*. The poem, in fact, abounds with instances where the expression, as a whole, is weakened and confused by the author's tendency to make each particular complete, without reference to its relation to others. I give a few out of many instances which might be quoted, italicizing the words which specially mark the incongruity resulting from this tendency :

" he *chewed*
The thriced-turned cud of wrath, and *cooked* his spleen."

" who first had dared
To *leap* the *rotten pales* of prejudice,
Disyoke their necks from custom, and *assert*
None lordlier than themselves."

" and betwixt them *blossomed up*,
From out a common *vein* of memory,
Sweet household *talk*."

" he that doth not, lives
A *drowning* life, *besotted* in sweet self,
Or *pires* in sad experience worse than death,
Or keeps his winged affections clipt with crime."

" and loved thee seen, and saw
Thee woman thro' *the crust of iron moods*
That *masked* thee from men's reverence *up*, and *forced*
Sweet love on pranks of saucy boyhood."

" whene'er she moves
A *Samian Herè* rises and she speaks
A *Memnon* smitten by the morning sun."

We might also ask, what is "a showery glance"? and what is "the green gleam of dewy-tassel'd trees"? When he writes, "And the great stars that *globed themselves* in heaven," in describing a tropical night, we can not feel quite certain of the truth of his description. In "The Voyage," nevertheless, we find an image stolen directly from Nature, as unexpected as it is exquisite,—yet hardly one reader in a thousand will understand it :

" Far ran the naked moon across
The houseless ocean's heaving field,
Or flying shone, *the silver boss*
Of her own halo's dusky shield."

I have often seen, on the Caribbean Sea, a luminous prismatic halo around the moon, between which and the clear white light of her

disk, the space became dusky almost to blackness. In contrast with this perfect figure is the term "houseless," as applied to the ocean. It is true, but unnecessarily so; it is new, but awakes no pleasant surprise. One might as well say, "the treeless Alpine summit," or "the mountainless marsh." The frequent recurrence of epithets which do not bear the stamp of a keen, bright, spontaneous presentation to the author's mind, but have been deliberately *studied*,—and hence suggest more or less of transient mood or design,—interferes with our maturer enjoyment of much of Tennyson's poetry.

Although his genius is essentially lyrical—for even the poems which have an epic character are full of subtle refrains and melodic effects—the same over-refinement of the artistic sense affects his lyric verse. Most of his brief lays, and also "Locksley Hall," are comparatively free from it: in the "Talking Oak" and the "Dream of Fair Women" it is in a measure prescribed by his manner of treatment, and in his quaint, half-sportive ballads it is not out of place. In the "Palace of Art," however, the conception almost disappears under the elaboration of detail; the earlier idylls of country life are almost all tintured with it, and "Maud," which is a chaplet of lyric pearls (Roman and real mixed), is vitiated with it throughout. The lyric is a completely-unfolded blossom of the poet's mind: it may be only a violet or a speedwell; it may be a golden lily or a rose-veined lotus; but it must keep its native color and odor. If powdered even with the dust of diamonds, or touched even with oil of ineffable fragrance, something of its purer and finer beauty thenceforth vanishes.

It may seem surprising, at first, that a quality which sprang from the truest native instinct should gradually mislead or partially benumb that instinct. Tennyson's life has been governed by his fervent devotion to poetry: no knight of the chivalric ages was ever so constant to his mistress. But he has been, to some extent, a poetic anchorite. His vigils have been too long and lonely, his intellectual activity too closely restricted to a single form of expression. What poet of equal renown, in all history, has been so solely a poet as he? He has acquainted himself with all forms of knowledge—Thackeray once said to me, "Tennyson is the wisest man I know"—and all for the sake of poetry; yet, even as the anchorite confounds his natural aspiration with the spiritual effort born of his solitary brooding, so may the poet alloy his creative faculty by shutting himself up alone with it. He may have written prose, but I do not

know where fifty lines of it are to be found. Consequently his ideas and speculations on other subjects, which must crowd his mind uncomfortably at times, force their entrance into his verse; and, in spite of his artistic sense, not always with that poetic necessity which the reader instantly recognizes. In "In Memoriam," he has justified himself with wonderful ability: with the exception of the single idyll of "Guinevere" and the brief poem of "Tithonus," he has written nothing purer and more evenly sustained at a lofty height.

I assume that Tennyson's studies in literature have been very thorough and general, for I have been surprised by suggestions of his lines in the most unexpected places. Every author is familiar with the insidious way in which old phrases or images, which have preserved themselves in the mind but forgotten their origin, will quietly slip into place when the like of them is needed. Almost every thing in Gray, for example, breathes of earlier sources, yet it were both flippant and absurd to assert that he deliberately selected his poetical imagery from his scholastic stores. Goethe held that whatever an author can use with a new significance, or invest with some additional charm, he has a right to take freely; and this right has long been exercised in the kindred arts. Mr. Stedman was the first to show how freely, yet with what other application, Tennyson has drawn from Theocritus, and his paper thereon, in the "Victorian Poets," is an admirable specimen of clear critical insight and fairness. In the course of my reading, I have frequently come upon passages which seem to have been the suggestions—sometimes, possibly, only the seeds of seeds—of fuller, more elaborately wrought poetic designs in Tennyson's works. The latter are neither transfers nor imitations, but rather blossoms which have expanded from remembered buds. In Pope's "Dunciad" (Book IV.) there are the lines:

"With that a wizard old his cup extends,
Which whoso tastes forgets his former friends,
Sire, ancestors, himself."

We are directly reminded of "that enchanted stem," in the "Lotos-Eaters," which

"whoso did receive of them
And taste,"

sat down and ceased to care for the ties of his former life. The idyll called "The Last Tournament" contains a strange, quaint

catch, which Tristram sings, beginning, "Ay, ay, O ay,—the winds that bend the brier!"—which, like a German *Leich* of the Middle Ages, seems to have been written under the compulsion of certain musical notes. But there is a sonnet of Sir Philip Sidney, ending with the line, "I, I, O, I, may say that she is mine,"—which one can not help thinking may have suggested Tennyson's pre-refrain of exactly similar sounds.

In Shelley's "Triumph of Life," one of his last poems, will be found the complete outline of Tennyson's "Vision of Sin." The passage is too long to quote, but whoever will turn to the former poem and read the stanzas from the forty-sixth to the fifty-ninth, inclusive, will have no difficulty in recognizing the resemblance. Tennyson's "Brook" has a freshness and liquid babble of selected words which charmed every body when it appeared :

"I chatter over stony ways
In little sharps and trebles ;
I bubble into eddying bays,
I babble on the pebbles.

"With many a curve my banks I fret,
By many a field and fallow,
And many a fairy foreland set
With willow-weed and mallow."

But surely the music of this, and the germ of the lyric, were anticipated by Burns in the following stanza of his "Hallowe'en:"

"Whyles oure a linn the burnie plays,
As through the glen it wimpl't ;
Whyles round a rocky scaur it strays ;
Whyles in a wiel it dimpl't ;
Whyles glittered to the nightly rays
Wi' bickering, dancing dazzle ;
Whyles cookit underneath the braes,
Below the spreading hazel."

In the delightful volume on Corsica by Ferdinand Gregorovius, there is a cradle-song of the Corsican mothers, the first stanza of which runs thus, in a translation as literal as possible :

"A little pearl-laden ship, my darling,
Thou carriest silver stores,
And with thy silken sails all set,
Com'st from the Indian shores ;

And wrought with the finest workmanship
 Are all thy golden oars.
 Sleep, my little one, sleep a little while,
Ninni nanna, sleep !"

Who does not think, at once, of the cradle-song in "The Princess"—

"Father will come to his babe in the nest,
 Silver sails all out of the west,
 Under the silver moon :
 Sleep, my little one, sleep, my pretty one, sleep !"

Friedrich von Logau, the Silesian poet of the seventeenth century, has this couplet among his poetical "Aphorisms:—

"Roses are jewels of Spring, and Spring is the rose of the year :
 Princess-rose of the roses art thou, and justly, my dear !"

Tennyson may never have seen this couplet; but it directly suggests the iteration of his reference to the roses in "Maud," culminating in the line, "Queen-rose of the rosebud garden of girls." Even if these instances are referable to some distinct reminiscence, they only illustrate the breadth and earnestness of the author's literary studies. I mention them with an intention the farthest possible from disparagement: a genius so exceptional in its history invites all forms of analysis. A poet who thus incases himself in the triple brass of his art, unwittingly challenges the world to test its temper.

Another interesting illustration of Tennyson's over-anxiety in regard to detail is furnished by those passages which he has changed in later editions of his works. In very few instances has he improved by retouching, while in others the damage inflicted was so evident as to provoke a general protest. Few of his lyrical fragments have so haunted the memories of his readers as this, from "The Princess:—

"Thy voice is heard through rolling drums,
 That beat to battle where he stands ;
 Thy face across his fancy comes,
 And gives the battle to his hands :
 A moment, while the trumpets blow,
 He sees his brood about thy knee :
 The next, like fire he meets the foe,
 And strikes him dead for thine and thee."

Nothing could be more compact, resonant, and vivid. Why the

author should have been dissatisfied with it is an inscrutable mystery; equally so why he should have preferred the following as a substitute:

“ Lady, let the rolling drums
Beat to battle where thy warrior stands:
Now thy face across his fancy comes,
And gives the battle to his hands.

“ Lady, let the trumpets blow,
Clasp thy little babes about thy knee:
Now their warrior father meets the foe,
And strikes him dead for thine and thee.”

How limp and languid are these lines, by contrast! Tennyson has since been prevailed upon to restore the first song to its place in the Medley; but a perverse affection leads him still to print the latter among his poems. In the early editions, the lines—

“ and all the rich to-come
Reels, as the golden autumn woodland reels
Athwart the smoke of burning *flowers* ”—

suggested a more delicate fancy than the poet seems to have intended. They gave us a vision of the autumnal haze, slowly gathering from myriads of flowers as they burn away in the last ardors of summer. But now the last line reads, “Athwart the smoke of burning *weeds*,” which only paints for us an ordinary piece of farm-work. Besides, the repetition of *ee* in “reels” and “weeds” utterly destroys the original melody, which requires the open, expansive sound of “flowers.” In “Maud,” on the other hand, Tennyson has recognized the weakness of the former melodramatic close—“the blood-red blossom of war with a heart of fire,”—and the need of some hint of sounder change in the nature of the morbid hero. The six lines which he has added are not particularly impressive, but they furnish a partial remedy for both faults.

In the “Idylls of the King” we have an example of a lofty poetic theme weakened in exact proportion as it is carried beyond the limits of the first conception. Whether there was an original epic which, as we are told in the prologue to the “Morte d’Arthur,” was thrown into the fire, is a matter of conjecture; but the first volume containing “Enid,” “Vivien,” “Elaine” and “Guinevere,” shows such a fine selection of episodes from the Arthurian legends, and so much design to make each artistically complete in itself,

that the continuation of the series must at least have been an unsettled or a postponed question. The three which were next added (not counting "The Passing of Arthur"), after some years, have less of freshness and resonance and fluency. There is more for us in the early ballad of "Sir Galahad" than in the later episode of "The Holy Grail;" for this, like a modern Madonna compared with those of Fra Angelico or Raphael, gives us technical imitation instead of unthinking faith. We remember Wolfram von Eschenbach, and the wonderfully mystic atmosphere of his "Parzival," and feel how far the real inspiration of the legend lies behind any poet of our day. Tennyson's verse, also, moves more cautiously in these added idylls: the lines no longer beat, sharp-smitten with the dint of armed heels, as in the "Morte d'Arthur;" his Muse takes heed to her feet, picks her way, is conscious of her graceful steps and repeats them. "The Last Tournament," which next followed, does rough violence to the Armoric legend of Tristram and Iseult. By omitting the magic potion—the relation whereof forms such an exquisite episode in Gottfried von Strassburg's epic—the hero and heroine become vulgar sinners, and the true tragic element of the story is lost. Tennyson's purpose was evidently to create a darker foil for the sin of Lancelot and Guinevere; and the closing passage, where Arthur comes home to find the Queen's bower dark and deserted, is a stroke of genius: but we can not easily forgive the degradation of a theme so nobly and pathetically treated by the mediæval minstrels. The last-written idyll, "Gareth and Lynette," is the most elaborately-wrought of all. It is drawn like a series of vignettes in interlacing arabesque patterns,

"All garlanded with carven imageries
Of fruits, and flowers, and bunches of knot-grass,
And diamonded with panes of quaint device,"—

constantly reminding us not only of the detached clevernesses with which it abounds, but also of the effort to make them clever. Here, as in many other places, we might almost apply his own reference to the Riddling of the Bards:

"Confusion, and illusion, and relation,
Elusion and occasion, and evasion."

Thus, for a single example, he compares a shield to a dandelion:

“ As if the flower,
That blows a globe of after arrowlets,
Ten thousand-fold had grown, flash'd the fierce shield,
All sun.”

So, when he says in the song, “O, rainbow with *three* colors after rain,” he speaks from modern scientific knowledge of the primary colors. To the ignorant eye, the rainbow can not possibly have less than four colors, and perhaps oftenest five. The verse in these two last idylls becomes still more labored. The purposed discords are generally unskillful; the lines are welded by hammering, not poured molten from the perfect fusion of their elements. The similes show, in their very character, how strenuously they have been sought, and some of them, as,

“ In letters like to those the vexillary
Hath left crag-carven o'er the streaming Gelt ”—

are undecipherable to most readers.

Nothing, however, more strikingly proves the genuineness of the artistic sense underlying all these faults which spring from intellectual seclusion and constant, near-sighted application to the art, than the periods of fresh, recuperative energy which occur in Tennyson's poetry. After “The Princess” came “In Memoriam;” after “Maud,” the first four Idylls of the King; after the last of these and “Enoch Arden” (his poorest narrative poem), the dramas of “Queen Mary” and “Harold.” His most genuine triumphs are due to this quality of untiring endeavor. His great popularity may have occasionally seduced him to repeat some strains merely because they were welcome to the general ear, but his aim has never been deflected from the mark of high achievement. We constantly feel, it is true, that he puts forth his utmost fire, force, and knowledge: behind his poems there is no such background of suggested capacities, broader powers, possibilities of imagination, as we feel when reading Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, and even sometimes Keats and Shelley. When he reaches a high level, he does not hang on moveless wings like a Theban eagle, but keeps his place by a rapid succession of strokes. Yet, whatever he may lack of that “supreme dominion” which belongs only to the masters of song, his life has been an effort to conquer and possess it.

Tennyson's two recent dramatic poems have been a surprise to all who have simply enjoyed his previous works without perceiving

the nature of his dominant intellectual passion. In the elaboration of poetic detail he had already reached the limit of his powers,—nay, whether conscious of the fact or not, he had passed the limit drawn by the higher law of proportion. He was compelled to turn to an untried form; and, having made the selection, a true instinct next compelled him to acquire an untried manner. He comes back to the simple language through which human character must express itself in the drama, resists (we can not doubt) the continual temptations of metaphor and all other graces of his lyric genius, studies sharper contrasts and broader effects, and so narrowly misses a crowning success that his failure becomes a relative triumph. The dramatic faults of “Queen Mary” have been generally recognized: they are partly inherent in the subject, into which no single, coherent, tragic element can be forced, and partly in overweighting each one of the many characters with his or her own separate interest. “Harold” is constructed with more skill, and we do not readily see why it should not be regarded as a great dramatic poem. It is full of strong and vivid passages; the characters are carefully studied, the blank verse is admirable, and the gleams of pure poetry which brighten it are sobered to the true tone. In execution it is almost wholly free from the faults which I have indicated. The heroic pitch is maintained throughout, based upon that heroism in the author’s nature which impels him to conquer the world’s doubt. Its only defect is that of *composition*, in the sense used by painters—in the grouping of characters and the disposition of scenes, which should gain in action and intensity as they approach the overhanging doom. Thus, the closing description of the Battle of Hastings, a masterly piece of work, would quite destroy the effect of the tragedy if it were represented upon the stage. It is written for the brain and the ear, not for the eye.

A theatrical success, however,—though greatly desirable for such works in these days of diluted comedy and *opera bouffe*,—would add little to Tennyson’s fame. It would only prove his capacity to acquire and apply the secrets of technical effect. Meanwhile the two dramas remain, noble examples of a lofty ambition and a devotion to poetic art which knows not fatigue or discouragement. Without them, fellow-poets might have understood, but the world could never have appreciated, how much may be attained by trained and conscious genius. There is a tendency, just now, in literary criticism, to glorify the seeming unconsciousness

of earlier poets—as if the latter never knew their fortunate hours and the quality of their best achievement! There can be no over-consciousness of genius, nor of the artistic sense,—though there may be in the *use* of the latter. Tennyson illustrates both: his failures have their source in the one, his triumphs in the other. Was it his consciousness, or a power subtle and inevitable as destiny, which led him to turn from the many-colored, tapestried halls of “The Princess” to the cool, serene, marble-pillared atrium of “In Memoriam”? Let the critic adjust the answer according to his theory!

I had not intended to write of the moral and intellectual tendencies of Tennyson’s mind, as expressed in his poetry; but a reference to them, at least, seems appropriate, even in a discussion of his literary individuality. He seems to belong to a class which has existed for a generation and is gradually increasing in number—a class described by Mr. Lowell, in his poem of “Fitz Adam,” as (I give the sense, not the words) Democratic in theory, and Tory through the tastes and the senses. He combines hope and prophecy for all mankind with reverence for established institutions. He talks of the larger future, the more perfect race, of the time when the battle-flags shall be furled in the Parliament of Man, yet calls John Bright

“ This broad-brimmed hawker of holy things,
Whose ear is stuff’d with his cotton, and rings
Even in dreams to the chink of his pence,
This huckster put down war?”

In a word, his dream of progress is a vague and shining mist, his view of the Present narrow and partisan. His political lyrics, for this reason, are already forgotten: they were inspired by the fierce prejudices of the moment, not by that large, full-hearted enthusiasm for the Right, for Freedom and Humanity, which gives immortality to Körner and Whittier. In ethical and theological speculation, also, Tennyson gives expression—but cautiously—to many ideas which haunt his time. The most of these are contained in “In Memoriam,” where they are sometimes definite, sometimes obscure; for I have heard very different interpretations applied by laymen in poetry to the same lines. The reference to the embryonic theory in the last poem, for instance, escapes most readers. But he has not ventured beyond the common level of speculation, nor fore-spoken the deeper problems which shall engage the generation to

come. Setting his face towards the Past, in the themes wherein he seems most to delight, he studies the Future as it is reflected, in occasional gleams, from the mirror of Arthur's shield.

Hundreds of Tennyson's lines and phrases have become fixed in the popular memory ; and there is scarcely one that is not suggestive of beauty, or consoling, or heartening. His humanity is not a passion, but it uses occasion to express itself ; his exclusive habits and tastes are only to be implied from his works. He delights to sing of Honor, and Chastity, and Fidelity, and his most voluptuous measures celebrate no greater indulgences than indolence and the sensuous delight of life. With an influence in literature unsurpassed since that of Byron, he may have incited a morbid craving for opulent speech in less gifted writers, but he has never disseminated morbid views of life. His *conscious* teaching has always been wholesome and elevating. In spite of the excessive art, which I have treated as his prominent fault as a poet,—nay, partly in consequence of it,—he has given more and keener delight to the reading world than any other author during his lifetime. This is an honorable, enduring, and far-shining record. I know not where to turn for an equal illustration of the prizes to be won and the dangers to be encountered, through the consecration of a life to the sole service of poetry.

Tennyson has thoroughly experienced the two extreme phases of the world's regard. For twelve years after his first appearance as a poet, he was quietly overlooked by the public, and was treated to more derision than criticism by the literary journals. When his popularity once struck root, it grew rapidly, and in a few years became an overshadowing fashion. Since the publication of his first Idylls of the King, it has been almost considered as a heresy, in England, to question the perfection of his poetry ; even the sin of his art came to be regarded as its special virtue. The estimate of his performance rose into that extravagance which sooner or later provokes a reaction against itself. There are, at present, signs of the beginning of such a reaction, and we need not be surprised if (as in Byron's case) it should swing past the line of justice, and end by undervaluing, for a time, many of the poet's high and genuine qualities. This is the usual law of a literary fame which has known such vicissitudes. Its vibrations, though lessened, continue until Time, the sure corrector of all aberrations of human judgment, determines its moveless place. And Tennyson's place in the literature of the English language, whatever may be its relation to that of the acknowledged masters of song, is sure to be high and permanent.

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE.

NEARLY fifty years since, before the Union included Texas, New Mexico, or California, and when its population numbered but ten millions, on the 22d of February, 1822, Mr. Webster delivered at the National Capitol a speech in honor of the Centennial birthday of Washington.

“Gentlemen,” he said, “for the earth which we inhabit, and the whole circle of the sun, for all the unborn races of mankind, we seem to hold in our hands, for their weal or woe, the fate of this experiment. If we fail, who shall venture its repetition? If this great Western sun be struck out of the firmament, at what other fountain shall the lamp of liberty hereafter be lighted? What other orb shall emit a ray to glimmer even on the darkness of the world?”

There was no danger, he added, in our overrating or overstating the important part which we were then acting in human affairs. The world was regarding us with a deep anxiety to learn whether free States might be stable as well as free, whether popular power might be trusted as well as feared; in short, whether regular and virtuous self-government was a vision for the contemplation of theorists, or a truth established and brought into practice in the country of Washington. As to our stability, the integrity of the national territory, and the supremacy of the national power, the world has not doubted since our civil war. But as regards the wisdom and virtue of our self-government, Americans themselves have doubted much, and Europe awaits on this point more satisfactory evidence than has been recently furnished. It is not the interest of imperial, aristocratic, and military governments to magnify the blessing and the permanence of popular institutions, nor to encourage their subjects in emigrating to our shores; and the European press, as inspired by or controlled in the ruling interest, seldom brightens with rosy tints its narrative of current events in America. It is apt, on the contrary, to present with unamiability fidelity and in sombre hues the less pleasing features of American life, political and social, especially when they are supposed to illustrate the character and influence of republican institutions.

Of late years Europe has been made familiar with the Southern cry of abuses and exactions on the part of the governments imposed upon the vanquished States, with the mercenary aims and

arbitrary methods of revenue officers, with flagrant departures from economy and justice at the door of Congress, with the disclosures of the *Credit Mobilier*, involving the characters of senators and representatives, which were followed by the act of legislation known as "the Salary Grab." Europe was advised of Sanborn contracts and moiety spoils, of the whisky frauds in the Western States, of the resolution and skill with which Mr. Secretary Bristow unearthed and grappled with that daring combination to defraud the Treasury, and of the treatment awarded to that faithful officer for the efforts to purify his Department. Europe was advised also of the attempted impeachment of the Secretary of War for official corruption, in selling the traderships of our Western forts for moneys that were to be extorted in turn from the soldiers, Indians, and pioneers, whom the President and the War Secretary were bound especially to protect.

It has been intimated abroad that our republican Government had become more personal in its character, and more arbitrary in its disregard of national traditions, than any Government in Europe; that the President had deliberately set aside the rules of the civil service, to which he was pledged, to readopt the immoral doctrine, "that to the victor belongs the spoils," and that he had acquiesced in the claim of senators and representatives to share in their distribution; that in this course he was sustained by the interested flattery of those around him who were more careful than Mr. Bristow to maintain their positions; that his Cabinet ministers, regardless of all remonstrances against lowering the tone of the Government, joined the President in associating with public plunderers, "loaded with odium and riches." In fact, it was widely suggested that the dignity, rights, and interest of the people were scarcely more regarded at Washington, in the distribution of offices and influence, than they were by the sovereigns of the olden time, who bestowed cities or provinces as marriage portions, and gave titles to the boon companions in whose society the king amused himself. Of the actual condition of our civil service, and of the class of men occasionally selected for the highest posts, Europe learned something on her own soil at the Vienna Exposition.

A rare opportunity had presented itself for calling to the front our representatives of the science, art, industry, and culture of the country, and intrusting the task of a fitting exhibition from America to eminent and experienced gentlemen, whose

names would inspire respect and confidence. The idea would hardly have occurred to Europeans accustomed to watch with wonder the majestic march of the republic, that when the dignity and honor of the country were at stake, with its scientific fame, its commercial interests, and the obligations of international courtesy, so promptly recognized by the great powers in sending their crown-princes and men illustrious in their several walks to do honor to the Emperor of Austria and the august occasion, the Washington Government could regard it as a convenient chance for satisfying disappointed and exacting partisans: or that it could descend so far for that purpose, that the management of the Commission should fall into the hands of men who would use the occasion for a job, and grant concessions with an eye to profit. The Commission, however, which the President did appoint was suspended by his order at Vienna for "irregularities" committed by those who controlled the management. The suspension was ordered as the Exposition was about to open, and the assembled nationalities, who were waiting to welcome American representatives of the highest culture, were neither blind nor indifferent to the incident, which in some degree concerned them all, and which the indifference of the American Government to the respectability of its agents had allowed to mar the Imperial programme. For a time the Government, startled by the disgrace, rose to an appreciation of its duty, and the spirited tone of its instructions and volunteered pledges contrasted strangely with its subsequent conduct, when the danger was passed and its assurances forgotten. On the 21st of April it had telegraphed, "The Commission must be free from taint. Your action in suspending any suspected party will be sustained, no matter what may be his position. The honor of the country requires thorough examination and decided action." All that skill, tact, and perseverance could do to redeem the honor of the Government and the interest of the exhibitors was well and promptly done by three well-known gentlemen, Colonel Le Grand B. Cannon, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt of New York, and Mr. C. F. Spang of Pittsburg, who without regard to personal convenience placed themselves at the disposal of the President as temporary Commissioners. Within a fortnight they established system and order where all had been chaos: for, as their report showed, the suspended Commissioners had no plans, no records, no accounts. Colonel Cannon and his associates, by their character and bearing, immediately commanded the confidence and regard of the Im-

perial and foreign Commissioners. But the erections in the Prater by the venders of American drinks, whose quarrels and revelations had scandalized the City of the Kaiser, continued to recall the official corruption which had multiplied their number; and the attempt under cover of our flag to defraud the Austrian customs of duties on private goods improperly shipped by the Government vessels, was succeeded by an attempt of the first assistant to appropriate moneys of the United States. A want of perception of the simplest proprieties has been sometimes remarked in our foreign agents, as in the story told of an American envoy, who accepted a box at the opera from the Premier, and filled it with his domestics. The Government at Washington seemed equally unconscious of the discourtesy shown by unfit appointments to the Austrian Government, the International Commissioners, and to the world assembled at Vienna.

Nor did the Cabinet appear to appreciate the effect of the procedure upon our national reputation, even after an official investigation had exhibited the taking of moneys from the grantees of bars and restaurants, and other "irregularities" which were admitted and defended by the Chief Commissioner. The President, yielding to complaints and solicitations, rewarded his management by a new appointment as Consul-General.

This was represented, not unreasonably, as a virtual announcement to Europe that the President, abandoning the ground taken in his order of suspension, now regarded the management of the Chief of the Commission as consistent with the standard adopted at Washington of official fitness and international courtesy.

Whatever the motive which induced the Government to make the objectionable appointments, or to reward at the close the Commissioner whose theories and practices had been compromising and disastrous, few stronger illustrations could be found of the demoralizing influences which flow from a disregard of the principle of fitness in foreign appointments. It would seem, too, that the Government had resorted to unusual measures to divert the attention of the country from an incident which the new appointment of the Commissioner had recalled to the recollection of the world. The abstract of the correspondence and report called for and submitted to the Senate was curious alike in its omissions of evidence, its perversion of the report, and its pretended charge against Colonel Cannon and his associates, a charge formulated and published by the State Department, of being interested in sewing-machines. The Department, when

called upon to publish the truth, declined, with the remark that "the whole subject was painful to the President." This apology, echoing the imperial maxim, the sovereign's pleasure is the highest law, teaches its own lesson. No incident, perhaps, of the last Administration could throw more light on the character of its policy in the matter of appointments, its treatment of official incapacity and corruption, and its idea of loyalty to faithful agents, than the scandal at Vienna.

It was followed by the reappearance, in the War Department at Washington, of the same habit of taking moneys from the grantees of concessions which the commissioner of the State Department had illustrated and defended at the Austrian capital, and which the Government by its action had seemed to sanction and reward.

When General Grant addressed to Congress his last annual message at the close of our Centennial year, the Presidential question was still unsettled, and it seemed not improbable that the great party which had intrusted to his keeping the honor of the republic had been helplessly wrecked by the errors of his Administration. General Grant had been elected in 1868 by 214 electoral votes against 71 cast for Governor Seymour; and in 1876 that large majority had vanished, and the fate of the party hung upon a single vote.

There is something in the reflections of the retiring President, as he reviewed and moralized upon his work, and strove to show that the blame was not all his own, which recalls the picture of Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage. "It was my fortune or misfortune," pleaded the President in a tone of apology and excuse, which the world could hardly have expected from the victor of Vicksburg and Appomattox, "to be called to the office of Chief Executive without any previous political training. . . . Under such circumstances it is but reasonable to suppose that errors of judgment must have occurred, mistakes have been made, as all can see, and I admit. . . . But I leave comparisons to history, claiming only that failures have been errors of judgment, not of intent."

The American people, generous to a fault, and never forgetful of military services, will listen to every plea in mitigation offered by the great General, whom, as he plaintively reminds them, they had transferred from the head of the army to the chair of state, with only the training of a soldier to meet the highest responsibilities of a statesman. But the fact remains, that "mistakes were made," and that the Republican party was brought to the very brink of ruin.

General Grant's apology, that the mistakes were chiefly due to

appointments being made upon recommendations of the representatives chosen directly by the people, goes to confirm the reform policy of President Hayes. But the moral responsibility that rested upon the advisers of General Grant in and out of the Cabinet can not be denied; and his own language seems to indicate that they had left him in ignorance of constitutional principles and of historic traditions; of the fact that the power of removal from office is a constructive power, not granted by the Constitution, but introduced to meet cases of extreme necessity; and that Mr. Madison had said that if a President should resort to that power when not required by any public exigency, and merely for personal objects, he would deserve to be impeached.

General Grant alluded to Washington, and appealed to history, seemingly unconscious of the facts recalled by Mr. Eaton, that Washington removed but nine persons (except for one cause); John Adams but nine, and not one on account of opinion; Jefferson but thirty-nine; Madison only five; Monroe, nine; and J. Q. Adams, two. It was not till the time of Jackson that there commenced a system of political proscription and appointment for partisan service, or for personal fealty to party leaders—a system which Webster denounced. "Sir," he said, and we know the extent to which the prediction has been recently verified, "if this course of things can not be checked, good men will grow tired of the exercise of political privileges. They will have nothing to do with popular elections. They will see that such elections are but a mere selfish scramble for office, and they will abandon the Government to the scramble of the bold, the daring, and the desperate."

Among the noticeable acts of General Grant bearing upon our foreign policy, was one that seemed to imply a strange forgetfulness of Mr. Monroe's declaration made in 1823, touching foreign intervention in this hemisphere, a declaration that accorded perfectly with the maxims bequeathed to us by Washington. The country held with Mr. Webster, that it was "wise, prudent, and patriotic," and the spirit of that declaration lives to-day in the national sentiment.

Recognizing the important differences between the political systems of Europe and America, we take no part in the wars of Europe in matters relating to themselves, and we expect a similar reserve on their part in regard to affairs in this hemisphere, with which we are immediately connected.

Mr. Webster in his speech on the Panama Mission in 1826 said :

“ This declaration of Mr. Monroe did great honor to the principle and spirit of the Government. It can not be taken back, retracted, or annulled without disgrace. It met, sir, with the entire concurrence and hearty approbation of the country. I look on the message of December, 1823, as forming a bright page in our history. I will help neither to erase it nor tear it out ; nor shall it be by any act of mine blurred or blotted. It did honor to the sagacity of the Government, and I will not diminish that honor. It elevated the hopes and satisfied the patriotism of the people. Over those hopes I will not bring a mildew, nor will I put that gratified patriotism to shame.”—*Webster's Works*, iii., pp. 203, 204-5.

Unfortunately, President Grant and his Cabinet do not seem to have shared Mr. Webster's scruples. On the 21st of January, 1876, the President submitted to Congress some correspondence about Cuba, including an elaborate letter from Mr. Fish to Mr. Cushing (No. 266, Nov. 5th, 1875), in which Mr. Cushing was told that the President “ feels that the time is at hand when it may become the duty of other Governments to interfere solely with a view of bringing to an end a disastrous conflict, and of restoring peace on the Island of Cuba.”

General Grant, during the civil war, occupied as he was in the field, had perhaps hardly understood or appreciated the indignation awakened in the country at the threat of foreign intermeddling in our affairs. The tone of the instructions to Mr. Cushing justifying the intervention of the Great Powers in the difficulty between Spain and her colony, renders it improbable that the Cabinet had recalled to the attention of the President the language of Mr. Seward, when it was known that Louis Napoleon, on similar grounds, was endeavoring to persuade England to a similar step, for ending the conflict and restoring peace between the United States and the Southern Confederacy.

In furtherance of the scheme of intervention suggested in the letter to Mr. Cushing, a copy of the letter was on the 5th of November addressed to General Schenck at London, with an instruction to communicate its conclusions to Lord Derby. It was announced from Washington that “ similar letters were addressed to the United States Ministers at Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Rome ; and instructions given to ask in effect the moral support of the Governments to which they were accredited.”

The correspondence contained no responses from any of the representatives to whom the instructions were sent to be read to their respective Governments ; and it is believed that those responses have never been laid before the country.

The *Journal de St. Petersbourg* probably expressed the sentiments of the Russian Government when it remarked, "European interference in the present state of the Cuban affair is unnecessary. . . . Europe is not interested. . . ."

It was remarked at home that "an application from Prince Gortschakoff for the aid of our Government in adjusting the differences in Herzegovina would not be a whit more grotesque than such an application to Russia to interfere for the pacification of Cuba."

Statistics were presently published, showing that our commerce with Cuba had of late increased instead of declining, and that America felt as little interest as Europe in the proposed intervention. The scheme quietly passed, but certain questions raised by this extraordinary procedure remain unanswered.

Why, it was asked, should the President, when our trade with Cuba was increasing, and when the country was entirely calm, inaugurate, without the advice of Congress, a scheme so offensive to a proud people and so likely to eventuate in war?

Why did he address to Spain, as justifying foreign intervention in her struggle with her colony, reasons which we denounced and resented when they were urged to sustain the pretended right of European Powers to intervene in our quarrel with the revolted States?

Why, if the President really believed that it was the right and the duty of the American people, for the protection of their citizens and their commerce, to secure the peace of Cuba and to prevent its interruption by Spain, did he not submit the matter to Congress for its decision, instead of soliciting the moral support of the European Powers? And what plea or apology could the Cabinet offer for inviting those Governments, from London to Vienna, and from St. Petersburg to Rome, to interest themselves in an American question, and to consider the expediency of their intervening to decide the destiny of a Spanish colony in the Western World?

The grave inconveniences that may arise from the withholding of correspondence and information of national interest have been more than once illustrated during the term of General Grant.

The Department issues yearly one or two volumes of selected correspondence on our "Foreign Relations." But correspondence has often been withheld which the country should have had at the earliest moment. The right assumed and exercised in the Vienna case, to withhold correspondence and reports disclosing official

"irregularities," and thus to suppress and misrepresent the truth in cases where loyalty to its agents demanded that it should be known, and the assumed right to do this on the ground that the matter was painful to the President, is a right which, if acknowledged and permitted, would allow a government to falsify, as in that case, the facts of history.

"Political history," says Sir George Cornewall Lewis in his learned treatise on the Method of Observing and Reasoning in Politics, "is a register of political facts;" and in support of this definition he quotes Vossius, Creuzer, and M. Dannon, who says that the "facts comprehend, in the first place, the designs, project, or enterprise; then the action or progression, with their attendant circumstances; and, in the third place, the event or consequences, with distinction between that which is fortuitous and that which proceeds from a known cause."

If history is philosophy teaching by example, then the lesson taught by an event may be lost if incidents essential to the story have been misrepresented or concealed. The causes that led to the "irregularities" at Vienna, should be known, that they may hereafter be avoided.

The pronounced success of the Centennial Exhibition gives increased interest to the announcement that President Hayes and Mr. Evarts warmly favor the fitting representation of the United States at the approaching Exhibition at Paris. The country will expect this time a triumph and not a scandal, and this will depend upon the appointees and the rules given to them. We might expect something in the way of bad manners, were the State Department to give commissions to men such as some of those selected for Vienna, of whom the Chief Commissioner testified: "I have repeatedly stated to different Assistant Commissioners when I appointed them, that I held in my hand the power of suspension, which I should not fail to exercise at Vienna if I had good reason to believe them guilty of any impropriety." A good deal, too, might be anticipated in the way of immoral theories and corrupt practices, should the Chief Commissioner to Paris advise his assistants that to borrow from the grantee of a privilege was "a purely commercial transaction, like borrowing from a bank or any individual;" and if it were known in advance that a management conducted on this principle of concessions on the one side and loans and percentages on the other, would be sanctioned, approved, and rewarded at Washington.

General Grant could hardly have appreciated the demoralizing

influence exerted by the attempt to cover up the Vienna irregularities, and to divert public attention from the actual facts; and it is to be hoped that it was not by his order that all previous misrepresentations of the matter, especially those contained in the abstract furnished to the Senate, and in part given to the world, have been eclipsed in their disregard of historic truth by an official statement contained in the "Reports of the Commissioners of the United States to the International Exhibition, held at Vienna, 1873. Published under the direction of the Secretary of State, by the authority of Congress," etc. *Washington*, 1876. 4 vols. 8vo.

Under the head of "United States Commissioners to the International Exposition," vol. i., p. 156, is this note: "Thomas B. Van Buren was appointed Commissioner June 10th, 1872, and served as Chief of the Commission until May 10th, 1873; he was succeeded by Jackson S. Schultz, who served until July 5th, 1873." There is no mention of the Temporary Commission, and if this note were true, there could have been no break for a Temporary Commission to fill, since it is distinctly said that Mr. Van Buren served as Chief of the Commission until May 10th, and that he was succeeded by Mr. Schultz. But this statement is inexact. Mr. Van Buren was suspended from his office on the 24th of April, and was succeeded by the "Temporary Commission," who were on the same day invested by the President "with all the Powers heretofore vested in General Van Buren." What the "Temporary Commission," who are thus summarily ignored in the official report, accomplished under unparalleled difficulties will appear by the report of Colonel Cannon on the 14th of May, and the official correspondence, which, although called for by the House of Representatives on the 20th of March, 1876, have not yet been brought to light.

The easy morality which, in an official record, consents to tamper with historic truth, seems to inspire a mistrust more frank than courteous, and the printed correspondence on the Catacazy affair contains a telegram which was reported to have elicited from the Emperor Alexander the exclamation, "Do they doubt my word?" Mr. Curtin, in September, 1872, when the President had requested the recall of Mr. Catacazy, had telegraphed: "The Emperor requests the President to tolerate the presence of Mr. Catacazy until after the visit of the Grand Duke, and *then he will be recalled.*" The Department replied: "The President has decided to tolerate the present minister until after the visit of the Prince. *That minister will then be dismissed, if not recalled.*"

It is the more desirable that the Commission to be appointed to France shall be composed of eminent gentlemen, bent upon the advancement of our highest interests, for the reason that as regards foreign Powers the past Administration contributed as little to the success of the Exhibition at Philadelphia as it had done to that of Vienna. When Congress enacted that our Centennial should be celebrated, under its auspices, by an International Exhibition, it intrusted to the President the task of securing the co-operation of foreign Powers. The world was invited by proclamations and diplomatic notes, and was advised that no exhibitors would be received unless their respective governments should accept the invitation, and appoint Commissions. The proclamation was cordially received; the nations hastened to respond; and Prince Bismarck replied, "The German Empire accepts with sincerest thanks the invitation of the Government of the United States."

Soon came an unlooked-for change in the readiness of foreign Governments and manufacturers to assist at the Exhibition, and a coolness and distrust succeeded the cordiality with which it had been welcomed. Among the Powers which were understood to have declined to come was Russia; and the question was asked through the press if her refusal could be connected with the treatment of Alexis. To this, Governor Jewell, at that time a member of the Cabinet, promptly responded, and disclosed the fact that, after the first invitation had been given, and when it had been already accepted by some Powers, a new instruction to our ministers that the Powers were not invited by our Government, put a different face upon the matter. He had accordingly advised the Court at St. Petersburg that "while the United States urged other nations to attend and contribute to our Exhibition, our Government was not responsible for it, and that it was not a national affair. . . . He was told in reply that under no circumstance could Russia accept such an invitation from private persons or a private corporation. Governor Jewell explained that the autocracy of Russia can hardly understand how our Government can ask them to accept such an invitation." Congress, on learning of this curious overture, was able in part to avert its consequences by passing a new act, directing an invitation in the name of the Government; and at the last hour Russia came with an admirable exposition, whose beauty and completeness showed her progress in art and the taste and skill of her Commission.

As the rule touching governmental acceptance of foreign invitations, referred to at St. Petersburg, is recognized by all Governments including our own, the President might properly have advised the country of the grounds on which he denied a national character to the Centennial Commission, while he still urged the Great Powers to accept its invitation as that of a private body, whose claim to a national character the American Government declined to recognize.

That the President really regarded the Centennial celebration as a private affair, seemed to be shown by his "regrettable absence," as Vice-President Ferry expressed it, on the Centennial Fourth of July, when Mr. Evarts delivered his memorable oration. As our Government, through the President himself, had invited all Governments and peoples to assist at that historic commemoration, in whose honor came the Emperor of Brazil and the diplomatic representatives of foreign states, magnanimously led by the accomplished Minister of Great Britain, the term applied by Mr. Ferry to the absence of the President mildly expressed the feeling occasioned by the non-presence of the head of the republic.

The settlement of the long-pending Alabama question by international arbitration will be regarded as the chief diplomatic achievement of the late Administration. Time, it may be hoped, will soften the regret, which in England has not yet faded into forgetfulness, that the pleasant feeling—so happily restored by the coming hither of the distinguished gentlemen of the English Commission, by the apology frankly tendered by the proudest Government of Christendom, and by the harmonious conclusion of the Treaty of Washington—should have been interrupted by the questions raised on the American case presenting for adjudication the indirect claims.

In view of the position now held by Mr. Evarts, who led our able counsel at Geneva, it may not be improper to state, although the remark is made without his knowledge, that the responsibility of the presentment of those claims did not rest with that gentleman. Looking back at the determination reached by England to withdraw from the arbitration rather than consent to the submission of those claims, it is clear that they would have periled the treaty itself, but for the action of the tribunal, which announced by its president, at their opening session, that in their judgment the indirect claims were excluded from consideration.

It is too soon to judge of the Administration of General Grant with the impartiality of history, but it is not too soon to note for avoidance in the future the mistakes to which he has alluded.

The recent correspondence with Great Britain on the subject of extradition has two noticeable points: one, the unusual manner of the President's announcement of the question of construction raised by England; the other, the extent to which the doctrine put forth at Washington imperils the liberties of foreigners who come hither to escape political, religious, or military persecution. The President in his message to Congress referred to the action of England in asking a prior assurance that Winslow should not be tried for any offense but that for which he was demanded, as "the menace of an intended violation or refusal to execute the terms of an existing treaty," and gave Congress to understand that the British Government had based its refusal and demand "on the requirements of a purely domestic enactment of the British Parliament passed in the year 1870."

The President in making this statement omitted to advise Congress that Lord Derby had virtually disclaimed for Great Britain the grounds thus imputed to her, and had maintained that her right to protest against any extradited person being tried for other offenses existed without the Act of Parliament, under the general law and the general opinion of European nations, of which the Act of Parliament was declaratory. In view of the frankness and explicitness of Lord Derby's disclaimer, the announcement to the American people that England menaced us with a violation of a treaty, because she declined to adopt General Grant's view of the law of extradition, in opposition to the international law of the Continent; and the further announcement that she rested her menace on a domestic act of her own Parliament, seem open to criticism. Lord Clarendon remarked "that the one special art required in diplomacy is to be perfectly honest, truthful, and straightforward;" and when the national honor is at stake, it is safe to avoid the slightest deviation from an honorable frankness, and to remember with Burke that "A great empire and little minds go ill together." The second point touches the rule itself, and as General Grant had already recognized the reasonableness of the rule contended for by England, and had consented to its incorporation in a new treaty, the rule being in fact of even more importance to America than to England, it is not apparent why the impossibility of our giving the assurance asked for by England, from the want of power in the Executive, was not promptly adjusted by a new treaty or an addi-

tional article. The rule was laid down at Washington (Foreign Relations for 1876, page 215), that under the Treaty of 1842 "there is no agreement expressed or implied that he [the person surrendered] may not be also tried for another offense of which he is charged, *although not an extradition offense*. He is in fact . . . delivered up to justice, and, in the absence of any limitation by treaty, to justice generally; each independent state being the judge of its own administration of justice."

This rule, while perhaps practically harmless as regards England, seems to recognize as belonging to Continental and other governments a power to deal with surrendered persons for other than extradition offenses; and that is a power from which they are at present debarred by the international law of Europe, which, as declared by Fœlix, Dallay, Kluit, and Heffter, and as expounded by the Lord Chancellor of England, forbids a person who has been surrendered on one charge from being tried upon another. The new rule, if allowed to stand, will overthrow the assurance conveyed by the language of Mr. Webster, that the treaty confined to offenses which all mankind regard as heinous would endanger no man's liberty on account of "political or criminal charges arising from wars or intestine commotions, treason, misprision of treason, libels, desertion from military service, and other offenses of a similar character."

The European press are already conscious of the fact that with President Hayes and his Cabinet comes a policy of civil service inspired by the conviction that the government of a nation—the grandest combination of human forces—should not be perverted to partisan and private ends. Under our recent system, as thoughtful American travelers have been unpleasantly reminded, the statesmen and the press of Europe have pointed to the republic as tending downwards; and an English writer, eulogizing the civil service of England, and illustrating it by contrast, says, "It has never been servile, like that of Russia. It has never been bureaucratic, like that of France. It has never been corrupt, like that of America." The question asked by those who hope for civil reform is, whether it is to be a permanent reality, or simply a fleeting vision that will fade before the assaults of skillful politicians and the indifference of an apathetic people. The suggestion of a civil service which shall seek throughout the country for men of character and culture, and confer the national appointments on the ground of merit and fitness, will be ranked by many with the impossible visions with which

speculative philosophers and amiable enthusiasts have for ages attempted to amuse and ameliorate the world. Astute political leaders, who work by primaries and caucuses and wire-pulling and conventions, accustomed to appropriate and distribute, as the spoils of victory, appointments in the home and foreign service, may naturally regard the proposed reform as a personal wrong, and a scheme alike fanciful and impossible. They may rank it with the fables of the past, with the reign of Saturn, and the Golden Age, the Islands of the Blessed, the Perfect State of Plato, the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, the Oceana of Harrington, Fenelon's Happy Land of Bætica, the Happy Valley of Rasselas, the Republic of Philosophers (attributed to Fontenelle), the Subterranean World of Nicholas Klimius, or the Coming Age of Bulwer Lytton. They may ridicule it as a chapter of political romance, a story of the New Atlanta, possible only in an age of purer simplicity than the present, where the people are all to be virtuous and happy, free from luxury and ambition, dwelling in peace and plenty, with politics unnecessary and war unknown, and lawyers prohibited; where they will have no use for money, and place no value on gold, silver, or precious stones; where the blessings of nature shall be all collected, and its evils all excluded.

But with the solution before them of gigantic problems which seemed insoluble, the American people, not of one party alone, but the worthiest members of all parties in all sections of our common and reunited country, will be deterred neither by threats nor ridicule from demanding a return to the maxims and the example of Washington. No statesman who deserves the name will desire to defeat the reform, and the more acute Republican politicians, who had so nearly murdered the party, will have to face that fact, whenever they seek a revival of a scheme fraught with official corruption, national calamities, and governmental disgrace. The extermination of the spoils system, with its demoralizing influences, its "mistakes" and melancholy results, its postponement at home of national harmony and national prosperity, its loss so sensibly felt in our foreign service of national prestige, has become the question which confronts us as we enter our second century, and are told that the country can not stand a return to the rule and practice prescribed by the Constitution. "Our government," said Mr. Webster, "can stand trial, it can stand adversity; it can stand any thing but the marring of its own beauty and the weakening of its own strength."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, AND EVENTS.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

ISRAEL PUTNAM.¹—If General Putnam's life needed to be rewritten, Dr. Tarbox was the man to write it. He has that patience in the sifting of facts, that diligence in the search for the truth, which makes a work exhaustive upon the point in hand. The question which led to this book was whether Israel Putnam commanded the troops in the battle of Bunker Hill. It has been the fashion among the Boston writers to give the glory of that position to another, and the constant statement to this effect in the Centennial orations of the day led Dr. Tarbox, who is a very industrious historical scholar, to investigate the point with his usual thoroughness. The volume is largely taken up with the elaborate proof that Putnam was the veritable hero of Bunker Hill; but aside from this, the book will rank as the most complete biography of "Old Put" which has yet been written. His life, outside of his adventures in the French War of 1755, and in the memorable struggles of the Revolution, during which he was the trusted friend of Washington, does not present many details, and probably in the future his name will always be more intimately associated with his personal prowess at the wolf's den and with his fearless ride down the stone steps of Horseneck, than with his leadership at Bunker Hill. Dr. Tarbox has rendered the memory of General Putnam an important service in showing conclusively, as we think, that he was the first officer at the "Bull Run" of the Revolution, and has made the most out of his somewhat scanty materials in presenting the salient points in his life, but he does not give the lie to the statement that our original investigators are hardly ever our most interesting writers. His story is told too much as a matter of fact to interest the general public in the strong personality of "Old Put."

ECHO CLUB AND OTHER LITERARY DIVERSIONS.²—The papers here collected are mostly critical studies, not of the literary value, but of the personal manner, terms of expression, and habitual mental attitude, of contemporary poets. They are parodies mostly, not upon particular poems, but upon whatever is marked and imitable in the poetical form characteristic of their writers. The effect is, of course, to fix attention mainly on what is transient and defective in their works, and to turn it from their

¹ "The Life of Israel Putnam, 'Old Put,' Major-General in the Continental Army." By Increase N. Tarbox. Boston: Lockwood, Brooks & Co.

² "The Echo Club and other Literary Diversions." By Bayard Taylor. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

real merits. In other words, such exercises have no serious place in criticism, and no serious claim to be criticised. They are diversions, and nothing more. Since this is the only light in which the modest and sensible introduction of the author presents them, it is but fair to add that, while unequal, they are extremely clever of their kind; that, in fact, no equally amusing masquerade of poetical styles has appeared in the literary world since "The Rejected Addresses." In such disguises as those of Poe, Browning, Swinburne, and Jean Ingelow, for example, the success of the "Echo" is complete. The thing is so well done that the reader can not help wishing it were better worth doing.

It is not surprising that the setting of jewels should often be of more value than the stones themselves; especially when these stones only claim to be paste. In this instance, many readers will prefer to the poetic echoes the dialogue which loosely connects them. In this there are many passages, careless enough in form, which evidently express the matured judgment and taste of the author; and occasionally a few lines of genial appreciation by one poet of another.

The spirit of the whole is genial; and many a reader's idle hour may be agreeably spent on it.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

THE COUNTESS VON VOSS'S RECOLLECTIONS.¹—A love of the personal is inherent in human nature, and hence the desire we always feel to learn what we can of the manners and habits of those who have occupied conspicuous positions in society. These recollections, however, albeit those of a lady who lived through the reigns of Frederick the Great, Frederick William the Second, and part of that of Frederick William the Third, are somewhat disappointing. A narrator should be an observer, and the Countess von Voss would seem to have been little of the latter. With the materials she had at her command many writers would have compiled one of the most fascinating books in existence; but our author appears to have recorded those things which she ought not to have recorded, and left unrecorded those things which she ought to have recorded. It will remain for some other person adequately to write of the time and the persons dealt with by the Countess von Voss, if the material for such a work should, as it ought to, be forthcoming.

CHARLES KINGSLEY.²—Failing to attain the stature of a great man, Charles Kingsley was in his day highly esteemed as a man of genius, and

¹ "Sixty-nine Years at the Court of Prussia." From the Recollections of Sophie Marie, Countess von Voss. Translated by Emily Agnes Stephenson. Two vols. London: Bentley & Son.

² "Charles Kingsley: his Letters and Memories of his Life." Edited by his Wife. London: H. S. King & Co.

also on account of his character. As public speaker, poet, and novelist he enjoyed almost equal distinction, and this memorial of him will serve to place before the public still more familiar aspects of the man. His "Alton Locke" and "Westward Ho!" will continue to hold their place in English literature, while his efforts for the social and intellectual improvement of the working classes, in connection with Frederick D. Maurice, are still remembered with gratitude. The episodes in connection with Chartism are still fresh in the public memory, as also Kingsley's part in the schemes for the amelioration of the condition of the poor. During the last years of his life, Kingsley devoted himself more to the work of the church, and appeared less in public. Once or twice he stepped out of his element—as in the disastrous passage of arms with Father Newman—but he will still be remembered for certain sterling contributions to literature. We can not but welcome the appearance of these volumes.

SECRET SOCIETIES.¹—Lord Beaconsfield's observations touching the existence of secret societies in Russia have doubtless had something to do with the compilation of Mr. Frost's work. He takes us through the history of the Illuminati, the Carbonari, the Philadelphians, the Tugendbund, the Fenians, the Nihilists, the Omladina, and other organizations. As Mr. Frost states that he has special sources of information, it would appear to savor of hardihood to challenge his accuracy. Nevertheless, in detail he is not always exact. But these volumes contain a mass of valuable information upon specific topics which will probably be quite new to most readers.

RECOLLECTIONS OF LIFE, LITERATURE, AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS.²—Dr. Mackay's Recollections cover a considerable space of time, and the writer has enjoyed the friendship, at one time or other, of many distinguished literary men. This being the case, his work is sure to be read, as the public likes to be made acquainted with the *personnel* and the sayings and doings of literary men. Interesting anecdotes are related of Wordsworth, Rogers, and others. Mr. Mackay once held the position of editor of the *Illustrated London News*. He is still living, engaged occasionally in the editing of works of poetry, etc.

THE MAKERS OF FLORENCE.³—Mrs. Oliphant has written a work which will be heartily welcomed by all who are interested in the illustrious Italian city. Her studies of the great men of Florence are carefully and elaborately executed. Whether the title of the book embraces all who have assisted in the making of the city is more than doubtful; but these great men were undoubtedly powerful agents, and Mrs. Oliphant writes of them with much discrimination and yet deep appreciation.

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH.

¹ "The Secret Societies of the European Revolution." By Thomas Frost. London: Tinsley Brothers.

² "Forty Years' Recollections of Life, Literature, and Public Affairs," from 1830 to 1870. By Charles Mackay, LL.D. London: Chapman & Hall.

³ "The Makers of Florence: Dante, Giotto, Savonarola; and their City." By Mrs. Oliphant. London: Macmillan & Co.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

The first half of the second part of Dr. Carl Abel's great work on the Coptic language (*Koptische Untersuchungen*; Berlin, Ferd. Dümmler) has just appeared. The Egyptian language in its archaic primitiveness, preserving roots in their original forms and meanings, side by side with the phonetic and logical variations to which they were subsequently subjected, supplies an excellent means of inquiring into the laws governing the development of sound and thought. The Egyptian language remains in the liquid state characteristic of the mind and expressions of childhood. In the etymological portion of his work, Dr. Abel aims to establish certain general laws in regard to the sounds and signification of ancient Egyptian words, and then proceeds to make the application of the same to the Semitic and Indo-European languages. He has discovered that the roots in the two latter families of languages are formed according to them, and thence deduces the affinity of the Semitic, the Hamitic, and the Japhetic, tracing them all to a common mother tongue, of which the features are best preserved in the Egyptian. If Dr. Abel's conclusions are sound, a revolution will be effected in the science of language. All previous attempts to establish a connecting link between the Semitic and Aryan languages, undertaken without the aid of the Egyptian, have failed. In accordance with the peculiar method adopted by the author, who in the present state of etymology thinks it advisable to subordinate grammatical to lexicographical inquiry, the second volume contains a detailed and laborious investigation of the Coptic synonyms expressing the notions of "good," "kind," and "pure." The loftiness and depth of Egyptian inquiry could not have been more conclusively proved than by this linguistic inquiry. To the psychological method and philosophical results of this part of the book, special attention has been drawn by eminent German scholars.

The recurrence of so many eventful anniversaries of the Emperor's life explains the many new biographies of that venerable monarch, which are appearing this year in Germany. The one by Professor Müller (*Kaiser Wilhelm*, by Wilhelm Müller; Berlin, 1877, Julius Springer) is distinguished from some of its rivals by being the work of a scholar and a professional historian, instead of a cheap compiler. If even this book is in part only a rearrangement of existing materials, it contains many evidences of original research, and brings to light some new facts, or at least new statements. One of these is the story that in 1862, during the conflict over military reorganization, the King was on the point of abdicating in order to escape the chagrin of yielding to the deputies of the people. The Crown-Prince was sounded, but, being advised that if he accepted the throne on such conditions he would "forfeit the respect of the army," prudently declined. Then came Bismarck, Sadowa in spite of the Chamber, and the Empire.

HERBERT TUTTLE.

ART IN EUROPE.

NATIONAL sentiment enters very strongly into estimates of art, so that people of one nation are always likely to misinterpret the art of another nation, or at least to interpret it very differently from the countrymen of the artist. I had a curious illustration lately of this difficulty about nationality. It happens from time to time that some Parisian publisher takes up the idea of a French issue of the *Portfolio*, and corresponds with me for a short time on the subject. Such schemes invariably fall through on account of the difference of national taste. For example, quite recently, a well-known publisher in Paris wrote to say, that a French edition might easily be brought out if only we would consent to adapt ourselves more to French taste in the choice of illustrations. This I at once declined for the best of reasons. The alteration he proposed, in the system of editing, would have reduced our English circulation to one third of what it now is. His proposal seemed the more remarkable, that nearly all our plates are executed in Paris, from pictures by men of world-wide fame, and we have given a large place to French art. Still, there is some English art in the *Portfolio*, and that is quite enough to make a Frenchman feel within his mind the instinctive sentiment of national antagonism. The difference between England and America is not so great, because there is a near national relationship, and both countries are fed on the same literature. At one time the French prejudice against English art of all kinds was so intense, that no Frenchman would look at an English picture, except as a curiosity. Even so recently as 1864, M. Ernest Chesneau said in one of his clever books on art that a French picture-buyer might possibly have an English picture in his house, but he would have it as a curiosity and not for any æsthetic satisfaction that he might derive from it, still less as a means of elevating his mind. M. Chesneau's own prejudice was so strong, that he adopted the usual French error of lumping together all English artists as disciples of the PreRaphaelite doctrines; whereas any one in the least acquainted with the English school must be well aware that nearly all our greatest painters and many of our good minor ones remained steadily opposed to PreRaphaelitism, even when it seemed to have some chance of gaining a final ascendancy in the school.

In England, the antagonism to foreign art is not so intense, because the English travel more than the French do, and are more accustomed to the art of different countries. Still, even in England, there does exist some degree of national prejudice, especially amongst artists. A little pamphlet on English Landscape Art was published some time since by Mr. Alfred Dawson, and in it he speaks of the perversion of the judgment by the erroneous belief in the minds of artists that they are always advancing. "The whole judgment is at once crushed and bruised to such a degree, that whatever wild fancy is set forth they can still approve of it. Hence, as it has really occurred in landscape art, the injury inflicted on the perceptions is of that peculiar

nature that the men become callous to the gravest errors, and not only are little oddities or eccentricities allowed, *but the wildest and the vilest styles are allowed along with them. Hence a Corot or a Dupré.*" See here what a sudden pitiless pair of slaps on the face, one for Corot, the other for Dupré, both administered before one has time to reflect to whom the insult is offered! Then remember that these two practitioners of the "wildest and the vilest styles" are the two most considerable names in modern French landscape! No words are wasted in explaining why their work is vile: it is antagonistic to the national sentiment of the critic, and that is enough.

There are very few art-exhibitions in Paris, in comparison with those in London, because the enormous Salon absorbs all the best art of the year. Still, there are a few semi-public ones, two of which are now open in the two Art Clubs, the old "Mirlitons," and the "Cercle Artistique et Littéraire." Meissonier, Gérôme, Munkacsy, Doré, Vollon, Clairin, De Nittis, Tony Robert-Fleury, Carolus Duran, and other well-known men exhibit at the "Mirlitons;" whilst at the other club you may find works by such men as Roybet, Laurens, Bertier, Henner, Bonnat, Pasini, Français, and others. It is superfluous to say any thing about men so well known as Gérôme and Meissonier. The newer celebrities amongst those just mentioned are Munkacsy, Clairin, De Nittis, Roybet, and Laurens. All these are strikingly clever men in one way or another. One rarely meets with a painter who has so strongly and decidedly the painter's peculiar way of looking at things as M. Munkacsy. He paints in the simplest manner, with a full grasp of his subject in its relations of tone, texture, and color, and realizes all together without effort in a complete synthesis. His color used to have a tendency towards charcoal and mud—in other words, there was too much black and umber in the tints; but it is getting richer and purer now. I have been told that Munkacsy did not begin life as a painter, but was in some plain manual trade; indeed, my informant said that Munkacsy had been a joiner. This may account for some of the preliminary difficulty about color, but the artist has a strong faculty for color, though rather in the direction of Spanish than of Venetian taste. Clairin is the man who painted that strange but clever picture of Sarah Bernhardt in last year's Salon, which might be summarily described as a pair of eyes contending against an accumulation of showy accessories, and so successfully that we remember only them. De Nittis is the cleverest of modern realists, and especially happy in the streets of a capital city. In the Salon of last year he represented a scene in Paris. His last picture is of a London subject, Trafalgar Square. The merit of his work is an extreme accuracy of observation along with high finish, so that the public derive from it nearly the same sort of amusement that one has in a camera obscura set up in some populous street. Roybet has been a powerful colorist for many years past, and is now a highly successful artist in the worldly sense of the word. Laurens is also very successful, but much less of a colorist than Roybet; indeed, he aims apparently at influence by means of expression and good drawing than by color.

I may mention the fact that Gérôme, the painter, is turning sculptor. I do not mean to imply that he intends to give up painting, but for the present he is refreshing himself with an excursion into the domain of sculpture. Whatever he does in that art is sure to attract attention, at any rate. Probably this change of occupation may have been suggested by the recent successes of one or two sculptors in the art of painting. It is quite possible that Gérôme may succeed in sculpture, for he has a very thorough knowledge of form, and his defective color will not be a hindrance in his new art. The fine arts are so nearly allied that a really artistic age would not be surprised by these transitions; indeed, we are getting quite accustomed to them, even in the present day, notwithstanding the general recognition of the division of labor as a law in political economy.

An artistic society was formed in Paris a year and a half since on a new principle, and called the "Union." It is composed of all sorts of artists, and the peculiarity of it is, that every shareholder has a right to exhibit his works without incurring the examination of any council or jury. The first exhibition of this society is now open, and contains one hundred and eighty-five works. Oddly enough, the locality of the exhibition is the Grand Hotel, where there are generally a good many Americans; so your countrymen who lodge there will not have to go far to study works of art. The object of this society is purely commercial: the artists want to bring their works before the public without the intervention of dealers who put a profit on them, thus either raising the price to the public, or diminishing the receipts of the artist, and also without the risk of being refused by a jury. This is just the principle of the Old Water-Color Society in London, which has been prosperous from the commencement, but there is the difference that the French "Union" admits artists of all kinds, and I am not aware that the number of shareholders is limited.

P. G. HAMERTON.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

THE EXTRA SESSION of the United States Congress, which has been called in consequence of the failure of the army appropriations at the last session, will probably be little more than a formality, now that the President's policy in reference to the use of troops in the South has been satisfactorily outlined. Still, it may be wise before long to prescribe more definitely the conditions of Federal armed interference in the States, and to place limitations upon the power of the President in the use of the army. According to the present location of military authority, the President may be said to have a power which would certainly be frightful were the army a large one, and is even now dangerous, as has been seen in the past. Just how far the military authority of the President extends, may be said to be one of the gravest problems which the United States has yet to solve.

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NOTICE — *The Article on THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE, previously announced, has been withdrawn for further revision. The question of the Executive Right to interfere in States, as in Louisiana two years ago, is ably discussed by Hon. T. M. COOLEY, of Michigan, in No. 1, Vol. II, of the International Review, under the title of "The Guarantee of Order and Republican Government in the States."*

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

JULY, 1877.

THE TURKS IN EUROPE.¹

DURING nearly three quarters of the present century the Italian Question and the Eastern Question were the most troublesome problems of European diplomacy. Rome and Constantinople were the two points toward which, sooner or later, all diplomatic purposes seemed to converge. The Italian Question, thanks to Cavour and his conscious or unconscious coadjutors, is settled; the Eastern Question still defies the efforts of ambassadors and armies.

The question over which the Turks and the Russians are now contending is not only the most troublesome, but it is also the oldest, question of general European interest. In the period of the Reformation it assumed so threatening an aspect that Charles V. was almost willing to tolerate heresy for the sake of securing the aid of heretics against the armies of Soliman. Philip II. was obliged to give up the grim luxury of superintending personally the murder of patriots in Holland, in order to defend his southern possessions against the Turks in the Mediterranean. One of the schemes of Henry IV. was the overthrow of the Turkish Empire, and from the time of Henry to that of Napoleon I. this scheme was seldom absent from the leading minds of the French Govern-

¹ The design of this and the following article, "Ought Russia to Prevail," is to present both sides of the questions involved in the War in the East. A still more complete view of the subject may be obtained by comparing these two articles with those in Volume III. of this REVIEW, on "The Herzegovinian Question" (p. 1), and "Abdul-Aziz and his Successors" (p. 674).—Eds.

ment. At St. Helena the great exile declared that if he had succeeded at Acre he should have changed the course of history, for he should have crushed the Turkish Empire on his return from the East, and thus should have made France complete mistress of the Mediterranean. While Bismarck has been directing his energies to the weakening of the power of Austria on the side of Germany, he has been only less anxious to strengthen it on the side of Hungary, hoping thereby to establish the most perfect security against troublesome eastern complications. The political power of the Pope has been taken away, and the union of Italy, the dream of Italian patriots for centuries, has become a reality. The humiliation of Austria, one of the most subtle schemes of Richelieu, has been accomplished. France can no longer boast of diplomatic supremacy. The discordant states of Germany have been bound into a single federal union. Of all these great and difficult questions, the Eastern Question alone holds out, and is to-day as stubborn as ever.

We have no space to enter into a full discussion of the history of this question, and brief and fragmentary mention will only be made of the principal historical facts.

The reign of Mohammed II. was a series of easy conquests. The tributes exacted by the Greek Government had long been oppressive. The people preferred the mild conditions promised by the Ottomans to the continual vexations imposed by the avarice of the Christians. It is perhaps not strange that they chose to obey a barbarous nation rather than submit to a government in which they suffered all the inconveniences of a liberty they did not possess, together with all the horrors of a servitude they could not throw off. Hence the strange facility with which the Ottomans secured their footing in Europe. It was only fifty years later that Selim I. added Egypt and Persia to his empire, and before the completion of the first century of their history, the European Turks under Soliman the Magnificent had entered into an alliance with Francis I. By that act the Ottomans were welcomed in Europe, and the ban of Christian nations was removed. Henceforth the Turks were entitled to all diplomatic rights.

The territory of which the descendants of Othman thus gained control, according to the best authority, Ubicini, embraces about 1,812,048 square miles—about one half the size of the United States. Of this, one half is in Africa, three eighths in Asia, and one eighth only in Europe. The European portion extends over about

207,000 square miles, or is about three and one half times greater than the State of Michigan. According to the authority just quoted, Turkey in Europe, exclusive of the dependent provinces, Roumania and Servia, has a population of about 9,800,000, of whom not more than about 1,500,000 are Mohammedans. Small as this number of Moslems is, it has probably never been much greater.

Here, then, we find the singular phenomenon of a million and a half of Asiatics imposing themselves as a dominant race over ten or twelve million Europeans. This fact alone is enough to excite our wonder. But this fact is not all. In spite of all commotions within and storms without, the Ottomans have held firm and uninterrupted possession of their prize during more than four centuries.

The character of a race which can point to such a record is well worth our study. However its course may arouse our indignation, it can hardly merit our contempt. Without genuine qualities they might, indeed, like Attila or Tamerlane or Genghis-Khan, have swept like a hurricane across the territory, bearing down every thing before them; but they could not have held their own against the eight million Magyars and the other hostile races which made up their empire. To suppose that such a work as this has been accomplished by mere brute force, would be to suppose brute force endowed with qualities which it never possessed.

The Turks are of Tartar origin, and are therefore very different from the Arabs. Totally incapable of the culture which is said to be the characteristic of the Moors in their best days, the Ottomans have only their religion in common with the other followers of Mohammed. In the fervor of that religion really lies the secret of their power. In fact, it is only in their religion that they differ from the conquerors of a kindred race who have perished before them. But they adopted a sublime and simple creed, and they have held it for six centuries with all the fervor of a new-born enthusiasm. The same message which, preached by a simple shepherd twelve hundred years ago, wrought such wonders for the Arabs, has continued to work almost equal wonders with the Turks. Though they are essentially children of the desert, their faith has kept them from those vices to which other nomadic races have fallen victims whenever they have come in contact with civilization. When they entered Europe they found a Christianity nearly as corrupt as that known by the prophet at Mecca; and as in Arabia, so in Europe, the more corrupt gave way to the more living faith. That they have not yet disappeared is due to the same combination of causes

which secured their first success. They are still completely isolated from the other races of the Mohammedan faith. Though Islamism, like Christianity, has ignored differences of blood, and has welded together people of various races and colors and languages into a consciousness of a common brotherhood of belief, yet it has never been able to accomplish the more difficult work of breaking down the high barrier which separates the Ottoman from the Arab. The child of the desert still calls to mind with painful apprehensions that quaint saying of the prophet: "Avoid the Tartar if you can; he will either eat you in his love or hack you to pieces in his hate."

Of the four orthodox schools of Mohammedanism, the Turks have always belonged to the least rigid of them, that of Abu-Hanifa. At many points they have doubtless "strained the letter of the Koran," in the direction of laxity; but those maxims which form the basis of their civil and religious law they hold to with punctilious and extraordinary tenacity. This characteristic will appear in its proper force in the light of one or two illustrations.

All testimony agrees that the Tartars in their Asiatic homes are passionately fond of intoxicating beverages. It is probably true, moreover, that intoxication, as has been remarked by Mr. Bosworth Smith, is doubly fatal to a race when transferred to a climate warmer than its own. The Ottomans were so transferred; but in the mean time they had accepted the Koran, and the Koran informs them that "wine is an invention of the evil one; let a man avoid it if he would prosper." The Turks have remembered this declaration, and in the midst of the degrading habits of Eastern Europeans have remained "conspicuous for their sobriety and temperance." So, too, they have generally resisted that temptation to luxurious living which has commonly proved the certain destruction of hardy races transferred to positions where they could gratify every want. In the homes of pashas and sultans, to be sure, luxurious living has been disgracefully and fatally general; but the great mass of the people, according to the overwhelming testimony of missionary fathers, have continued to live in that simplicity of life practiced by the prophet and inculcated by the Koran. Turkish soldiers before Alexinatz slept for months without shelter, and with no food but black bread soaked in the waters of the river; and yet those troops were declared to have every excellence of the warrior—"discipline, endurance, sobriety, alertness, and perfect fearlessness." Still further, the Turks have proved to be, under the influence of the Koran, exceptionally amen-

able to discipline. Though they quickly resent all attempts at unauthorized control, they have excelled all other peoples of modern time in that spirit for which Carlyle so longs, the spirit of obedience to proper authority. They believe in their God with a reality unknown to masses of modern Christians. They believe that their God has charged them to be obedient to their rulers; and accordingly, when properly commanded, they toil and die without a murmur. Their ferocity, therefore, is often but the fury of men who believe in their creed and believe it is their duty to fight for it, and fight for it under the direction of one whose command is to them the law of God.

When we think of the Turk as sustaining to the Christian in the empire simply the relation of one to six, we are astonished that he has gained and retained his power; but when we think of the subjects as broken up into scores and perhaps hundreds of hostile if not contending factions, our astonishment gives way to an easy comprehension. The whole situation is explained by the power of an earnest and united belief in the face of doubting and discordant factions. It is easy to see that the elements we have examined furnish an open door for the entrance of the most cruel abuses.

The Eastern Question, as Mr. Gladstone has pointed out with his usual discrimination, does not involve simply the interests of Christianity as opposed to Islamism, but the interests of Christian people as opposed to the domination of "Mohammedanism compounded with the peculiar character of a race." Having considered sufficiently for our purpose the characteristics of the race, let us look for a moment a little more closely at the most striking characteristics of the religion.

In the whole range of literature, there is probably no sacred book that offers so wide a field for ingenious interpretation as does the Koran. This arises largely from the fact that during the life of the Prophet he changed the language of his teaching as often as circumstances seemed to require. For this reason, the question has often been raised, even among students of the Koran, whether the religion it teaches is or is not exceptionally intolerant. M. Collas,¹ for example, maintains that it is not more intolerant than Christianity; but, on the other hand, Nöldeke,² better authority, holds that it clearly justifies, both in letter and in spirit, every form of persecution of the unbeliever. And yet it is difficult to see how on this ques-

¹ "La Turquie en 1861," p. 20.

² "Geschichte des Korans," p. 125.

tion there is room for any rational doubt. The argument of those who claim for it a tolerant spirit rests upon a very slender foundation. The only passage Collas has been able to find in the whole volume wearing even a tolerant look is the one in which it is simply declared that "Those who Judaize, and Christians and Sabians, whoever believe in God and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with the Lord."¹ But, on the other hand, there are numerous passages which command the faithful to combat those who do not profess the true faith until they pay tribute and are entirely subdued.

It is at least evident, and this is enough for our present purpose, that these teachings furnish every needed excuse for intolerance. It may be true, as has been asserted, that there is not a single act of cruelty in all the long list of atrocities recently committed by the Turks that is not repeatedly and emphatically condemned by the Koran. But we must not fail to remember that where there are passages really or simply in conflict, the question ceases to be one of faith pure and simple. The question then is, not what the Koran in specified passages teaches, but rather what the influence of the Koran as a whole is upon those who accept it. And it is here that the antipodal difference between Christianity and Islamism shows itself. It would require but a glance at the real effects of the two systems upon character to enable one to see that they are politically and socially as far removed from each other as are the poles of the universe.

Four centuries of oppression have well-nigh obliterated all thought of opposition to Turkish atrocity. The combativeness of the Christian has been destroyed. He stands in bodily fear of his Turkish neighbor, and seldom entertains the possibility of resistance. Travelers tell us that an almost daily occurrence in Central Turkey is to see an able-bodied Christian flogged with a stick or whip by a Turk, and to see no resistance, but simply a holding up of the hands for protection, and to hear no protest, but simply a begging for mercy. Pitiabie as this seems, it is not strange that the idea of self-defense should die out, after self-defense for centuries has meant assassination and certain ruin of one's family. Thus, while on the one hand the system has begotten what has been called "a magnificent insolence for which the world has never yet produced a parallel," on the other it has destroyed the habit of

¹ Koran, Sale's Translation, p. 9.

self-defense, and has well-nigh annihilated all manly courage and self-respect.

It is in the conditions of society gathering around this twofold fact, and growing out of it, that the most serious difficulty of the present situation of Turkey is to be found. No mere constitutional change of government can reach the evil. Indeed, in a strictly constitutional sense the Government of Turkey at the present moment, if not above reproach, is certainly better than that of many others. At the close of the Crimean War an imperial order promised to sweep away the abuses complained of. This order of the Sultan was substantiated by a protocol signed by the representatives of all the powers of Europe. It guaranteed full liberty of worship to every religious profession. It declared that no one could be forced to change his religion. It provided that no legal documents should acknowledge any inferiority of one class of Turkish subjects to another in consequence of difference in religion, race, or language. It enacted that all foreigners might possess landed property.

But notwithstanding these assurances, given in the most formal and solemn manner, all attempts at substantial reform have resulted in substantial failure. The attempt affords but another of those examples, so abounding in the history of the world, of the impossibility of working any great social and political change by mere enactment of laws. Important alterations depend so much more upon the general habits and convictions of rulers and people than upon the nature of the statutes, that no great amelioration of wrongs can be expected until after a change in those habits and convictions has taken place. No such change has occurred in Turkey up to the present day; and there seems no good reason to suppose that such a change will take place in the future—certainly not so long as the dividing line between the governing and the governed is the dividing line between the Mohammedan and the Christian, between the Turk and the non-Turk. This is a fair conclusion, for the reason that hitherto constitutional changes have brought no political reform. The famous Tanzimât of 1856 promised the needed reforms; and yet there has been no perceptible change in the amount of misrule. The government continues to be venal, capricious, and ferocious. It continues to give protection to neither life nor property. Taxation continues to be a system of plunder sanctioned by those in power. The fruits of peaceful industry continue to be carried off by violence; and every movement of resistance against

these terrors is as rigorously and ruthlessly crushed by outrage and massacre as ever.

Now it is well for us to understand the true nature of the abuses complained of. Without going into the matter of details, let us look for a few moments at the condition of the subject population. First, in regard to the matter of taxes.

Tithes are levied upon all the products of the soil. The method of collection is that old method which Cicero stamped with such ignominy in his oration against Verres. It is the system of farming, and is as follows: The tax is sold by the government to the highest bidder. The competition is so keen that often a higher price is paid than the amount of the tax levied. The collector then, with a retinue of men and horses, visits the village and quarters his troop upon the villagers, who are obliged to furnish free quarters so long as the officers remain. The officers take whatever they desire, and pay for nothing. It often happens that these requirements include wife, daughter, or sister. As the Rajah (the Christian subject) is not allowed arms, resistance is impossible. There is nothing to do, when demands of this nature are made, but to submit or to resort to bribes. The money to pay the bribe is often impossible to procure, except by borrowing it at an exorbitant rate from the tax-gatherer himself. The law requires that the "Spahi" (the tax-farmer) shall be present at the threshing of the grain, in order to superintend the proper measuring of the tithes. This absurd law, of course, is a dead letter. When the farmer comes along, the tithes are assessed at an arbitrary valuation, and the temptation is so great they are assessed almost invariably in excess of the true amount. If it suits the convenience of the collector not to remove his portion of the grain at once, he may leave it. But if any injury or loss occur while the produce remains on the producer's premises, the producer is charged double price; if after it has been removed, double price is charged upon the village. If it is impossible for the villager to meet the exactions, the house of the occupant is at once taken possession of. The delinquent is then bound to maintain and serve those who are quartered upon him, and his expenses for so doing go for nothing in the account. If he owes twenty piasters and spends a hundred in the maintenance of the collectors, it is not taken into consideration. At last, perhaps, the peasant, to get rid of the burden upon him, pays the now double assessment, and, in order to do so, is obliged to turn over an animal at half price.

The amount of the tithe assessed by the government, moreover,

is entirely arbitrary. When, a few years ago, the Sultan traveled in Europe, the tax was raised from a tenth to an eighth of all the produce to defray the cost of the journey. This increase, though imposed for an extraordinary purpose, has never been removed. When the extortions of the collectors are all added, the tithe amounts to about a sixth of every thing produced.

But the tax known as the tithes constitutes but a small portion of the taxes as a whole. Every thing that the Rajah can call his own is subject to a special tax. There is the "land-tax,"¹ the "grass-tax," and the "house-tax," which are very burdensome. But these are by no means all the wrongs of the Christian, nor are they, perhaps, the worst. The Rajah is not and can not be a land-owner. To be sure, the constitution of 1856 enacted by the Porte, and indorsed, as we have seen, by the powers of Europe, granted to Christians the right to acquire real estate. Presuming upon the protection of this guarantee, a Christian, now and then, has bought land in Turkey; but the result has been that he has almost invariably been robbed of his purchase. The process, by which this loss occurs, is as simple as that by which in olden time a negro in the swamps of the Mississippi was deprived of his pigs or his chickens. Some neighboring Turk comes along and quietly takes possession of the field, whereupon the Christian can only recover by resort to the courts. But the courts are in the hands of the Turks, and the testimony of the Christian is practically inadmissible. Theoretically he may indeed testify, but the evidence must be given before a Turkish judge. The court invariably browbeats a Christian witness, and often obliges him to repeat his testimony. If, in such a repetition, a change of a single word occurs, the testimony is instantly rejected as untrustworthy. In such a contest no Christian has a shadow of a chance of receiving justice. The consequence is that though legally a Rajah may be a landowner, practically such ownership is impossible.

The landlords, then, are all Turks. The Rev. Malcolm MacColl, who, in company with Dr. Liddon, in 1876 visited Turkey for the purpose of studying the condition of the country, gives the following as the exactions which the Turkish owner extorts from his Christian tenant: "A fourth part of the various produce obtained from the ground; one animal yearly, as well as a certain quantity of butter and cheese; to carry a certain number of loads of wood

¹ This is not a tax on the land *owned*—for the Rajah owns none—but upon that cultivated.

and materials for any house which the landlord may chance to be building; to work for the landlord gratuitously whenever he may require it; to make a plantation of tobacco and cultivate it until it is lodged in the master's house; to plow and sow so many acres of land, and look after the crop until it is safely lodged in the landlord's barn, and all this gratuitously."¹

But if we turn from these more material relations to those which pertain to rights of persons, we find conditions still more deplorable. Gibbon, in describing the conduct of the Ottoman princes at the time of their establishment in Europe, gives to his readers this picture:

"A naked crowd of Christians of both sexes and every age, of priests and monks, of matrons and virgins, was exposed in the public market; the whip was frequently used to quicken the charity of redemption; and the indignant Greeks deplored the fate of their brethren, who were led away to the worst evils of temporal and spiritual bondage."²

Atrocious as this was, it scarcely exceeded in brutality what has continued to exist down to the present day. Last October, Mr. Baring and Mr. Calvert, two Englishmen then in Bulgaria, reported that they saw a Turk demand a Christian girl from her father for his harem, and that when the father refused the Turk slashed at him with his sabre, severely wounding his hand. Colonel Longworth, the British Consul-General at Belgrade, in a consular report declares that "the forcible abduction of Christian girls is an abuse which calls urgently for correction." Consul Abbot says: "A custom prevails here to exempt from military conscription a Mussulman young man who elopes with a Christian girl and whom he converts to his faith. This being a meritorious act for his religion, it entitles him, as a reward, to be freed from military service." Mr. MacColl, commenting in the light of his own observation on this passage, uses these words: "'Elopement' means what Mr. Consul Longworth calls 'forcible abduction;' and as to 'conversion' to the Mohammedan faith, the victim of Turkish lust has no choice. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, she has no means to bring her case before the tribunals; and if she does, her evidence as a Christian is not received. If, in the frenzy of her despair, she proclaims herself a Mohammedan, in order to get a hearing, her ravisher is praised and rewarded for having converted her, and she remains

¹ Contemporary Review, vol. xxviii. p. 976.

² Gibbon, Smith's ed., vol. viii. p. 27.

his lawful prey." "This means," the same author says further, "that the Turkish Government puts a premium on the violation of Christian female chastity. The government tempts the Mussulman ravisher of Christian maidens with a substantial reward in the life that now is, and with a promise of paradise hereafter. And every Rajah family in Turkey is exposed to this outrage. And they are helpless, for they are not allowed to possess arms, and they have no other arbitrament to appeal to but the God who hears in secret and gathers up the tears of the afflicted."¹

And such, *mutatis mutandis*, is the condition of the government in all its branches. As late as April 10th of the present year, a correspondent of the London *Times* describes in some detail the fate of a student of the military school at Pancaldi who had ventured to write a letter questioning the legality of Midhat Pasha's banishment. The student was twenty-two years of age and the most brilliant young man in the school. Moreover, he was a Turk. But he had ventured to suggest that the government had done an unlawful act, and that was enough to condemn him. The editor to whom the article was sent called in his journal for the name of the writer, not for publication, as he declared, but as a pledge of good faith. On receiving the name, he instantly sent it to the War Office. The writer was arrested and thrown into a dungeon. He was at once tried by court-martial and condemned to death. This sentence was commuted to two hundred blows of the bastinado, but the young man died at the hundred and fiftieth.²

It was evils such as these that led to the insurrections in Servia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, and finally, in September last, to the appeal of the people of Herzegovina to the great powers. And the question becomes pertinent whether wrongs, such as have been perpetrated, can not be eradicated without armed interference of Christian Europe. To that question, unfortunately, the past history of Turkey warrants one answer. It requires but a very brief examination of a few pertinent facts to convince one that relief can come in no other way. The Government of Turkey is strictly theocratic. The Koran is not to the people simply what the Bible is to Christians; it is to the government what the Great Charter is to England, and what the Constitution is to the United States. Its precepts are legal mandates. What the Koran says to the Mussulman, therefore, is of transcendent political importance.

¹ Contemporary Review, vol. xxviii. p. 979.

² London Times, April 10, 1877.

Here are some of its mandates: "Fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you, and kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you; for temptation to idolatry is more grievous than slaughter. Fight, therefore, against them until there be no temptation to idolatry, and the religion be God's."¹ Again it declares: "War is enjoined you against the infidels; but this is hateful unto you; yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing which is worse for you, but God knoweth and ye know not."² Again: "O true believers, verily God loveth those who fight for his religion in battle array. Believe in God and his apostle, and defend God's true religion with your substance and in your own persons. This will be better for you, if ye knew it. He will forgive you your sins, and introduce you into gardens through which rivers flow, and agreeable habitations in gardens of perpetual abode. This will be great felicity. And ye shall obtain other things which ye desire."³

Thus it is alike a matter of religious faith and a matter of statutory law that a conquered people have no rights whatever. Men, women, and children may be disposed of as the capricious whim of the victor may dictate. The atrocities committed upon the insurgents, the accounts of which last year rang through the civilized world, were no violations of Turkish law or Turkish religion or Turkish morals. Nay, further, if every man in Servia had been put to the sword, and every woman and child had been reduced to slavery, there is neither Turkish law nor custom by which the perpetrators of the atrocities could have been punished. If punished at all, punishment could only have been inflicted by the mandate of an absolute ruler, acting through fear of the foreign powers.

And this brings us to consider how far such a fear is operative as a restraint. It is doubtless true that the Porte is prevented by the Christian powers from doing and permitting many things which otherwise he might do. We may well concede that at times he has the fear of Europe before his eyes; for he well knows that Europe would not allow the extermination of a revolting Christian population—a thing which, as we have seen, would be perfectly allowable by Turkish law. But even granting this, there remains the colossal fact that in all the multiform relations of every-day life the powers of Europe have had, and can have, no influence whatever. So long

¹ Koran, Sale's Translation, p. 22.

² Koran, Sale's Translation, p. 25.

³ Ibid. p. 449.

as Turkish law is dominant, and so long as a Turk is in supreme authority, it will be impossible to prevent atrocious abuses. So long as the Moslem is ruler and the Christian is subject, it will still be possible, from the very nature of Moslemism and Christianity, for the Turk to commit every crime with impunity. In spite of all Europe, he may still cut down the Christian father whenever the Christian father refuses to surrender a daughter to his imperious lust.

Now, as the basis of our judgment on this question, we are not left to the necessities of *à priori* reasoning alone. It is not a question of faith abstractly considered. It is as puerile as it is false to assert that the Christian nations at the present day have any desire to interfere with the religion, as such, of any Mohammedan. The question is simply whether the Turk, *as he is*, can be kept within the bounds of humanity by simply laying upon him moral obligations. To that question the history of the last twenty years responds by an emphatic NO.

In 1856, the Tanzimât, the least that the powers could in decency exact of Turkey, was considered by the plenipotentiaries at Paris. It was proposed to embody its provisions in the treaty. But the Turkish minister objected, and pleaded that the congress should spare the dignity of the Porte and trust to its honor for the fulfillment of its conditions. In this attitude the Turkish minister was supported by Great Britain, and the "delicate susceptibilities" of the Sultan were spared. What was the result? Though the Tanzimât was indorsed by a protocol of all the powers, it has never been proclaimed throughout the Turkish Empire to this day. One who has carefully observed the workings of that government declares that although within a short distance from Constantinople "some of its provisions are feebly and fitfully carried out," in the provinces "it is probable that most of the judges never heard of it, certainly there has never been any attempt to enforce any one of its provisions."¹

It is only in the light of these facts that the language of the famous Andrassy "Note" (December 30th, 1875) can be properly interpreted. In Herzegovina, insurrection against the atrocious rule of the Moslems had been raging for six months. It was beginning to stir Bosnia, Montenegro, and Servia. The Austrian minister, speaking not only in behalf of his own government, but also

¹ Rev. Malcolm MacColl, in the report already referred to.

in behalf of Germany and Russia, then uttered his famous words. He called to mind the fact that the Rajahs were oppressed under the yoke of a servitude which reduced them to "slaves;" that the Porte had habitually violated its most solemn promises; and, most important of all, that "it is absolutely necessary that the powers should appeal to acts; in one word, that their action should be grounded on facts, and not on programmes." The full force and significance of this last expression is easily comprehended, but it is only comprehended in view of the history of the Tanzimât. Surely it *was* time that the action of Europe should be grounded on "facts," and not on "programmes."

But the Andrassy "Note," though formally accepted by the Turkish Government, produced no effect in ameliorating the abuses complained of. The reforms suggested were not even promulgated. On the contrary, the government showed increased fanaticism. The old militant faith of the Moslems was revived. Throughout the empire the Turk was more insolent and haughty than ever. On the 6th of May a fanatical Turkish mob fell upon and murdered the French and German consuls at Salonica, and in the western provinces it was everywhere evident that the government was either unable or unwilling to restrain the fury of persecution.

Five days after the affair at Salonica, Gortschakoff, Bismarck, and Andrassy met at the Prussian capital and issued what is known as the "Berlin Memorandum." This not only confirmed the Andrassy Note, but added that as the demands of the Note had been accepted by Turkey, its terms must be instantly carried into effect and satisfactory guarantees given; otherwise it proposed that the powers should take "such efficacious measures as might be demanded." To this Memorandum the great powers, with the exception of Great Britain, assented. As the Treaty of Paris, however, required *unanimous* assent, the demands could not be enforced. England, unquestionably, had the right to withhold her signature; but to regard her defeat of the measure as a diplomatic triumph, as it was regarded by the English Tories, would be, if it were not really so serious a matter, simply a laughable absurdity. By this course of England, and the consequent failure of the Memorandum, Turkey was encouraged in her course. In less than a month after the answer of Derby was known, Bulgaria became the scene of the most shocking barbarities, and Servia and Montenegro had formally declared war against Turkey.

The atrocities of the last summer are too fresh to need descrip-

tion. It is, perhaps, enough to say in this connection that for a time they silenced all political considerations and paralyzed all diplomacy. They did not fail, however, on the one hand, to arouse the more active sympathies of Russia toward Servia and Montenegro, and, on the other, to call out indignant protests from half the population of England against the course of their government. In October, Alexinatz fell, and the power of the Turk was reinstated at every point.

The next effort of the powers was made at Constantinople. In December, the representatives of Russia, England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy entered upon a consideration of the whole question at the Turkish capital. The session of the plenipotentiaries continued until the 18th of January, when the plan which they had unanimously adopted was laid before the Porte. The plan differed in no essential particular from that of the Andrassy Note and the Berlin Memorandum. It demanded equal rights and equal protection for the Turkish Christians, thorough reforms in the administration of the civil government, and proper guarantees for their execution. Two days after the presentation of this demand to the Porte, Safvet Pasha communicated to the conference its rejection by the Turkish Government. Then the "Protocol," signed by all the great powers, though it made no demands, indicated the same desire, and consequently shared the same fate. Thus England three times,¹ and the other great powers four times, presented the conditions on which alone Europe could be satisfied. To the first of these, as we have seen, assent was given, and reforms were promised. But, as we also saw, reforms were never attempted; but, on the contrary, persecutions increased, and German and French officials were murdered. The powers now demanded those guarantees without which experience had taught that no reforms would be so much as attempted. But guarantees Turkey would not give. Just as her proud sensibilities rebelled against being bound by the Treaty of Paris, so now they refused to accept such terms as alone would make reform possible. She would promise any thing, but to give security was out of the question. Her conduct reminds one of the fact in the life of King John of England—that he cheerfully assented to every one of the provisions of the Great Charter until he came to the guarantees in the sixty-first and sixty-second chapters, when in his rage he drove the barons out of his presence

¹ England did not join in giving assent to the Andrassy "Note," but issued an independent "Note" not very different from that of the other powers.

and betook himself to smashing the furniture and making the air sulphurous with his oaths.

But for another element in this problem, the conduct of England in rejecting the "Berlin Memorandum," and in protesting against the manifesto of Russia declaring war, would be not only inexcusable, but also inexplicable. This brings us to the central difficulty of the Eastern Question—the difficulty which, as we saw at the outset, has kept it so long unanswered. That difficulty is in the question as to who shall control the Straits of the Bosphorus.

Even Carlyle, whose trumpet has twice summoned the moral sensibilities of his country to indignant protest against the course of the government, admits that England must "take strict charge of" her pathway to India. That the possession of the Straits by Russia would endanger that pathway must be admitted. That England should consent therefore to the occupation of Constantinople by Russia can not be expected. Nay, it may be set down as certain that rather than consent, she would fight at every corner of earth and ocean. It is therefore of great consequence to determine whether Russia desires and purposes such an occupation.

Ever since the fall of the Greek Empire, Russia has regarded herself as the national protector of the Greek Church. Her ruler took the title of emperor, and under his fostering care the church, which was eclipsed at the occupation of Constantinople by the Moslems, has so far recovered as to embrace in its faith a fourth of those professing Christianity. It was inevitable, therefore, that Russia should be foremost in sympathy for the Christian subjects of Turkey, foremost in demanding that the Christian in Turkey should receive protection.

But there are, unfortunately, abundant indications that Russia is disposed to turn the situation to her political advantage. It is now generally conceded that the Crimean War had no sufficient cause on the part of Russia, and that it was forced by the Czar upon an unwilling people. It is certain that the issue of the war not only drove Nicholas to his grave, but also forced upon the people a humiliation which they have never forgotten. Accordingly, the best energies of Alexander II., when he succeeded to the crown, were directed to the improvement of the army. The work was one of years, but it was, on the whole, highly successful.

Every body remembers with what high-handed independence Russia tore one of the chapters out of the Treaty of Paris on the

outbreak of the Franco-German war. That abrogation, of itself, was unquestionably one of the most defiant acts of modern diplomacy; but viewed in the light of subsequent revelations it appears all the more significant. The clause of the treaty especially offensive to the Czar was that restricting the power of the fleet of Russia in the waters of the Black Sea. It was evident to every body that Alexander had broken the treaty simply because the time had come when he believed he could break it without danger. France, Germany, and Italy were sufficiently occupied at home. The only governments likely to offer resistance were Turkey, Austria, and England. But even these, united and unoccupied, would constitute too formidable a power for Russia to defy. Russia, therefore, took care that they should not be unoccupied, though she could not prevent their being united.

In regard to the method employed by Russia to accomplish this end there is no longer any doubt. On the 14th of September, 1870, the Russian ambassador at Vienna, Novikoff, sent a dispatch in cipher to the Russian consul, Jouin, at Ragusa, disclosing the purpose of exciting an insurrection in Herzegovina, and of giving to the insurgents material assistance. The revolt was to be aided and officered by Nikita, the accomplished Prince of Montenegro, who was already receiving a pension from Russia of 8000 a year. The dispatch even went so far as to name the agents who were to furnish the Montenegrin prince with the means necessary to carry on the war against Turkey. It was evident that a perfect understanding had been established between Russia and the Montenegrin officers. These dispatches by means of a secret agent fell into the hands of the Turkish ambassador and were soon deciphered. Surely it is not singular that they threw Turkey into consternation. The Porte at once entered into negotiations with Austria, and the result was that before the end of two weeks they had agreed upon a definite line of policy. They were to avoid war with Russia if possible, but if war were forced upon them, Austria was to put into the field 800,000 men and Turkey 500,000. Formidable as these promises seem, it is evident that they could not well have been fulfilled, for the reason that the insurrection was already drawing within its range the whole of the Slavic population of both Austria and Turkey. It is interesting to note, however, that although the dispatches were intercepted, the purpose of Russia was fully accomplished. Since the documents revealing this

diplomatic intrigue were published, it has also been shown that Russia made similar attempts in Egypt.¹

Whatever may be thought of this course of Alexander in securing for himself impunity for his abrogation of the Treaty of Paris, it can not be denied that it shows a disposition to take advantage of every opportunity to improve his own political situation. This is an important factor in the problem ; indeed, it is the only factor which makes the solution of the Eastern Question difficult. It is by keeping this factor constantly before the English people, that the English Government is able to maintain its position. England may interfere to prevent the downfall of Turkey ; but, if she does so, it will be for the purpose of preventing the corresponding aggrandizement of Russia. Turkey is both in spirit and in the letter so clearly in the wrong that nothing but at least the apparent necessity of thwarting a far-reaching political plan of Russia can sweep England into the contest. We may acknowledge the force of her arguments, but we can have no sympathy with her motives of state policy as opposed to the requirements of humanity.

It is easy to see that, from the English point of view, the great mistake was made when the English Government refused to accede to the "Berlin Memorandum." If it is possible to secure a correction of abuses in Turkey while the Turk remains in authority, it could have been done by the united and authoritative demand of all the powers. Had England acceded, and the demand been made, wrongs would doubtless have been temporarily corrected, and the Eastern Question would have been relegated, as so many times before, to the more or less remote future. But England refused to join the other powers in their demands, and in consequence of that refusal war has ensued.

What the future may have in store, as the result of the war, it were idle to predict. The solution which at this distance most naturally suggests itself is the partition of Turkey and the restoration of Greek independence, under guarantees of the great powers similar to those given to Belgium. "Above all nations is humanity," says Professor Goldwin Smith ; and if the saying be true, it follows that whatever other considerations may have weight, the highest of all considerations demands that the political power of the Turk should come to an end.

¹ "Secret Dispatches of M. de Novikoff and of M. Jouin in the Year 1870." Vienna, 1876.

"Les Responsabilités." Constantinople, 1877.

OUGHT RUSSIA TO PREVAIL?

AT the commencement of the animosities between Russia and Turkey leading to the Crimean war, there was a small party in England, headed by the Prince Consort, who foresaw the present troubles of Europe, and was strongly inclined against an unconditional alliance with Turkey. This party was opposed to England becoming an instrument for the maintenance of Turkish misrule in the Principalities, and wanted to prevent a future war by demanding of Turkey guarantees and the removal of the causes of complaint. In writing to a friend, the Prince Consort used the following language, which, considering the present events, seems prophetic: "A war with Russia to prevent her preponderance in Europe ought not to be conducted in the interest of Turkey, but only for the interest of civilization and the European powers. A war without obligations to Turkey would sooner lead to a peace harmonizing the interests of Europe and civilization than the restitution of the ignorant and despotic government of Turkey." The Prince Consort, being well aware that a substitute of Russian civilization for Turkish was a poor remedy, wanted the war conducted in the interests of the Principalities. But the ambition of Lord Palmerston swept public opinion, the Crimean war followed, and led finally to the Treaty of Paris. Now, treaties are made to be broken, compromises not to be kept. They do not cure the evils, but conceal and delay them till they grow strong enough to break out again with greater force. As the Missouri Compromise in America was the first step to the civil war, so was the Treaty of Paris the first cause of the present difficulties in Europe. Why is Russia so anxious for a war at a time when her credit is almost exhausted, and her recent victories in Asia have cost so many lives? The pretense of protecting Christians sounds at least strange from a government that calls it felony if a person leaves the Orthodox Church for another creed; it seems ridiculous that a government will fight for tolerance and persecute at the same time the Catholics in Poland with the greatest severity; and orders lashes for the members of the Unitarian Greek Church, who re-

fuse to accept the orthodox faith—fifty lashes with a Cossack's whip for a man, twenty-five for a woman, and ten for a child. In one case, where a woman was what the Russian authorities call obstinate, she received one hundred lashes. The Unitarian Greek Church consists of members who, at the time of rupture of the Eastern and Western Christians, placed themselves in connection with the latter, but retained the rites of the former. The reports of Colonel Mansfield, Consul-General at Warsaw, to the English Government bring persecutions of Christians in Poland to light, the like of which a Turkish Government has never been guilty of. And these persecutions do not belong to the time of Catharine II. or Paul I., but took place within the last five years.

That the half-barbarian and half-civilized Russian nation should carry humanity and civilization into any part of Europe would be a remarkable phenomenon of the times. People having been blessed with Russian civilization are far from appreciating it; they have neither gained in moral qualities nor in bodily welfare. Whatever atrocities, on the other hand, the fanaticism of the people in Turkey has committed, the government has always shown tolerance to every religion. After Constantinople was taken, the Sultan's first order was, that Christians should not be molested in the exercise of their religion. Religious tolerance is plainly dictated by the holy book of the Turks, the Koran. It says: "Verily Muslims and they who follow the Jewish religion, and the Christians, and the Sabeits, whoever of them believes in God and the last day, and does what is right, shall have their reward with the Lord; fear shall not come upon them, neither shall they be grieved." Sir George Campbell, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, believes that there is "an immense deal of good about that religion, and that our ideas regarding it are terribly colored by ancient prejudices."

It is strange that Russia, after she has satisfied her ambition in Asia and exhausted her treasury, is so determined on war; but perhaps we find a clue in the testament of Peter the Great. This testament is not a written document, but it is whispered as a tradition in the ear of every throne-ascending Czar, to conquer Turkish territory and to weaken Germany. Whether the existence of this testament is a fable, as is asserted by many, or not, it is certain that the policy of Russia always points in these two directions, and that no Czar considers himself worthy of his great ancestor if he does not make an attempt to execute at least one part of this testa-

ment. Alexander I. succeeded well in regard to Germany. After his armies were beaten, he gained by the Treaty of Tilsit new territory taken from Prussia. P. H. Schnitzler says in his "Secret History of Russia," in regard to this treaty: "His (Alexander's) Peace of Tilsit was concluded in 1807 (so it has been affirmed in a Russian state paper) to save the Prussian monarchy, but doubtless with some less disinterested motives. Perhaps peace was at that time as necessary to Russia as to Prussia; but without positively asserting that it was so, it is difficult to understand, if the salvation of Prussia was its only object, how the surest means of obtaining peace should have been in Alexander's personal aggrandizement. He sacrificed the two champions of the common cause, and overlooked the interest of his own country. By virtue of that treaty, the King of Prussia was to cede to his northern neighbor the province of Belostook, in order, as it was pretended, to re-establish the natural limit on this side of Poland. Alexander, who coveted Finland, engaged to compel the King of Sweden, that gallant and formidable antagonist of Napoleon, not only to lay down his arms, but even to submit to the Continental system, of which he himself, in violation of the interests of his empire, had chosen to wear the yoke." Alexander would have accomplished his designs still better at the Vienna Congress if England had not checked his pretensions. The determined resistance of England alone prevented an addition of Prussian territory to Poland. After he succeeded so well in weakening Germany, under the mask of friendship and sympathy, by creating new German kingdoms to counterbalance the power of Prussia, his son Nicholas brought the humiliation to conclusion, and finished it for the time so thoroughly, that not a police order could be issued in Germany without the consent of the Court of St. Petersburg. But not satisfied with executing this part of the testament Czar Nicholas would carry out the other part also, and this led to the Crimean war, which culminated with the Treaty of Paris. Alexander II. saw the growth of German unity; it was too sudden to be prevented by him; but he could not withdraw from the stage without making at least an attempt to execute one part of the testament. The circumstances are less favorable now than they were with his father. An empty treasury is a great check to ambition, but a fanatical and bigoted people can counterbalance this evil for a short time. The Crusades show us what fanaticism can accomplish; they also teach us that it may conquer, but not hold. It was easy for the Czar, who is looked upon as the representative

of divinity, to kindle the fanaticism of the people, after his agents had provoked the Bulgarian atrocities. These, as well as the insurrection in the Slavic provinces, are virtually the work of Russian agents, and the long-prepared results of Russian machinations. The numerical majority in Russia is favorable to peace, but has no influence; the Panslavonic party is urging war, and the Emperor can not resist, even if the prospect of a certain ruin of the country, and the disappointment of a miscarried ambition, bring him, like his father, to a premature grave. It seems to be the rule for nations as well as individuals, that they never learn by the experience of others, but repeat the faults by which they have seen others perishing.

Panslavonia consists of the sixty millions of Slavonians in Russia, Poland, the Ottoman Empire, Prussia, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Illyrian and Dalmatian provinces. There are three different branches of them, and Russia is continually occupied in bringing about their union and aggrandizement. But the interests of some are diametrically opposed. The Poles differ in language as well as in religion from the Russians, and are entirely opposed to a Slavonic brotherhood under the Russian sceptre. The idea of amalgamating the various members of the Slavonian family into one nation is a chimera; the German and Roman races are not less disunited than they. The German family consists of Germans, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, etc., and the Roman family of French, Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese, and all these members live very well as separate nations. The first we hear of Panslavonism and the fusion of Russia and Poland into one kingdom is in 1834, from Count Adam Gurowski. "Russia," he writes, "is tending to become a mighty and influential power in Europe, under the name of *United Slavonia*, and as representing Slavonian nationality in the equilibrium of the Continent. Poland opposed the Slavonian march, and Russia found that there was a vital necessity that she should, to effect her purpose, absorb a country which would place her in more immediate contact with the West. Providence declared in her favor. Poland, which at no time possessed political preponderance, was necessitated to make room for a body whose march was signalized at every step by the attractive force which drew kindred nations around it. This march, though slow at the commencement, was not less sure; the nearer it approached the goal, the greater became its force and rapidity. The coexistence of Poland and Russia is an impossibility, and would be an historical monstrosity. Slavonia re-

quires unity; she requires one head, one focus, oneness of tendency, and of will. This internal question is now definitely settled."

As Poland is so crushed now that her incorporation into the empire is no longer doubtful, the Panslavonic party is looking for another field of action in another direction, and the Principalities are those unhappy countries selected to be sacrificed to the curse of Panslavonism. Here the task is easier. The pretense of protecting Christianity, that could not be used in Poland, secures to the party the sympathy of those whose intelligence is not deep enough to have more than a superficial insight into the real cause, and will kindle the fanaticism of the ignorant masses. Those who suffered under the Turkish misrule—and a misrule it was indeed, and ought not to have been tolerated by England, France, and Austria—expect every thing favorable by a change. Americans can certainly not blame them; they used to hear this cry for a change in the last Presidential election, and it is but a natural mistake that people, dissatisfied with the condition of affairs, think that every change must lead to the better. This Panslavonic party has at present the greatest influence in Russia, and its head is the Grand Duke Constantine, the apparent heir of the throne. Passion alone could so blind the leaders as not to be able to see that the state of affairs in Russia is very unfavorable to a war. The bravery of the Russian soldier is much overrated, and the excellent name he bears is more inherited than merited, although that he has valor can not be disputed. The stubbornness with which he allowed himself to be killed in the times of Catharine and Paul has ceased to exist. It was neither personal valor nor self-sacrificing patriotism which made the Russian soldier stare in the face of certain death without flinching; it was a religious superstition. This superstition, carefully nourished by the officers and tolerated by the orthodox Suwarrow, consisted in the belief that every soldier killed in battle would arise from his death, after three days, at his home, surrounded by his family, and live happy there without being dragged into the ranks again. Therefore were those most tired of war anxious to be killed in battle, to gain their native fireplace. Those who saw whole regiments annihilated without making the least effort to save themselves could not withhold their admiration; but, in fact, this apparent valor was not patriotism, but the want of it.

The Russian navy can be best characterized by repeating the words of the Emperor, expressed lately in a private circle on a certain occasion. He said, "My navy is very much like the army of

Napoleon III. at the commencement of the German war—very large on paper, but very small when found.” But he has the advantage of Napoleon by being aware of its deficiency.

The Russian finances are apparently in a good condition, but, like the navy, on paper only. The total receipts of the Imperial treasury in 1875 were 515,600,000 roubles, or, if we avoid the large figures, and count in English pounds, about £72,000,000—an increase of thirteen per cent for the last four years. The duties of 1876 exceeded those of 1875 by £650,000. M. de Reutern, the Secretary of the Treasury, anticipates for this year a revenue of £77,000,000. The debt of Russia was £245,000,000, the floating debt £120,000,000, the railway debt £170,000,000, and the internal debt £73,000,000—a total of over £600,000,000. And this is a debt existing at the commencement of a war, the ending of which no human eye can foresee, and at a period of great business prostration. The expenditure which has already been incurred is enormous. The mercantile houses refrain from collecting outstanding debts; no orders are given, no speculation entered into, no purchases made. Will not the receipts under such circumstances fall short of the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury? The voluntary internal loan of 100,000,000 roubles proved almost a failure. In order to secure the loan, the Government had to give the best securities to the bankers and pay an interest of nine and a half per cent.

All these conditions are certainly very unfavorable to a war by Russia, even with the wishes of her people and the sympathies of a portion of Europe; and the impartial observer would hardly comprehend the folly of the Russian Government if he did not know that Panslavonism is not ruled by statesmanship, but by blind passion, regardless of circumstances. The sanguine Slavonic blood takes no difficulties into account, and sees victories where disasters must follow. But there is an enemy to Russia far more dangerous than the Turks. A country long ruled by absolutism and unlimited personal power always breeds principles in opposition to those which rule. They show themselves at first spontaneously in well and noble-minded persons, and are formed by them into theories. The authors knowing by experience only the pressure of absolutism, construe theoretically a platform for the happiness of mankind which is not understood by the masses, and, may be, not by the authors themselves. The masses, whose ideas are beclouded from want of a free development and by a continued deprivation of liberty, make these theories their gospel, and, as soon as an opportu-

nity offers, put them into practice, when they bear a fruit quite different from what the authors intended. Under the absolutism of the Bourbons, J. J. Rousseau wrote his "Social Contract," and the misunderstanding masses followed by a rule of the guillotine, under Napoleon III. But deeper than in France are these so-called social principles rooted in Russia. In France they affected the lower classes, with some exceptions; but in Russia these principles penetrate all classes of society, and the surroundings of the Emperor are not exempt from their influence. The nearer the throne, the greater is the suffering from the temper and caprice of a single person; and it is an honor to human nature that it revolts when its dignity is trespassed upon. We must not forget that the greater part of the people of which Russia now consists enjoyed much more liberty before their annexation than now, and that many liberties, although guaranteed by the Government, were gradually taken away from them. The Cossacks in Little Russia elected their own chief magistrate and leader in war, the Hetman, and had their own civil administration; but the Czarina Elizabeth abolished all their rights, and made their country a Russian province. A few centuries ago, almost all of the present provinces of Russia were independent communities, and no person could exercise personal authority without the suffrage of the people. Russian civilization has done away with this, and given us in Poland a true picture of the way it has been done. The young, able-bodied men are recruited for the army in Asia; and if the old people and women murmur, they are invited to a settlement in Siberia. In order to understand the present social agitation in Russia, which sooner or later will break out, we might throw a glance at the secret societies and conspiracies which spontaneously sprung up in the later years of the reign of Alexander I. But that would be impracticable within the limits of this article.

The words uttered by the unfortunate poet Rylcieff, as he ascended the platform of the gibbet, fifty-one years ago, may become true. "I knew beforehand," he said, "that this enterprise would ruin me, but I was unable any longer to behold my country under the yoke of despotism; the seed I have sown will take root, and do not doubt it will sooner or later bear fruit." This highly-gifted poet had a secret presentiment of his own destiny. Before the outbreak of the conspiracy, he let a hero in one of his poems use the following words, which allude to his own fate: "Well do I know that a gulf is yawning to swallow up the first who rises up against a

nation's oppressors. Fate has chosen me. But tell me in what country, in what age, has independence been won without victims? I shall die for the country of my birth! I know it, I feel it, and it is with joy, O father! that I bless my approaching doom."

If the prophecy in regard to his country will be as well fulfilled as it was in regard to himself, the time may not be distant when the seeds he has sown will become fruit-bearing trees. The Emperor seems to know it, and it is possible that he, driven by the Panslavonians as Louis Napoleon was by the Ultramontanes, thought a foreign war would concentrate the patriotism of the people and divert their attention from the evils at home to the battles abroad. But these battles can not be always successful, because the Russian soldier is not used to fighting against troops of such discipline as the Turkish, and he is not the same as he was under Suwarrow.

The *nimbus* of the Emperor may fall as it fell from Napoleon, and all these elements fermenting over the country, during fifty years, may be combined to thwart the ambitious designs of the Panslavonic party, just as the Ultramontanes in France, who urged on the war, were the first crushed by it. In order to quiet the mistrust of Europe, and to lull her into security and inactivity, Russia declared that she did not wage a war for aggrandizement of territory, but for the interest of Christianity and humanity alone. But how far Russian official declarations can be trusted, the war of Khokand and Khiva has shown. The latter was annexed, although the Czar declared most emphatically that he had no such intention. But it is the traditional policy of Russia to mingle in the quarrels of others under the most solemn, disinterested protestations, and then take all she can get. The most revolting example of this policy was given by Alexander I. when he sent troops to Georgia to assist the people in their war of independence against Persia. After the defeat of Persia, the unfortunate people were annexed to Russia. This action verified the judgment of M. de Chateaubriand, passed upon Alexander's character. "Sincere as a man," he says, "in all that concerns humanity, Alexander was as cunning as a demi-Greek in all that related to politics." With such examples of Russian bad faith before her, Europe can not but feel uneasy, and will not fail at a proper time to compel her to keep her word.

There are only two nations in Europe directly interested in the war, or, strictly speaking, only one, and that is Austria. England is concerned as an Asiatic and not as a European power. It is the Empress of India who dictates the policy of the Queen of England.

Germany is indirectly interested in the navigation of the Danube; but as long as Austrian interests are unimpaired, she has no reason to complain. The other governments declare their neutrality and remain quiet observers, without showing sympathy for the one or other side.

In the Italian Parliament, after one pro-Russian and one pro-Turkish speech had been made, the ministry declared that Italy had come out of the Eastern Question free from any entanglement whatsoever, and on the best terms with each of the powers. The government was resolved to be strictly neutral always, provided that the essential interests of Italy were not involved. France does not take much notice of the war; she seems to have forgotten the existence of the Treaty of Paris. If a nation in Europe chooses the republican form of government, she may prosper and thrive, but she ceases to be a prominent political power, and her voice will not be listened to in the council of nations. We never hear that the Government of Switzerland expresses an opinion on European questions, because it would not have the least influence if it did so. France has to defend her institutions against her internal enemies; and, as a war made her a republic, as the jealousy of parties kept her such, a successful war would be the grave of the republic,—if, indeed, the Ultramontane party should allow the republic to exist so long.

To all those professions of sympathy for humanity and Russian civilization, in the English Parliament, Mr. Gathorne Hardy answered with the plainest speech which the Eastern Question has yet elicited. "My opinion is," he says, "that Russia, in all these transactions, is setting up her own interest, Germany is setting up hers, France is setting up hers, and England would be very much behind in the race if she did not set up hers. There was never a nation which did not consult her own interest, and never will be, until we arrive at a time when there will be universal peace, and then we shall have no quarrel, personal, political, or social."

The situation in Europe could not have been explained in a plainer and more truthful manner. At the commencement of the war we found the English journals almost fanatically in the cause of humanity; but let the Empress of India want troops of the Queen of England, and let Russia close the Suez Canal, and we should find all the pleas for civilization becoming silent. If the Czar should make reprisals on Egypt, as he threatened to do be-

cause she joined Turkey, we should not meet any more articles about oppressed Christians in the English press. The so-often-misled public opinion in England succeeded, at the beginning of the war, in eliciting expressions of sympathy with Russia; but a closer, dispassionate examination has led already to the conviction that Russia is not the power to be intrusted with the advancement of humanity. The Gladstone resolution, that the Porte had forfeited all claim to the moral support of Great Britain, was introduced in Parliament at a time when the enthusiasm for Russia began to waver and give way to a real understanding of the English interest. The passing of the resolution would have fettered the government by obligations which the progress of events may invest, at any time, with a wholly new character. It was not worthy the reputation of a statesman like Gladstone to endeavor to bind the English Government to a definite policy at a time when circumstances required that her freedom of action should be absolute. England's duties, in the end, consist of English interests, and their appearance may change at any moment. The Treaty of 1856 binds England to resist an attack on Turkish territory in case she is called upon to do so by the other parties to that treaty; but no power has shown any intention of calling upon her to fulfill those obligations. Although Russia broke Article VIII. of the Treaty of Paris by marching troops into Roumania, England did not feel disposed to interfere; at that time the protestations for Russian civilization were the loudest. She had no interest to defend on the banks of the Danube—at least, none in comparison with Austria. Article XV. of the Treaty of Paris declares the Danube a highway of universal trade. That Russia blocked this highway by torpedoes had no direct bearing on English interest, so long as Austria did not find her interest impaired. Although England signed the Treaty of Paris as a European nation watching over the balance of power in Europe, she appears in this war as an Asiatic power; and as long as the interest of the Empress of India is not jeopardized, the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England sees no cause to interfere. Whether this policy, tending to make England a dependency of India, and deprive her in the future of all political influence in Europe, is wise and statesman-like, is a question we do not discuss. It can not be denied that after the Franco-German war England held a lower position in Europe than before, and it is to be feared that after the Russo-Turkish war she will step still farther to the background of Eu-

rope, since she shows a perfect indifference to all questions which do not affect her as an Asiatic Power.

We mentioned above that the only power in Europe whose interest is directly endangered by the war is Austria. Here we find the situation more complicated, the interests more opposed, and the opinions more contradictory. In England the whole people have one interest. Even if the individual sympathies vary to one side or the other, the common interest will finally unite them all in one conviction, and the alarmed holders of Turkish bonds in England may rest assured that their sympathetic countrymen will join them in their opinion.

Whatever the interest of Austria requires, it is certain that the Court of Vienna, surrounded by a powerful Camarilla, is, personally, friendly toward the Court of St. Petersburg. The true interest of Austria lies in a close alliance with Germany, but the wounded vanity of her ruler does not allow an intimate connection with a power that has humbled her so fearfully, and treated her afterwards so generously, before the eyes of Europe. A country may be defeated and still command the respect of nations; but if this be done in so short a time as it was done by the Prussians in 1866, the rulers of the defeated country must feel that they have fallen in the esteem of other nations, and this they never forgive. The population of Austria consists of Germans, Slavonians, and Magyars.

The Germans have no personal sympathy with either of the war-waging powers. They know that the difference between Russian and Turkish civilization is not great, and they restrict themselves by guarding their own interest, which lies more on the Turkish side. The Slavonians are infected by the Panslavonic ideas, and are therefore in full sympathy with Russia; but the most important element are the Magyars. They always have been extravagantly jealous of the Slavonian element in their own and neighboring provinces, and the intensity of hatred of Russia is not less bitter than that of the Poles. When, in 1848-49, Hungary fought with the greatest success for her independence, Russia came to the support of Austria, and the two powers, combined, succeeded in subduing her. The barbarous hordes of Russia and the Slavonic bands of Austria were trying to outdo each other in cruelties, and the subjugation was followed by the most despotic reign. In Hungary the sympathy for Turkey has risen to enthusiasm. Whatever questions in the Hungarian Parliament divide its members, perfect unity obtains in regard to the Eastern Question, and all party divi-

sions have ceased to exist till Austria shall have taken her final position as to the Russo-Turkish war. If the Austrian Government should declare war, she would find a devotion of lives and an offering of money that would remind us of the times of Maria Theresa. Wherever the Hungarian patriotism is thrown, we always find it in full force, and acting with the greatest unity. Through centuries the Magyar was the traditional enemy of the Turk, and the bulwark of Europe against him; much Turkish blood has flowed on Hungarian soil; but in modern times the Hungarian animosities are concentrated against the Slavonic element, and against Russia especially. If Russia should succeed in organizing a confederacy of Slavonic states under her protection on the Balkan peninsula, the Magyar rule in Hungary would cease to exist; the Slavonic element, inferior in Hungary to the Magyar in intelligence only, not in numbers, would gain the political preponderance, and retard all progress of civilization.

Whatever the personal feelings of the Emperor of Austria may be, he has to consult the interest of his empire, and he must be aware that a confederacy of Slavonic states (the final intention of Russia) can not be tolerated; neither can she permit the conversion of Turkish provinces into outlying districts of Russia, ready to admit a Russian army at any moment on the same terms as those of the Russian and Roumanian convention. The conquests which Russia might effect in Europe can be held only by permission of Austria, and Austria can never give such a permission, because the Danube, the highway for Austrian products to the Orient, being under Russian protection, would render the trade of Austria dependent on Russian interest and caprice. A threatening attitude on the part of Austria would soon compel Russia, even in the case of victories on the Danube, to abandon her ideas of a Slavonic confederacy. When Emperor Nicholas, contrary to his promise, occupied in 1855 the Principalities, no remonstrance could induce him to withdraw his army, but when Austria quartered an army of 300,000 men in Siebenburgen, ready at any moment to cross the frontier, he became quite willing to keep his promise and remove his army.

The Russian army on the Danube is entirely dependent on Austrian neutrality. If Russia should move forward, and Austria participate in the war, an Austrian army would only have to follow to cut off the Russian supplies. If, therefore, Russia should attain any of her designs in regard to the Principalities, it can be done by permission of Austria only. Russia may try to corrupt the Austrian

Government by aggrandizement in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, but public opinion in Hungary is watchful, and will probably prevent the Austrian Government from accepting this perilous gift. The Austrian Emperor's purpose should be to set aside his personal feelings, to refuse all indemnifications offered to him by Russia, and compel her by an armed neutrality to abandon all hopes in the Principalities. The glory of preventing the establishment of a Russian instead of a Turkish civilization in the Principalities will fall to Austria, and especially to Hungary, and she will be a more important power among the nations after the war than she was before. What England loses in importance in Europe Austria will gain.

Germany has an interest on the Danube as well as Austria. The river under Russian protection or influence would cripple her trade to the Orient, and the extension of Panslavonism would become a constant danger to her. It is a generally received, but erroneous opinion, that personal affection between the Courts of Russia and Prussia will cause the latter always to be found on the side of Russia. This affection, as well as its origin, is of a very selfish character, and will last just as long as no other interest supersedes it. The policy of Germany is indicated by the words of Prince Bismarck, used some time ago: "The Eastern Question," he says, "begins for us when the interest of Austria is threatened." These words signify a strong adhesion to Austria, and, in fact, the interests of Germany and Austria are identical on the Danube. A confederacy of Slavonic states under Russian protection will not be tolerated by either power.¹

Count von Moltke said in the Chamber, as he spoke on the necessity of an addition to the army estimates, that though he de-

¹ The difficulty between the Emperor of Germany and Prince Bismarck, lately witnessed by Europe and so much speculated upon, had probably its origin in the opposite sympathies of the two illustrious persons, or rather in the generous feeling of one struggling with the calculating mind of the other. The Emperor, led by the tradition of his House and by personal feelings, was, so we presume, in favor of a Russian alliance. Prince Bismarck, to whom personal feelings in politics are wholly unknown, favored the Austrian alliance and withdrew, as he could not overcome the personal feelings of the Emperor. We may therefore conclude that when Bismarck is in Berlin, and his influence predominating, the chances are for an Austrian alliance; but when he withdraws and goes to restore his health, the gratitude of the Emperor to Russia for her attitude in the Franco-German war supersedes all other considerations. The Emperor is in a dilemma: on one side he provokes the reproach of ingratitude—a reproach deeply felt by a man of his generosity and conscientiousness; on the other side he is in danger of subordinating the interest of the country to his personal feelings.

sired a long period of peace, the times did not permit of such a hope; on the contrary, the time was not far distant when every government would be compelled to strain every nerve to secure its own existence. Such an authority can not be trifled with, but even the best authorities are not infallible, and the Count modified his statement afterwards. The times have passed when governments can enter into wars at their own discretion. The despotic Russia had to inflame the fanaticism of the people before she commenced the war, and the Emperor chose to parade the *nimbus* of his divinity before the people at different places, and to make speeches like a candidate for office on the stump. There is no nation in Europe at present with whom a war is popular, except perhaps a war of revenge with the French people. But under the present circumstances, France will soon come to the conviction that her greatest enemies are not to be found in Prussia, but in her own country.

But what shall become of these Principalities that always will give to Russia a pretense for interfering, for the avowed purpose of introducing her civilization and for protecting Christians—a pretense which in reality is a cover to persecute, drive out, exterminate every one not belonging to the Orthodox Greek Church? The real apostles of humanity will certainly not intrust Russia with the solution of the problem. The fate of the Principalities will be decided after the war; not Russia, but the civilized nations of Europe, will have to decide. The war will have to be localized, notwithstanding all contrary appearances and assertions. An armed neutrality by Austria in Europe, and England in Asia, is sufficient. The defeat of the Gladstone resolution in Parliament has saved England from a war. If this resolution had passed, Russia would have no longer regarded and respected the interest of England. Russia respects only where she fears. By this resolution England would have become the silent ally of Russia, and in all wars of Russia her allies are the losers. If Russia becomes aware that England and Austria permit her to fight to her heart's content, but will not let her pluck any fruit of the war, and not suffer her to aggrandize in Asia or to protect in the Principalities, she will soon become willing to make a treaty. Until recently, Russia used to be victorious in all diplomatic negotiations, and she often won by the pen what she had lost by the sword. Every treaty to her disadvantage she keeps until she believes herself to be sufficiently recovered to break it. The next treaty must be quite different from the Treaty of Paris, and

fetter her more completely. If one government in Europe has the right to ask another for guarantees of the humane treatment of its subjects, especially of Christians, let the powers by all means demand guarantees of Russia for the humane treatment of the Roman Catholics and of the Unitarian Greeks, and of Spain for that of the Protestants. The Turkish Government has promised reforms for the Principalities; that is more than Russia has done in regard to Poland. The downfall of Turkey has so often been prophesied, that almost every one believes it blindly. But if we take into consideration the progress she has made in the last fifty years, and the many resources the country possesses, it will be seen that it requires nothing but a good and strong government to make her one of the most thriving and prosperous nations of Europe—not only prosperous herself, but making other nations prosperous also, by a lively intercourse and trade with them. A system of general education will soon bring up a new generation, more active and industrious than the present. Europe has to expect more benefits, more humanity, more civilization from a Turkey under the Ottoman empire, than from a Turkey under the government of Panslavonic principles. The vigor and energy lately displayed by Turkey shows that she is not so sick as generally anticipated, that she is open for progressive ideas, and that she needs nothing but strength of government and popular education. If the powers want a prescription for the so-called sick man, we can give them one—it is:

Educate, but do not exterminate.

OLD DUTCH AND FLEMISH MASTERS.¹

EUGENE FROMENTIN died some time ago, quite unexpectedly, from the consequences of a carbuncle; and shortly before his illness he had published, in one volume, some of his written studies on Flemish and Dutch painters. He was an eminent painter, even a celebrated painter, quite well known for his works in painting to all French people who take any real interest in art and see the annual exhibition. Two of his pictures are now in the Luxembourg Gallery, and will be transferred to the Louvre when there is room for them. He exhibited at the Salon of 1876, and every body looked for his works; but the effect was rather disappointing, as there was a tendency to blackness in color for which earlier and brighter performances had not prepared us. Still there were the old energy and movement, so that we recognized Fromentin, hoping, however, that another visit to his beloved Algeria might bring back the true sunshine to his palette. It was impossible to believe that there was any real decline in the faculties of the artist, for he had just published a volume which from beginning to end was one continual exhibition of the most lively and agile intelligence. I never read a book about painting and painters which had the same qualities as this book in the same degree. To begin with, the writer knows what he is talking about; he is thoroughly well-informed, he has the technical knowledge without which all writing on art is sure to go wrong in its estimates, and he has the intellectual sympathy, the imaginative power, without which the best technical knowledge is inanimate. As for his style of writing, his method of exposition, I can only say that Fromentin had such an admirable literary gift, and cultivated it to such good purpose, that the volume before us placed him at once in the very front rank of masters in French prose. It is useless to attempt, in order to give an idea of what such writing is, any comparison with the compositions of English writers upon art. They have not the

¹ *Les Maîtres d'Autrefois, Belgique, Hollande, par Eugène Fromentin.* Paris, Plon.

instrument, the language, and they might as well try to do in English what Fromentin did in French as to carve in sandstone whatever may be cast in bronze. Our tongue is quite incomparably inferior to French for the purposes of art criticism. We, in English, have only the popular language, which is inadequate to deal with subjects of which the people know nothing, or else the slang of artists which is, at the best, too professional and, at the worst, too uncivilized to be admissible in any thing like literature. In French, on the contrary, there exists a complete intermediate language, between the slang of artists and the English of every-day life, which is admissible in the best literature and which expresses perfectly every thing that has to be said about the fine arts. This language has been formed by the constant intercourse of artists with highly-cultivated lovers of art. It is now the medium of art-criticism, and in the hands of a master is so very expressive that such a writer as Fromentin can say the whole of what he desires to say with a clearness and precision which leave nothing to be desired. To translate the work before me is such a hopeless task that I will not vex myself, or trouble the reader, by attempting a single passage. He who knows French well enough to relish first-rate work in literature should get the book for himself, and keep it as one of the best jewels in his library, and he who does not will get a better notion of what Fromentin thought and wrote from a condensation of his doctrine than from any attempted rendering of his words.

No painter ever wrote prose so well before. The prose of Reynolds and Leslie, though correct, is quite timid amateur work in comparison with this. The only literary work done by a painter which can bear a comparison with that of Fromentin is the verse of Rossetti, but that is of another order. Certainly no painter ever before wrote about art in a manner at once so powerful and so distinguished. Bitterly do we regret the loss of this gifted and accomplished man at the very time when his mind was in its fullest maturity and giving its most perfect fruit.

It is a great good fortune for an art-critic to write in French so far as language is concerned, but it is certainly not so fortunate for him in all respects. I would rather talk about the old masters to an English or an American audience than to a French one. There is more tolerance of diversity of opinion with reference to artists of established reputation in England and America than there is in France. Matthew Arnold praised the French for considering what they ought to think, but this habit of theirs has led them to a sort

of orthodoxy in matters of art-criticism which is not by any means conducive to vigorous intellectual habits. A certain list of painters is looked upon as comprising the saints and prophets of the artistic religion, and there is hardly a Frenchman living who dares venture to say plainly what he thinks about them. Fromentin has gone as far in the direction of free speech as any countryman of his ever did who wrote especially for the cultivated classes. He is not so audacious as Proudhon, but then Proudhon was not what we should call a gentleman (though a fine honest fellow with good brains), and Fromentin was a gentleman and something more. Considering that he aspired to the French Academy on the strength of his literary merits, and had therefore to be very careful not to attack what are distinctively academical doctrines, he may be said to have written boldly. He showed much independence when dealing with one or two famous pictures by great masters. He could and did write independently about particular works, but not about famous men. For example, he gives us to understand clearly enough that in his opinion the *Night Watch* is a bad picture, but he would not venture to hint that Rembrandt, or any other celebrated Dutchman, was not on the whole a remarkable painter, though he might fail from time to time.

The book was intended by the author to pass for a mere collection of notes taken during his journeys to the north, but it is evidently much more than this. We see plainly enough what the author's real notes were when he first wrote them, for he quotes a few of them occasionally in their first crude form. The finished work is a very careful piece of writing, and a work of art in itself, but is it sincere? Does the author really tell us what he thought, or does he tell us just so much as he thinks his countrymen are likely to bear? The answer to this question is, I think, very easy. Fromentin writes as people talk in good society, as sincerely as he can without offending his audience and without exposing himself to be very much misunderstood. As for quite absolute sincerity, that is another matter, and yet it may be said further that he conveys his true opinion pretty plainly to the intelligent reader, whilst conveying to the less intelligent only just so much as they are able to take in. We have to bear in mind that Fromentin, being a Frenchman, will always praise a great master as much as he possibly can, and that his criticisms, however apparently frank and plain-spoken, must always be taken as conveying even more than they express.

His French nationality imposed another difficulty upon Fromen-

tin. How was he to convey any thing like instruction to a French audience? Of all literary difficulties this is the most perplexing when the writer has to deal with subjects which are not generally understood. Few readers know enough about art to read such a thoroughly-accomplished critic as Fromentin, without being constantly helped along by little morsels of instruction, but when a French reader suspects that he is going to be taught any thing he rebels at once. In England it is very different. Mr. Ruskin can administer downright lessons of a dozen pages each whenever he imagines that public ignorance stands in need of enlightenment, and the patient English accept it with hardly a murmur. Fromentin, however, did not publish in London, and had to overcome the Gallic resistance to instruction by the exercise of his own ingenuity. He managed it by pretending to forget himself every now and then, after which, as soon as the pill had been duly administered, he suddenly recollected himself, cast aside the pedantry of professional talk, and became the man of the world once more. This is all art evidently, but it is done so cleverly that one can not help admiring it. I deeply regret, however, that there should have been any necessity for stopping short in the most instructive and therefore most valuable passages. Since the writer was anxious not to weary his audience, he had nothing to do but to put his didactic passages in the form of notes to be read only by those who took an interest in them. This does not seem to have occurred to him, and we have the vexation, over and over again, of seeing him shut the tap of information just when it was beginning to flow.

The book is badly arranged in one respect, for the notes on Van Eyck and Memling are put at the end, and yet these are the earliest artists of whom the writer treats. They seem pale and tame, too, after we have read the strong and brilliant work about Rubens, Vandyke, and Rembrandt. After a preface of four pages, the book begins with Belgium, in the gallery at Brussels; then we have several chapters on Rubens, preceded by one on his teachers. We have "Rubens at Brussels," "Rubens at Malines," "The 'Descent from the Cross,' and the 'Elevation of the Cross,'" "Rubens at Antwerp," "Rubens as a Portrait-painter," and "The Tomb of Rubens." Finally we have a chapter on Vandyke which closes the section on Belgium, whither we return, however, at the close of the volume, to study Van Eyck and Memling.

The section on Holland is the most important, and comprises sixteen chapters. The principal artists mentioned in this section

are Potter, Metz, Peter de Hoo, Ruysdael, Cuyp, Frans Hals, and Rembrandt. There are two or three very interesting chapters of a general nature, as, for example, one on the origin and characteristics of the Dutch school, one on the influences of Holland on French landscape, and another on the choice of subject in Dutch pictures.

It is difficult to convey an idea of the consummate skill with which Fromentin speaks of Rubens and Vandyke in pages worthy to live with the immortality of the great painters who suggested them. No such finished portraits of these wonderful men have ever been given in literature. Fromentin delighted to describe a man so royally gifted by nature as Rubens was, and, as Fromentin was cultivated himself, he took pleasure in speaking of the general culture of Rubens. He tells us how the great artist spoke several languages fluently and correctly, that his secretary would read Plutarch or Seneca to him whilst he painted, and that he gave equal attention to what he executed and what he heard. His taste in literature was sound and strong; he was naturally so endowed as to enjoy what was best in every thing, but always wisely, his genius being entirely subject in all things to his sovereign central will. Fromentin deeply admires the spectacle of this supremely grand existence, in which genius, learning, manly beauty, health, wealth, industry, generosity, were for once united in one splendid mortal, who lived a complete life, had all this world's gifts and used them, enjoying the world as a great personage, enjoying literature as a scholar, and art as only they enjoy it who have the facility and the industry of genius.

Rubens had a Latin motto, *Diu noctuque incubando*, and Fromentin supposes this motto to have meant, in the case of the great Flemish artist, that he reflected before setting to work, and that the mental labor of composition was completed already when the labor of the hand began. He improvised in the sense that he worked rapidly and corrected little, but the improvisation of the hand had been preceded by an intellectual improvisation which prepared and arranged all the materials of the picture. He was perfectly cool and yet ardent at the same time; thought and action so closely connected in his way of living that he was thinker and actor in one person. A mighty workman, laboring prodigiously, and yet always so completely above his work that it never fatigued him, never threw him back into the melancholy reactions of weaker spirits, and, what is still more wonderful, never induced him

to strain his faculties in attempting what lay beyond his natural range. He left behind him fifteen hundred pictures, and Fromentin considers this the most immense productiveness of which one human brain has ever given an example. I am not sure but that the production of Turner may not have been greater, all things considered. Rubens died earlier than Turner (at 63), but he had the help of a staff of pupils and assistants, whilst Turner worked in solitude. What Rubens could actually perform with his own hand is proved by the almost incredibly rapid production of certain autograph pictures of his. He would coolly begin and finish an important picture in a week; one of his works, a village feast, is said to have occupied him no more than a single day. He would deliberately accept some colossal task with the most limited time at his disposal, then execute it surely and quietly, and deliver the work punctually, like a good man of business, which he was.

Vandyke, without being weak, is not such a giant as Rubens, but rather belongs to the second stage in civilization when refinement has gone beyond what is necessary to the full perfection of life, and already tends towards effeminacy. The interval is vast between the serene strength of Rubens, with his dignified way of living, and the careless, vicious existence of Vandyke, who painted a libertine aristocracy and shared its elegance and its errors. Both of the two artists had every thing in the way of worldly opportunities and the richest gifts of nature. Fromentin speaks of Vandyke as a young prince of royal race having all things in his favor, beauty, elegance, magnificent gifts, precocious genius, a unique education. He was beloved by his master and was himself looked up to as a master by his fellow-pupils, received everywhere afterwards with distinction, treated as the equal of great noblemen, the favorite and friend of kings. All things seem to have been his for the taking, and he used and abused all the pleasures of the world. An exquisite nature, less vivid than that of Rubens, he consumed himself in the love of his art and the love of women, painting nobly to the last, when wrecked in health and wealth. What would he have been without Rubens? Most probably not the Vandyke whom we know, for as an artist he was truly the child of Rubens, differing from him as children differ from their parents, yet drawing his life from him, and all that was best in his education, even that personal gentlemanliness which opened the great world for him so early. It is probably in great part because of this gentlemanliness of his that he painted gentlemen and ladies in a manner

at once so faithful and so distinguished. Fromentin says with reason that Vandyke could paint his contemporaries as well as any artist of his time, and he mentions particularly the noble portrait of Charles I. in the Louvre as a work able to sustain the most trying comparisons. It has all the great merits of portraiture, a profound understanding of the person to be represented, a style uniting ease with nobleness, thorough drawing, good color, relations of tone of the rarest quality. Fromentin places in the same rank the wonderful picture at Turin of the three royal children. He mentions, too, the very important fact, never to be forgotten amongst Vandyke's titles to fame, that he is the father of all the English school. It is quite true that our school of figure-painting descends directly from Vandyke, and even our landscape school, though it has gone into directions which can certainly never have been foreseen by him, retains even in the present day a good deal of his method in execution.

The finest parts of Fromentin's book are those which treat of Rubens, Vandyke, and Rembrandt, but there are many other pages in which the interest is at least equally strong, and the literary workmanship not inferior, though they do not rise to the height of eloquence inspired by these most distinguished masters. All that is said about Holland is interesting and characteristic, and really newer than the chapters on Flemish art. Fromentin quotes from another writer the remark that the Dutch set their artists to make a portrait of the Dutch people, but he emphasizes and enlarges this very happy expression so as to include not only men but places—streets, rural districts, every thing, even the sea and the sky. This was quite a new enterprise in art. It was entirely opposed to the classical spirit as it existed in Italy. Fromentin happily describes that classical spirit in a page of which I can give the essence, but not the inimitable form. He says that there existed at one time a kind of art which consisted in selection and embellishment, in rectifying what seemed defective in nature, an art which dwelt more in the absolute than in the relative, perceiving nature as it is, but preferring to exhibit nature as it is not. Fromentin observes with great truth that in the classical schools of art the human figure was always so predominant that every thing was subordinated to it, and that certain laws of proportion and of attributes which had been scientifically deduced from the study of man were applied to what was not man. The result was a sort of humanized universe of which the human body, in its ideal propor-

tions, was the prototype. External nature vaguely existed around this central and all-absorbing personage, man. The men of the classical epoch in art looked upon that external nature as no more than a frame or a background, often scarcely even so much as that. There was at the same time a strong tendency to the rejection of every thing which could possibly interfere with the ideal calm and perfection of that human life which the classical artists preferred. The sky itself was less changeful than it is in reality, the trees less various, the atmosphere more pure, and man himself stronger, handsomer, more dignified, and more at leisure. The revolution brought about by the Dutch school consisted in setting man in his true place in nature, and in doing without him sometimes altogether, as the solitudes of the earth do without him. I like the large toleration with which Fromentin says that the time had come to paint as well as the classical artists, but otherwise. The time had come, he says, to think less, to aim not so high, to observe more closely, and to paint the multitude, the citizen, the workman. The time had come for Art to make herself humble for humble themes, little for little things, to accept all things without disdain, to enter familiarly into their intimacy, to study them with an affectionately attentive curiosity. Genius henceforth is to be without prejudice and not to know that it has knowledge, but to accept every day the fresh teachings of the model. It no longer either embellishes any thing, or ennobles any thing, or refuses any thing, at least consciously, and yet in every artist deserving the name there exists a power which operates in spite of himself and turns even the most commonplace materials into works of art.

I think Fromentin, notwithstanding the clearness of his judgment, might have insisted more upon the operation of the artistic faculties of a higher order, even in such work as Dutch painting, which is commonly but erroneously supposed to be nothing whatever but copyism. The fact is that *no* paintings which have ever held their ground as works of art are quite purely and simply copies of what the artist saw before him. Consider, in the first place, how much knowing *composition* there is in Dutch work, and remember that the very slightest amount of composition is an interference with fact or a deviation from it. When a Dutchman smokes his pipe, he does not always, or often, hold the instrument of his enjoyment just exactly in such a manner that the pipe-stem shall come well in an arrangement of lines, and yet in every Dutch picture by a first-rate man it is quite sure to do so. No doubt the

smoking Dutchman might by accident hold his pipe right for an instant, and so might the dog hold his tail; but what I wish to insist upon is, that all the incidents of a scene do never, in nature, compose harmoniously at the same instant, whereas in Dutch art they almost invariably do. The fact is, that the Dutch painters were quite remarkably clever and crafty in doing what seem to be the simplest things in the world. They pretended to be mere copyists of nature, but were in reality very much more. I mean all this without alluding to Rembrandt, who is a genius quite by himself, and must be considered separately. Fromentin admits that the Dutch painters had a certain loftiness of aim which is very much misjudged. He says that they had a tenderness for what is true, a cordiality for what is real, which gives a value to their work which their materials do not seem to possess. Hence their ideal, an ideal little understood and often disdained, but which exists nevertheless for any one who can perceive it, and has a strong attraction for him. Now and then a rather warmer susceptibility makes thinkers of them, and even poets, amongst whom Fromentin places Ruysdael, yet in my opinion with some exaggeration of his merits.

Dutch art is quite sincere, which is much, and the foundation of it is care and sincerity in *drawing*. The Dutchmen drew every thing that came within the scene of the picture, and really tried to draw every thing well. Fromentin directs our attention especially to Dutch skies for their perfection and originality in drawing, because in the classical schools the sky-form had been so much neglected. Well, no doubt the Dutchmen drew skies more carefully and more accurately than the masters of classical landscape, but they did not attempt the most difficult drawing in skies; they neglected, I mean, those elaborate and complicated skies which several modern Englishmen have drawn in great perfection, and which even the French and Germans are now beginning to draw very well also. As for comparing the old Dutchmen with Turner in the design of clouds, the comparison fails simply because the materials, on the side of the Dutchmen, are so insufficient. The elaborate cloudscapes which Turner sought in the highest region of the atmosphere, the region of the cirrus, and drew with a science and skill almost as great as if the clouds had staid for him to study them, were entirely neglected even by the most observant Dutch marine painters, such as the Vandevelde. Of course they must have seen such skies, which are probably quite as common in Holland as they are in England, but without disdaining them, or thinking them un-

worthy of attention, they may have concluded that they were not adapted to the purposes of art. The skies which they did paint they painted with great ability; and during some very recent visits to the Louvre and the National Gallery I have been struck especially with one quality in Dutch skies, the clearness with which they make us understand that the clouds float in mid-air, like balloons, and are not pasted on the inside of a solid blue vault, as they often seem to be in modern English pictures. The Dutchmen evaded some of the greatest difficulties in skies, and also missed some of their most affecting impressions. They did not attempt to render the glorious coloring of sunrise and sunset, nor the lurid gloom of gathering storm, nor the grace and beauty of the most elegant and ethereal clouds which seem like diaphanous robes of angels trailing on the deep azure of the highest heaven; but, on the other hand, what they did attempt they succeeded in singularly well. They got the true sky quality, they got space and air and light, and apparently by the very simplest means, for all Dutch skies look as if one could copy them quite accurately in two or three sittings, an impression which is utterly delusive, for there is hardly an artist in Europe who could copy them at all. The whole of Dutch painting has this facile unpretending appearance. However labored it was—and we know positively that it was often painfully labored—it never obtrudes either science or toil on the notice of the spectator, as the classical Frenchmen obtruded their science and the pre-Raphaelite Englishmen their toil. In a word, as Fromentin says, these clever and clear-headed artists had one great negative quality for daily and ordinary use. You may find amongst them differences of power, one artist may be a stronger painter than another, but they are all alike in this, that amongst them all you can not find one pedant.

I spare the reader the technical remarks about the essential qualities of Dutch execution, all except just this, that no kind of painting gives a clearer idea of the triple operation, feeling, reflection, and expression. A remark has been attributed to Auguste Comte that art consists in observation, imitation, and idealization. In Dutch painting the last is not so obvious, though it exists in a subtle way, nor is feeling very obvious, in the sense which we attach to it in the nineteenth century, and yet it is evident that the Dutch must have strongly felt the external qualities of things, before painting them as cleverly as they did. But the predominant and most universal quality of genuine Dutch painting of the

best time is that it is what Fromentin calls so *condensed*. The reader has probably never seen the word used in that way in art-criticism before, but he will feel at once what is meant by it. The technical quality of Dutch work is such that it seems mentally and materially to be of greater density than other work. We must remember that this observation is not applied to Flemish painting, which is often what by comparison might be called flimsy. The great Dutchmen were especially happy in this, that although they toiled terribly, they did not spoil their work by labor, but only made it more concentrated. This was owing to their happy, unpedantic temper, and to the great opportunities which young men had in those days of learning from thoroughly-accomplished predecessors who were not too proud nor too selfish to communicate their knowledge. They had two at least of the great essentials to success in art—industry and safe guidance.

The most striking thing in Dutch art is the total absence of what we in modern times consider a *subject*, and Fromentin gives a whole chapter to the consideration of this peculiarity. During a whole century the great Dutch school seems to have thought of nothing in the world but how to paint well. As for ancient history, it was utterly forgotten; but what is far more wonderful, the history of the times in which these Dutch painters lived (times quite remarkable enough to deserve and call for illustration) was as much neglected by them as contemporary history is in our day by peasants who never read a newspaper. The explanation of this may have been partly that the artists were illiterate, but that is not sufficient to account for such an absolute neglect of the present. Many of them lived in intellectual centres, such as Amsterdam or the Hague, where they were quite sure to hear the events of the day narrated more or less accurately, and discussed with a greater or less degree of historical acumen. The plain truth is, that these men had no notion of giving historical interest of any kind to their art. They had not the excuse, so valid in our own day, that the fashion in dress made contemporary history unpaintable. They did really paint their contemporaries in the dress of the day, but only in their home life, except now and then when a military artist reproduced a camp scene or a combat, and these were generally mere episodes. Fromentin took the trouble to enumerate a few of the striking events which took place whilst the Dutch artists were calmly painting servant-girls with besoms, and boors drinking at ale-house doors. It is amazing that their blood was never roused to a livelier inter-

est in what was going on. In our own day the most Dutch of living painters—I mean the living painter who in quality of workmanship and artistic aims approaches the most nearly to the great Dutchmen—Meissonier, has sometimes quitted his figures of smokers, readers, drinkers, and chess-players, to paint a living emperor at the head of his staff, or the emperor who preceded him, with his marshals. How strongly our modern artists are interested in the events of their own time every exhibition testifies, whilst there is scarcely a century from the days of Joseph's Pharaoh downwards which they do not endeavor to illustrate for us with a care and fidelity which in certain cases, such as that of Alma Tadema, do really prove a strong archæological instinct. These historical and archæological instincts are simply absent from the old Dutchmen. They would paint portraits when ordered, and some of their portraits have historical value, but they do not seem to have thought of this; it is pure accident. As for the landscape-painters, they either lived in the country or in small towns from which rural scenes were easily accessible, and set themselves in the quietest possible temper to copy the fields, trees, animals, and cottages of their beloved Holland, or else they wandered away to Italy, where there was a little colony of them, and there, perhaps, in those days of slow communication they would remain so long absent from the land of their birth as finally almost to forget it, so remote did it seem in the mist of distance and long years. Thus Karl Dujardin remained at Rome until he died. The others, who remained in their native land, found safe corners in troubled times, and hearing not the noise of the cannon, or hearing it only like a low thunder of distant tempest far to seaward or far away beyond the flat horizon of the land, wrought patiently day by day, and brought forth the fruits of an industrious tranquillity. Thus it is that in all the vast world of art there is no province more peaceable than the little Dutch land. There the woods are quiet and the roads safe; there the slow boats float gently along the canals; there the folk drink, smoke, dance, in the light of the sunny evenings, where the tavern-sign swings in the air. The seasons take their turn, the whole life of the year passes before us. Winter comes, and every canal is a merry skating-rink. The painters paint it all; winter and summer find them alike observant, and equally ready to share and to portray the happy human life that passes around them.

They observe and portray the life, but always in a curiously general way. They give you, it is true, many studies of faces and

of localities which must assuredly have been portraits, but they never select as subjects for their pictures any particular anecdote or incident. Such incidents as they do illustrate are nothing but the very commonest situations of every-day life, such as peasants drinking, peasants in a hay-field, cows in a pasture, skaters on a canal, in which there is no special incidental interest whatever. There is never any passion or pathos in the ordinary Dutch art. No particular event seems ever to have roused the artist or engaged his interest enough to make him paint it. As for any notion of elevating either themselves or their public, no such idea ever seems to have occurred to these artists. They bestowed the most skillful labor quite calmly and deliberately upon the lowest details of the lowest life. Their human beings are often scarcely distinguishable in degree of civilization from the animals amongst which they live. How entirely different in this respect is a modern English or French exhibition of pictures from a gallery filled with Dutch work! How much tenderness, pathos, or piety will not Landseer, Faed, or Frère discover and illustrate in the poorest Scottish or French cottage! Our modern painters are rarely men of much literary culture, but what a difference there is in the interest shown in literature by them and by the old Dutchmen! In every Academy exhibition, in every *Salon*, you find hundreds of pictures which have been suggested by some passage in a poet, or novelist, or historian, and even in cases where the suggestion did not first come from literature, but from nature, the artist will often have pleased himself by connecting his work with literature by means of some appropriate quotation. Again, we have to-day several groups of painters who invent noble motives for their works, and paint figures or landscapes which have in themselves, and in the occurrences with which they are connected, the element of nobleness in a very high degree indeed, so that they are poetical in themselves without any help from the class of writers who are usually called poets. We have thus an art which is associated with literature by quotation, and also an art which is apparently independent of literature, but has in itself a strong element of what may be called literary interest. This is true of French and German painting, and it is still truer of English painting, which, as many Americans must have observed at Philadelphia, is the most literary in motive in all Europe. An English picture with figures in it almost invariably either illustrates a story told by some author, or else tells a story of its own, and in very many instances the story has

something affecting or ennobling. Fromentin gives a list of French painters whose works are of the same character, and then asks whether there is any thing in the Dutch school at all answering to this interest of character and incident. As an example of modern rustic painting he instances Millet (though without naming him), speaks of the quiet melancholy of his disposition, the goodness of his heart, his closeness of sympathy with the hardness and nobleness of rustic labor, and then says that Millet has expressed things about rural life which no Dutchman would ever have dreamed of. Then he asks whether this deeply-earnest Frenchman could *paint* as well as the clever old Dutchmen. As a *man*, he was unquestionably far more noble than Steen, or Ostade, or Brouwer, so far above them, indeed, that they might have blushed in his presence; but was he equal to them as a painter? Then Fromentin affirms that France has exhibited much inventive genius, but little of the real pictorial faculty, and that the element of thought only seems to have sustained great works hitherto, works of minor importance not having benefited by it. As for modern wit in art, Fromentin can not endure it.

There is a special chapter on Paul Potter, which is interesting for its courageous statement of the fact that he was a marvelous student whose object was simply to copy animals and other things exactly as he saw them. The famous *Bull* picture at the Hague would doubtless fetch an immense price if it were offered for sale, but Fromentin says that it is ugly, ill-conceived, and poorly composed, whilst the handiwork is heavy, thick, badly colored, and dry. He says that the picture has no unity, for it begins nobody knows where, does not come to an end, receives light without being illuminated, scatters the light anyhow, and is too full of its subject without being occupied. The size of the animals he considers ridiculous, and the texture of the cow and sheep is such that they seem made of a hard substance. The real merit of the work is this: it is a big study of a bull, too big for a picture, but not too big for the lesson Paul Potter wished to teach himself by painting it. The young artist, who knew nothing about the artifices and resources of painting, studied both forms and effects in the utmost possible simplicity. He set his great bull in a wide plain, with an expanse of sky above and behind him, and then resolutely painted the beast just as he was. A painting so produced can not possibly be any thing more than a study, but this is a first-rate study, true to the life, full of accurate observation. After praising the *Bull* in this strictly

limited way as a good study of an animal, yet on the whole a bad picture, Fromentin ventures a step farther. He has cunningly induced the orthodox reader to follow him in this criticism of a work consecrated by authoritative opinion, and now he tells him that nearly all the paintings of the artist are in the same category—in other words, they are simply studies or pretexts for study, and the faculty of imagination has no part in them whatever. Potter's animals are examined by him close at hand, grouped together with but little skill, drawn in simple attitudes, the handling poor and hesitating, the touch rather childish. Paul Potter was ignorant of the art or law of sacrifice, and knew not what things were to be left unexpressed, or expressed summarily. I heartily agree with Fromentin in his severe criticism of Paul Potter's tiresome foreground plants, generally far too minutely studied for their place in the composition. He praises heartily the *Horses at a Cottage Door* in the Louvre, and another work in the gallery of Arenberg. Of all the honest Dutch painters, Potter was the most patient and the most passionately devoted to truth. He loved the country warmly, had an open, receptive mind, a quiet nervous system, a good eye which could measure well, a taste for clearness and accuracy, the instinct of anatomy, and a strong constructive faculty. This last attribute must be supposed to refer to the artist's construction of animals, not of pictures, for we know that he had little power of artistic composition. At the end of his chapter on Paul Potter, Fromentin bursts forth into notes of admiration, but after all the previous criticism, the general effect upon us is not to rouse our enthusiasm very much. All that we really know of Potter is that he had an intense passion for truth. He seems to have been devoid of imagination, but he may have possessed some degree of imaginative power which was held in abeyance for the time by his habits of observation and imitation. It is utterly impossible to predict what he might have done ultimately, had he lived. He died before he was thirty, being yet only in the first stage of a genuine artist's career, when the desire for simple truth is so imperious that the imaginative faculties are often impeded and oppressed by it. The contents of Potter's drawing-books in the Berlin Museum show how eagerly he worked for truth. He finished many of his studies minutely, and would take a bit of an animal at a time, such as a foot or a head. He also made most careful and precise studies of farming implements, and the secret of the over-minute plants in his foregrounds is explained by a large volume full of botanical studies

of the natural size, drawn with the greatest care, and washed in water-color.

Fromentin is always rather severe on modern painting, not altogether justly so, although he blames it merely from the technical point of view. He says that in painting there is a business to be learned, and that in the old times painters learned their craft, whereas the moderns do not. The old schools were so instructed that the painters of one school had always a strong family likeness due to their common education. What was this education, of which we have nothing and know nothing? Fromentin praises the results of it in language full of earnest but regretful admiration. The workmanship of the great Dutchmen was full, supple, dense, never overcharged with mere matter, and yet always firm and substantial. All their textures are so good, too, that the modern artist can only envy them; and they could color admirably with the most frugal and modest use of colors. Modern painting, on the other hand, is, in Fromentin's view, hardly better than colored prints. It has no consistency; it tries to be colored and has not color enough in its substance; it tries to be painter's work and evaporates; it is heavy when thick, and when thin has not a sound enamel on its surface. These accusations have been made before, though seldom so specifically. It has been said over and over again by critics that modern artists can not paint, but as the critics generally were much more ignorant of the subject than Fromentin, they could not clearly point out in what defects the inferiority of the moderns consisted. One thing in Fromentin's own criticism is greatly to be regretted. He carefully avoided the mention of contemporary artists by name, and therefore could only condemn them all together, indiscriminately. It would have been interesting to know what he thought of the special kinds of execution adopted by different men, and such distinction would have been the more desirable that modern painting is so exceedingly various. It is difficult to defend a school against such a general attack as this, but one may answer, in the same general terms, that in modern painting are to be found examples of good workmanship of very different kinds, but equal, in their way, to what the old masters could do in their other way. For example, I saw a head of a boy with dark eyes, by Knaus, a little time since, just fresh from the studio of the artist: not a showy picture, but so thoroughly well painted that it would certainly hold its own amongst the most perfection-loving of the old masters, and might be hung to-morrow either in the choicest rooms at the Louvre or

in the National Gallery without appearing out of place. Modern large pictures would appear rather empty and flimsy no doubt by the side of old Dutch work, but they would bear comparison with a good deal of Flemish work, not always to the advantage of the old Flemings. I rather think the inferiority of the moderns is less in the art of painting pictures which will bear high comparisons for a time, than in the construction of pictures which will last. Nothing is more remarkable in the best Dutch work than its extreme soundness and freshness. It lasts like enamel, it looks as if it had been painted yesterday, whilst modern pictures too often become wrecks in twenty years. This is probably due to the sober regularity of the old methods, and to the wise precaution taken by the painters of having their colors ground under their own personal superintendence.

Fromentin insists upon one superiority, of a different nature, in the old artists; he says they understood the weights of light and dark so much better than we do, so that when a picture of theirs has little or no positive color to recommend it, the harmony is still preserved by the precise rendering of the values of local color in the degrees of light and dark. Fromentin affirms that Decamps never had the least notion of these values, whereas Corot understood them by a natural instinct, studied them more than any one, fixed their laws, and illustrated them in his works. This distinction between Decamps and Corot is accurate, and it may be added that the success of Corot, when he advanced in life, was due in great measure to the more perfect appreciation of tonic values, or weights of color, by the artists of the present generation, who respected Corot much more than his own contemporaries had respected him. In fact, the modern schools do now very generally aim at the quality which Corot aimed at, especially in landscape, though contemporary artists are not generally disposed to make such great sacrifices for it as Corot made. Fromentin says that this quality, or this science, was the *a b c* of Dutch art, whereas the modern French too often disdain it absolutely. This is true only of the young artists who paint by patches and care little what becomes of *chiar-oscuro* so long as the patch has a telling effect. Imagine, for example, a snow-scene with a lady walking in a dark velvet dress. The velvet will be a patch upon the snow, and there are some young artists who in painting such a subject will not trouble themselves in the least to consider the distance of the velvet dress from the spectator, but will concentrate all their attention on the problem how to make as telling a

patch as possible. This leads Fromentin to affirm that every modern painting which is said to be original is a mosaic, and in connection with this I remember that Calderon, the English Academician, quoted approvingly the advice of an artistic friend to lay his colors side by side "like a beautiful mosaic."

I care very little for Ruysdael, and yet greatly like the pages Fromentin wrote about him in the fervor of his admiration. It is always a good thing to read what a sincere admirer has to say of an artist. Blame signifies little when applied to works of art, for nobody really studies a painter whom he dislikes, and it is difficult without study to write of any artist justly, but an earnest admirer will discover whatever qualities and beauties may exist in the work before him, though he may heighten them or add to them from the resources of his own imagination. Ruysdael has the great merit of being the most serious of the Dutch landscape-painters, and the most noble. Fromentin considers him the highest figure in the school after Rembrandt—not because of his technical skill, but for the solemnity of his sentiment. He was not a particularly skillful artist. He painted fairly well, but displayed no great dexterity, like the dexterity which often astonishes us in other artists of the school. As a colorist, he is so limited in range that a modern critic, accustomed to the full coloring of contemporary landscape, might be tempted to affirm that Ruysdael did not work in color at all, but only in gray and brown. Nevertheless he admitted a certain limited scale of color, and worked well within that scale, but it is not nature's scale, nor any thing like it. Fromentin says that Ruysdael's coloring only varied from green to brown, and that it was based upon bitumen, that it has little brilliance, is not always pleasant, and not of very exquisite quality. This, from a warm admirer, is almost equivalent to condemnation, and yet, notwithstanding this frankness, Fromentin points out what he considers the substantial merits of the artist, how sound his work is throughout, how well filled his canvases, how simple and straightforward his method. But the qualities which he admires most in Ruysdael are mental qualities, especially a serious poetical feeling. He was a dreamer, a solitary lover of nature who liked to go out alone and enjoy the melancholy pleasures of contemplative observation. Nothing is known about him. Some of his pictures imply that he had traveled beyond the limits of his own country, but whither we know not. He died poor, at the age of fifty-one.

Ruysdael is undoubtedly an interesting personage in the history

of the arts, but much less for what he did, which is not of any great positive value, than for his position as the precursor of the modern earnest and serious schools of landscape. Thousands of people in the nineteenth century can feel what he felt, and have the same sober delight in nature, seeking and finding in the fields and woods, or by the banks of streams, a refreshment and a relief from the burden of human care. In this temper, Ruysdael was a precursor of Obermann, Wordsworth, Shelley, and a host of other recent writers and artists. But he has been far surpassed by modern painters in the expression of the very sentiments which he was the first to put on canvas; and as for knowledge of nature, he is distanced in the present day by many landscape-painters who are little known. Every country in Europe which cultivates landscape-painting at all has artists who far surpass Ruysdael in the knowledge of trees, and rocks, and water; yet these are what he painted best. His skies are not ignorantly painted, but they are very limited in variety and very simple. It is easy to affirm that his sentiment was profound. It may have been so, for men who feel deeply often express themselves with great moderation; but both in energy and pathos of expression he is as much surpassed by the moderns as he is in positive knowledge. This, of course, is an assertion which can not be proved, and it is useless to discuss the point farther. It is impossible to adduce evidence that either modern painting or any other shows deep feeling, but there are modern landscapes which seem to me far more touching and pathetic than any of Ruysdael's. His works are interesting, but less for any intrinsic merit than for his very solitary position. At a time when nobody else in his country had the modern serious sentiment about landscape, this lonely Ruysdael had it—in an incipient degree.

Fromentin asks whether Holland has had any influence on French landscape, and here he becomes especially interesting because he approaches so nearly to the actual present. During two centuries he says that France has only possessed a single landscape-painter, Claude. He does not mean to say that the quite modern landscape-painters are not to be counted, but that those who came between Claude and the moderns are of no account. Fromentin considers Claude to be intensely French, though Rome had influenced him greatly. Claude is French in his ways of thinking and seeing, in his clearness, simplicity, taste; he has the aptitudes and the way of seeing things which characterize the French, or rather which characterized them during their classic time. Well,

all this is true if we never forget the condition about time, for Claude has not much in common with the French feeling about nature which is predominant to-day. Modern French landscape-painting does not descend from Claude, but from the English painter, Constable, an artist who, though most unpopular when living, so that he could not have kept his family by painting, has had more influence since his death on the practice of his successors than any other Englishman of his day, not even excepting Turner. Mr. Ruskin condemns Constable as nothing but an industrious amateur. He certainly loved his art, if that is what "amateur" means. Rousseau and Dupré founded themselves much more on Constable than on Claude, whom they scarcely consulted. Corot seems to have received a Claudian influence, but to have converted whatever nutriment he got from Claude into new substance of his own. The birth of the modern school of French landscape-painting is one of those sudden phenomena which take place almost unaccountably in the history of the fine arts, but it had consequences as unforeseen as its own existence. It affected the appreciation of the old masters, and altered their market values; it brought the modern French nearer to the old Dutchmen. Ruysdael and Hobbema became better appreciated than they had been. The prices of works by Hobbema have risen surprisingly within the memory of living men. Fromentin says that Rousseau was the link between the old Dutch landscape-painters and the painters of the future. He resembled the Dutchmen in some things, and was a descendant of theirs, but he differed from them in other respects, and especially in his tendency to explore nature in every direction. He was always making fresh discoveries, and had the ardor and enthusiasm of the discoverer, traveling far for new sensations, and limiting himself to no season of the year or hour of the day. In this spirit, he differed entirely from the Dutch, who, with few exceptions, simply remained where they were and turned round on one spot, repeating the same subjects and effects of light till they could do them to perfection. I am glad that Fromentin, with all his admiration for the old masters, could see the superiorities (in the plural) of Rousseau, though he would scarcely admit his superiority. He saw that in Rousseau's work the palette was infinitely richer than the Dutch palette, the color more expressive, the observation less commonplace, the construction of the picture more scrupulous. Every thing in Rousseau's work seemed better thought out, more ripened by reflection, more scientifically reasoned and calculated. Fromentin says that a

Dutchman would have been astonished at such care and amazed by such a faculty of analysis. Nevertheless he does not say that Rousseau was, on the whole, a better and more successful artist than they were.

One is always liable to error in judging of the capacity of a critic by what he can do in practical art, for the faculties of criticism and execution are in great part distinct, though not altogether so, and a writer on art may have perfectly just opinions and see clearly the merits of other men without possessing those merits himself, just as we can see that the strong man in a circus lifts a great weight, and that the jumping man bounds over the heads of his comrades, without being ourselves able to lift half as much or to leap half so high. But notwithstanding this undeniable truth, which ought to be present to the mind of every sensible person when he meets with pictures executed by a writer upon art, we may still refer to the practical work of a critic for the light which it throws upon the action of his mind and upon his tastes and preferences in study. Mr. Ruskin's drawings are excellent evidence that he has a good eye for natural fact, since they are truthful in the extreme, all of them, but at the same time they give no evidence that he has any imagination, and might convey to us in that respect a false impression of their author if we had not the imaginative passages of his writings to complete our knowledge. Fromentin was an excellent writer upon art, and not only that, but a writer of first-rate excellence, one of the very best in Europe, if not the very best; at the same time he was in the front rank of living painters. He was not so singularly accomplished in painting as in writing, but he was an artist of great ability. He painted figures in vigorous action very clearly indeed, and knew the horse well also, for he could paint horses as easily in action as in rest. One element in his pictures is, however, always unsatisfactory, and that is the landscape. Perhaps he intended to sacrifice the landscape to his men and animals, as is often done intentionally by figure-painters; but after a careful study of his work, with a prejudice much in his favor, I have been brought to the conclusion that the deficiency of landscape in his pictures was due to simple ignorance. He was occupied with other matters. He knew a great deal, but had not much studied a branch of art which in itself takes half a lifetime to learn. He does not seem to have really cared very much for landscape. Each of us has his ideal scene, which charms him more than any other. Constable's earthly paradise was a Suffolk farm with

undulating cultivated land, an old mill, fine trees, and a church in the distance. Another artist can never be quite happy unless he is near a lake; another wants hills. Mr. Ruskin told me that he could put up with any accommodation if the inn were in sight of a mountain. Fromentin had his ideal of the pleasantest situation, and a very remarkable ideal it was. He used to say that to be perfectly happy, all he needed was to be placed on the African desert, a good distance south of Algiers, with sand from horizon to horizon, a cloudless sky overhead, and the sun of Africa blazing in the middle of it. There is no accounting for tastes. Such a scene as that would seem to many of us as dreary and depressing in one way as the Sea of Ancient Ice in another, but such was Fromentin's fancy, and I venture to observe that a man of his taste in landscape was not likely to take any very deep and earnest interest in the materials of which painted landscapes are usually composed. The portion of the book which relates to landscape is, as might be expected, the weakest. The strongest chapters are those which deal with figure-painting, and more especially those which describe the artists themselves. The pages on Rembrandt are especially fine, but I have not space to study them in the present article as they deserve. The mental constitution of Rembrandt was so very peculiar that he lies as much outside of the regular Dutch school as Turner does out of the English school. Fromentin studied him thoroughly in his own way and with considerable boldness for a Frenchman, since he frankly criticised one or two of his most famous pictures, especially the *Night Watch*. The essence of his opinions is that in Rembrandt there were two distinct natures contending together, yet trying to get into harmony with each other. One of these natures was realist, and concerned itself simply with the study of external things, and this nature is, of course, comparatively easy to understand. Most of us can follow a student of costumes and bodies, or a draftsman who copies such solid material things as windmills and rustic cottages. But there is another nature in Rembrandt which is not so easily understood. He was a mysterious dreamer with a strong taste for the supernatural or the extra-natural, living half his life in a wonder-world of his own, whilst during the other half he was in the closest contact with the very commonest realities. I think Fromentin was very happy in this analysis. Rembrandt certainly had these two natures; he was at the same time a most acute seer of things as they are, and an absorbed dreamer about things as they exist only

in the world of imagination. Besides this, Fromentin calls Rembrandt a *luminarist*, a barbarous new word intended to characterize a painter who conceives of light in a way outside of the laws usually followed, who attaches to it an extraordinary meaning, and sacrifices much to it. The plain truth is, that Rembrandt's chief technical and spiritual purpose was to affect and overawe the spirits of men by shadow and by shade, most especially by the mystery of obscurity. He thought much less of light, but used it rather as essential for contrast to make his obscurities more profoundly felt. Let us affirm the plain truth about his system of light-and-shade. It is not nature's lighting; if it were, it would not affect us as it does. What affects and awes us in the work of Rembrandt is precisely that it is extra-natural and in a certain sense supernatural. He plays with shadows and lights precisely as it suits him, and though his lighting is so glaringly false and wrong that any art-student could point out the impossibilities of it, the result is a singularly powerful impression on the mind. Simple people think it must be true because they feel it to be powerful. One or two cultivated critics, like Mr. Ruskin, call it vulgar because they resent what looks like an imposition on public credulity. Many an artist has thought that the power of it was due to blackness, and so has blackened his own canvases or his own etchings to make them look Rembrandtish, but in vain. Still Rembrandt endures, in spite of adverse criticism and presumptuous imitation. His works are always interesting to us, because they admit us into his own wonderful dream-world, where we recognize at every turn, just as we do in the dreams of the night, figures, faces, places, vivid with the most startling reality, but where at the same time every thing exists in a medium which is not of the earth.

THE LATE WORLD'S FAIR.

PART II.—THE DISPLAY.

IT is not the object of this paper to undertake a complete survey of the Exhibition of 1876, in criticism of the display there made, whether by countries or by classes of products. My principal purpose the rather is to supplement, if I may so express it, the existing body of criticism of the Exhibition as a collection of things beautiful or useful, by some remarks of a practical character in explanation of certain peculiarities of the Philadelphia enterprise, together with two or three brief suggestions as to features common to all world's fairs, which need to be borne in mind in discussion of any one. If I am drawn aside, or drawn on, into a fuller consideration of our own part in the Exhibition than is consistent with this programme, my readers will perhaps pardon me, in view of the great interest which attaches at the present time to the industrial position of the United States.

The theory of a world's fair may not inaptly be compared with the theory of an Œcumenical Council. A council of the church does not derive its authority merely from the presence of so many dignitaries of such an aggregate weight of holiness, learning, and experience. A larger array of men of greater talents and virtues might possess no authority at all to enunciate doctrine. The council speaks with effect because, in the theory of its constitution, the church—the whole body, not only of actual but of potential believers—throughout the inhabited world is there present. Its universality is of the essence of its authority. Between any other assembly, whatever the number or the personal weight of its membership, and the council is a difference not of degree, but of kind. To what shifts an Œcumenical Council has often been reduced to establish that theoretical completeness upon which rest all its claims to the obedience of believers everywhere, it is not necessary to relate. A body whose working majority is furnished by Italy and one or two of her more devout neighbors presents a muster of geographical titles which fairly anticipate exploration. By faith, if

not by sight, regions are named for the offices of evangelization; and the proud dignitaries of the church in rich and pious lands sit side by side with lean and hungry bishops *in partibus infidelium*, whose broad charge of souls is blessed with few believers outside the episcopal palace, while it perhaps embraces many a wild tribe who, were the Supreme Pontiff to appear among them, would mumble not the sacred great toe alone, but the whole anointed person.

In much the same way, a world's fair is apt to be spoken of as a microcosm. It is the world in miniature. Every thing is here, and in due proportion. The arts, the industries, the institutions, the social life of each people, by turns, are represented for the instruction of the millions of visitors. Such is the theory of a world's fair, and most of the literature of the subject assumes the virtual achievement of this object. Yet the fact is often far enough from the assumption. It is true that the most notable and valuable products of human industry are generally to be seen in the courts of an international exhibition, from one country if not from another, which is all most visitors expect, or desire, or are fitted by their education to appreciate; and it is also true that a great deal which is characteristic in art, in political institutions, and in social life is to be found within the section devoted to each nation, though needing to be interpreted through a previous knowledge of its history and geographical relations; but so far from proportion being preserved, in such a degree as to enable a visitor, an intelligent and discriminating visitor even, to form a correct idea, from the display alone, of the comparative commercial or industrial importance of the several countries, or of the positive progress made by each in art, in government, in the economy of life, the rule the rather is exaggeration alternating with suppression, producing upon the unenlightened view the effect of distortion, if not of falsehood.

In no small part, the failure of a world's fair to present a true picture of the art and industry of the several nations is in the nature of the case. The jest which, like many a "Joe Miller," has come down to us from a high antiquity respecting the man who sought to sell his house by exhibiting "a specimen brick," applies to a large portion of the articles at an international exhibition. To show by sample the products of some countries is to omit what is really characteristic concerning their industry, notable perhaps not for the perfection of growth or manufacture, but for the scale of production. The English cotton manufacture, for in-

stance, is one of the greatest economic facts of the century, yet, shown by samples, it has no advantage over that of several countries which can not control their own markets. The untold millions of "pieces" which Manchester annually discharges through the broad channels of British trade are inferior in quality to the average products of American mills. The greatness of the industry consists in its economical aspects: the price at which the goods are produced, the adaptation of form and quality to the needs of consumers east and west, north and south, the world-wide commercial correspondence on which the manufacture rests, the mighty mercantile marine which is subsidized to its uses, the control of the markets of five hundred millions of people. On the other hand, the comparison of specimens of coal, of iron, of copper, from the mines of Europe, with those of Pennsylvania or Michigan, would afford little real instruction without reference to the areas over which the deposits are spread and the depths at which they are to be worked.

In general, it may be said that the force which brings products to an international exhibition must be either the instinct of commercial interest or the direct agency of government. The commercial interest applies, however, in the matter of an exhibition with greatly differing force to different classes of products, while the efforts of the several governments to secure an adequate representation of the art and industry of their respective countries will vary through a wide range, from much down to little or nothing. These considerations would need to be entertained with respect to a world's fair, held anywhere, but they were of vastly greater account at Philadelphia than at any previous exhibition. Never before has the commercial interest in the matter of the display of goods applied so irregularly to the several classes of products; never before have the efforts of the principal governments to secure a representation of the art and industry of their respective countries extended through so wide a range.

A cause which importantly affected the commercial interest of Europe in the display of products at Philadelphia, to the injury of the Exhibition, was the high tariff maintained by the United States, a tariff which, within many lines of production, is intended to be, and is, prohibitory. Such a tariff, equally whether its effect upon our

domestic industry has been good or bad, must, in the nature of the case, have impaired, where it did not destroy, the interest which foreign producers and dealers might otherwise have felt in the display of their wares.

When it is considered, how short is our free list, how high the grade of duties—the average import on dutiable articles being in 1875 40.6 per cent, 50, 60, and 70 per cent being not uncommon, and 80 and even 90 per cent not unknown—it must appear how different an exhibition at Philadelphia under such a *régime* inevitably would be from one held in a country inviting foreign competition within its markets.

While the effect of the tariff was thus to cut in at a hundred places upon the Exhibition, it especially affected the display of silk and woolen goods. The gratulations so frequently expressed over the American exhibit were measurably justified if placed on the ground of the progress made in these branches of manufacture, and the really high degree of excellence attained in many lines of production. But when our boasting took the form of alleging that foreign countries showed in this line, or in that line, nothing to surpass, or to equal, the products of American mills, we were justly rebuked by a reference to our tariff, which imposes duties on articles of silk or of wool, rising, on a large part of our importation, to sixty per cent, and in many cases reaching eighty and ninety per cent.¹

Such a fact was quite sufficient to explain the general absence of the woolen and worsted goods and the carpets of England, and of the French and German silks. Many specialties of foreign manufacture were exhibited, especially from oriental countries, and some extensive classes of goods, as broadcloths, which we do not attempt to manufacture, with others in which the superiority of the foreign article is so manifest as to override even a tariff intended to be prohibitory; still other displays were made, induced by the pride of manufacturers, more or less under solicitation of their governments, as in the case of the superb silk and gold and silver brocades of Sapojnikoff of Moscow and the beautiful silken fabrics from Elberfeld, Germany. But the exhibition of silk and woolen and worsted goods at Philadelphia was any thing but

¹ The average duty collected in 1875 on the druggets and bockings imported was 96 per cent; on many grades of flannels, 80 and 90 per cent; on velvets and shawls of silk, and on all non-enumerated articles of the same material, the duty was 60 per cent; on Brussels carpets made by the Jacquard machinery, between 60 and 65 per cent.

fairly representative of the world's industry, and many of the finest products of human skill were conspicuous only by their absence.

A second cause, very influential in excluding from a world's fair many of the more notable results of the world's industry, operated at Philadelphia with peculiar force—namely, the difficulty and danger of transportation. Bulk, weight, frangibility, and liability to decay are elements which affect the cost or risk of transporting products so differently, that while in some cases transportation is scarcely a consideration in determining the question of exhibition, in others it becomes prohibitory, working a practical exclusion of extensive lines of articles, leaving them to be represented by models, photographs, or fragmentary samples, or not at all.

In part, it is from the higher cost of transportation that the commercial interest fails almost entirely in respect to the vast class of articles embraced under the title *Raw Materials*, which will scarcely be represented, even under the most favorable circumstances, upon the initiative and at the expense of the individual producers of them. In part, also, this result is probably due, first, to the greater number of producers of raw materials than of manufacturers, and the consequent division of interest; and, secondly, to the fact that there is comparatively little that is distinctive about exhibits of materials, while manufactured goods, not only by trade-marks, but by peculiarities of form or finish, are more individually recognizable, and the exhibitor thus receives in a fuller degree the benefit of his own display.

In the matter of live-stock, that greatest single interest of all nations, the question of transportation assumes supreme importance, with the result, as shown at Philadelphia, of a practical exclusion of all animals from competition except those of the regions immediately adjacent.

By the commercial interest in the display of products is meant the desire of the manufacturer or the dealer to widen the market for his goods, and to enhance their reputation, by exhibiting them before the millions of visitors at a world's fair, and offering them for the scrutiny of experts with a view to a demonstrative award for merit.

A very much lower form of the commercial interest is that which makes of a world's fair a bazaar. In a degree, the sale of goods is not only permissible, but it enhances the attractions of an exhibition, as felt by the mass of visitors, who delight to carry away souvenirs in whose genuineness and high value they have generally

the most undoubting faith. Moreover, sales of goods often greatly diminish the expense of exhibition, where the real purpose of the exhibitor is independent of such petty gains, thus reducing the resistance to the representation of certain important classes of products.

But where the prime object of the individual exhibitor is the sale of goods, the true end of an exhibition is likely to be soon lost sight of ; and this may easily be carried so far as to lower the tone and impair the effect of the entire exhibition. The so-called bazaars¹ outside the Exhibition buildings at Philadelphia, in which thinly-disguised Germans or Irishmen sold sacred relics or the characteristic wares of various oriental countries, of which John Street and Maiden Lane afforded an unfailing supply on the shortest notice, were perhaps well enough in the same view which tolerates the peanut-stand and the soda-fountain ; but it was hard to have patience with the traffic which, from opening to close of the Exhibition, went on, through a great part of the Italian and not a little of the French sections of the Main Building, in the pettiest and cheapest wares. The amount of rubbish thus "unloaded" upon the American public was enormous. Some of these dealers had almost illimitable stocks, and whenever one by chance ran out of any particular article, was not New York within ninety miles ? Most of the difficulty which the customs officers encountered, after the first entry of goods, came from these industrious venders of trinkets and trash. The persistent ingenuity which some of them displayed in their attempts to promote free trade would have been enough to exhaust the patience of a saint. No fault can be found with the officials that they occasionally lost temper and cut-up-rough with their unintelligible tormentors.

The commercial interest in the display of products at a world's fair proving in no small proportion of cases inadequate or failing altogether, it is necessary that it should be reinforced, or its place supplied, by the agency of government, seeking a creditable representation of the national art and industry. Such agency of government, however, is likely to be exerted in very different degrees

The Japanese Bazaar is justly to be excepted from the remarks which follow. There the really characteristic wares of Japan were sold in a building characteristic of that country, of decided architectural merit.

within the several countries, and to be applied very variously to the several classes of products.

The two countries which enjoyed most advantage at Philadelphia from the direct agency of their respective governments, in providing for and organizing the exhibition of products, were Japan and Russia. The expenditure of the former country was lavish in the extreme, and the result was a representation of its art and industry which formed one of the most striking features of the exhibition.

But while the government succeeded in making so conspicuous a display of the characteristic works of Japanese genius, the exhibit of Russia, as a whole, afforded an even better illustration of the manner in which the public authority of a country, supplementing and even superseding entirely the commercial impulse, may arrange a creditable representation of its art and industry. The Government of Russia having accepted, with no little hesitation and reluctance, the invitation of the Centennial Commission, upon doing so undertook, in the most systematic and effective manner, the work of placing the empire handsomely within the gates of the Exhibition. The space allotted was not, as in the case of most countries, divided up among applicants without reference to their ability and standing at home. Nothing was introduced into the exhibit which was not calculated to confer credit, while the government sought on every hand products which should illustrate the vast natural resources of the empire and its rapid and various industrial development. So careful was the scrutiny that it may fairly be said that the Russian exhibit was the only one which did not contain more or less of what must be characterized as rubbish. On the other hand, so comprehensive were the efforts of the commission that they scarcely failed to present a single important characteristic feature or product of the national art and industry.

In the matter of government agency in securing a creditable representation at Philadelphia, England adopted a course midway between the highly authoritative procedure of Russia and Japan and the let-alone policy, if it was a policy, of some of the more prominent European nations—a course more consistent with the genius and traditions of that government, and but little less effective in its results. The English commission, except in the matter of representatives of the fine arts, appear not to have undertaken to supersede the commercial instinct, but to supplement it by timely and urgent appeals to the pride and public spirit of eminent dealers and manu-

facturers in different parts of the kingdom. Nor is there any country where an appeal to public spirit is more effectual; where a direct invitation from the representatives of the government would come with more of the weight of a command. I have no authority for the opinion, but I do not deem it rash to assume that a very considerable portion of the British exhibits, and especially two of the principal attractions of this section, two without which the Main Building would have worn a distinctly inferior aspect—the exhibits, namely, of the Messrs. Daniels, in pottery, and of the Messrs. Elkinton, in artistic metal work—would have been wanting, under the impulse of the commercial interest merely. Comprehensive as was the enterprise of the commission, it did not succeed in placing in the courts of the Exhibition an adequate representation of the products of some of the foremost industries of that country, where the commercial interest was, from one reason or another, wanting. It would seem that a little additional labor and expenditure would have resulted in a fuller and more characteristic display of the wares of Bradford, Halifax, and Manchester, even though the manufacturers of those cities did not find it for their personal interest to undertake the trouble and cost of individual exhibitions.

Next to Russia, perhaps the greatest of the surprises of the Exhibition was found in the displays made by the British colonies, and pre-eminently by Canada. The commercial instinct in these new countries is exceedingly active and adventurous, and it was well directed and reinforced by the colonial commissions appointed for the purpose. For the wealth of natural resources shown by Australia the American people were in a considerable degree prepared, though the impression produced upon every careful observer as to the future of that continent was profound. But for the Canadian display neither the American people, though so close neighbors, nor the judges of the Exhibition were prepared. Here it was not alone the richness of natural endowment, as shown in cereals and fruits, lumber, cattle, and horses, often surpassing the corresponding products of the most favored regions of the United States, which witnessed to the present wealth and future growth of Canada; but the artfulness of mechanical contrivance, quite New-England-like, the spirit of industrial enterprise, active and penetrating, and the admirable educational system of at least one of the provinces, were in the best sense American.

Another country which took a deep interest in its representation at Philadelphia was that which perhaps most closely resembles our

own in political character and constitution—Switzerland. In every thing the Swiss put themselves well forward at Philadelphia. Their engineering exhibit was admirable. No government exhibited more freely or more creditably its methods of administration. The educational display was thoroughly good. Models of buildings and plans of administration for every class of afflicted persons were shown with great fullness of detail, and the characteristic industries of the country were well represented. Even the most patriotic American can scarcely forbear a feeling of regret that one of the first effects of the participation of this most friendly and most deserving people in our Exhibition should have been a crushing blow to the industry which sustains forty thousand of their skilled workmen, through the overwhelming demonstration of the superiority of the American machine-made to the Swiss hand-made watch, in all the elements of ordinary running efficiency, ease of repair, chronometric precision, and lowness of cost.

Spain, too, largely reinforced the commercial interest of her manufacturers and exporters by government suggestion and assistance. Of the admirable military and art exhibits from this country mention is made elsewhere. The learned and literary institutions of Spain were represented with unusual fullness. Its mineral wealth, of which, by reason of the backwardness of its mining industry, comparatively little use is made, was shown to great advantage. The oils, wines, and fruits of this country, its textile fabrics, its leather manufactures,—especially in harness and saddlery,—its glass and porcelain, though somewhat late in arrival, were brought forward in the best spirit of such an occasion. If all these products did not command unqualified approval, it was due to the state of Spanish industry under causes long operating. Had every country put itself on exhibition as completely, we should have had something very nearly approaching a world's fair in very truth.

Not only did the Government of Brazil take great pains with its representation, but Dom Pedro was there himself to see to it. The Scandinavian countries also made considerable efforts, especially considering their resources, to be put well before the people of the United States.

In the highest degree the United States section testified to the operation of both commercial interest and government agency in filling the vast spaces assigned to the products of our own art and industry. Yet even here there were some notable exceptions to the fact of a generally complete representation. Not-

withstanding that wool has been the subject of extravagant legislative favor on the part of the United States, and that an association exists for the express purpose of forwarding the wool-growing and wool-manufacturing interests, no general collection of American wools was found at the opening of the Exhibition, and it was an English judge who called the attention of the Director-General to the striking deficiency, and urged that, even at that late date, efforts be made to supply the want. Of all the great wool-producing countries, only France, Germany, and Austria were represented with like meagreness. Again, notwithstanding noble displays of timber and lumber from West Virginia, Michigan, and Oregon, the forestal products of the country were not properly exhibited.

It is also to be regretted that more of our staple machinery was not shown in operation. A full set of cotton machinery, for example, arranged and kept in operation, as a collective exhibit, by the manufacturers of Providence or Fall River or Lowell, and a set of boot and shoe machinery, from Lynn, North Brookfield, or Worcester, would have well repaid the expense and added greatly to the interest of the Exhibition.

Our mineral wealth was shown with great fullness, mainly as the result of State effort and of the comprehensive collections of the Smithsonian Institution. Yet no samples could convey to the European visitor any thing like an adequate conception of the enormous extent of our subterranean treasures. It was when the foreign judge or commissioner returned from a trip into the coal and iron regions of Pennsylvania that his astonishment at our natural resources broke bounds in prophecies of the coming greatness of the United States.

It was in the department of the fine arts that the most marked differences appeared, through the widely-varying interest shown by the several governments in the completeness of the representation of their respective countries. The commercial interest here fails altogether, or takes its lowest form, in a desire to obtain a purchaser for the article immediately exhibited.

Of all the foreign nations, Great Britain was easily first. Apparently the commercial instinct was here not relied upon at all, the commission soliciting the loan of pictures in the interest of a credit-

able representation. Nearly all the works exhibited were loaned by the Royal Academy or by individual patrons of art, scores of private galleries being represented. Nearly all the best names in English painting to-day were present, affording a strong contrast with the French, German, and Italian sections, where the roll of eminent living painters was only checked here and there for a single work, or perhaps two.

But the British commission were not content with achieving what was, at the least, a very creditable representation of the English art of to-day. To millions of Americans who are not permitted to visit European galleries the British section in Memorial Hall offered a great privilege in the opportunity to see choice pictures of deceased artists. Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait of himself was to many alone worth the trip to Philadelphia. The pictures by Landseer at the least gratified a deal of popular curiosity. The inclusion in this collection of two of the most famous pictures of Benjamin West, one being a scene in American history, was an act of graceful courtesy to our people.

Of the British sculpture of to-day there was hardly a pretense of a representation, but the works of Chantry and Gibson well supplied the place of any thing that could have been sent by living artists.

The Spanish collection, like the British, testified to the earnest desire of the government to do credit to the art of its people; and while the pictures were few, there were embraced several works of exceptionally high value, especially the historical paintings belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts, Madrid.

The loan of pictures by patrons of art and owners of private galleries, which added so much to the value of the British section, formed a marked feature of the Spanish.

The Austrian collection was another which showed the good effects of public agency supplementing or superseding commercial interest. The paintings from this country were thoroughly worthy of its art; and while some names of distinction did not appear upon its catalogue, there was little that was poor and much that was very good upon the walls of the Austrian section. The superb picture of Makart formed one of the main attractions of Memorial Hall, and in the universal attention paid to this right royal painting was evidenced the susceptibility of even the uncultivated to the impressions of true art.

Belgium and the Netherlands made fairly representative exhi-

bitions of their painting. The limited display of Sweden contained not a little that was decidedly meritorious.

France, Germany, and Italy appear to have left their representation in Memorial Hall much to chance or to commercial interest. In the case of France, the result was not as bad as might have been expected. America has been, and still is, so good a market for French pictures that the opportunity of exhibiting before four millions of Americans brought to Philadelphia a considerable number of paintings, which, if the great names of France were conspicuous only by absence, were yet moderately well representative of the school of to-day. With these, owing to the apparent absence of any scrutiny by the commission, were included the sweepings of many studios, including some ghastly attempts at historical painting. The French sculpture was more fairly representative of the present condition of that art.

The German collection embraced much less that was good, perhaps also somewhat less that was obviously bad, than the French. A dozen, possibly a score, of pictures were all that the eye found to rest upon. The dull commonplace of the German section was relieved by the contributions of Achenbach, Steffek, and Richter. The inclusion in the German collection of two pictures based on incidents in the battle and the capitulation of Sedan was in wretched taste, and excited much unfavorable comment.¹ It was by no one more regretted than by the distinguished president of the judges from that country; for a time, also, by the Imperial Commissioner-General, Prof. Reuleaux, of Berlin, who did not fail openly to denounce the offensive Teutonism which had admitted these works into the German section.

Of all the countries prominent in art, Italy did itself scantiest justice in the exhibition of paintings. The best names of to-day scarcely appeared at all upon the catalogue, and the space assigned to Italy was occupied by pictures seldom rising to a respectable mediocrity. One cause, if I am rightly informed, may perhaps serve in part to explain the failure of the Italian representation—viz., that there is no general gallery of modern art in Italy of a national character, on which the commission for that country could draw, as was done with such excellent effect in Spain and England. The products of the really excellent Italian school of to-day are thus scattered through foreign lands, or in private hands at home;

¹ What shall be said of Rothermel's Battle of Gettysburg?

making it more difficult to form a fairly representative collection. In sculpture the Italian exhibit was profuse, and the average quality was far above that of the Italian paintings: much was manifestly made to sell; little had claims to great consideration; nearly all showed the cleverness of manipulation and the high technical skill which belongs by right of inheritance to the sculptors of Italy.

The character of the occasion, the advantage of proximity, and the opportunity to address so vast a concourse of their countrymen, secured ample contributions from our native artists. The work here chiefly required was scrutiny and selection. Of this there was sore need. A committee was constituted of competent artists and connoisseurs, who discharged their duty, it is to be presumed, with impartiality and intelligence. Their decisions were, however, set aside, and an amount of rubbish admitted to the galleries of the Exhibition of which it is difficult to speak within bounds. Even the most painstaking observer can never fully free himself from the unpleasant influence of the proximity of what is obtrusively wrong in art, while the great majority of visitors fall hopeless victims at once to the loud and the bad. It did not seem to occur to the administration that an American citizen had no more natural right to hang his canvas on the walls of the Memorial Hall than to hang his linen on the gates of the park.

With this great drawback, however, the United States were well represented in painting, especially so in landscape. None of our great names were wanting, and the best artists were seldom represented by their indifferent works. In sculpture the display was liberal, but not, on the whole, of a high order. Owing to the greater cost and risk of transportation in case of statuary, and to the fact that most of our eminent sculptors work abroad, few of the masterpieces of our art were exhibited.

In one very important department which has been made prominent at other international exhibitions, commanding deep public interest and enlisting the services of its ablest reporters, Philadelphia presented little of importance, presumably from the lack of encouragement on the part of the administration; while the little which was presented received slight attention in the adjudication, the consideration of it being somewhat doubtfully assigned to a group of judges already overburdened with the whole body of

exhibits under the title of Education. The department referred to is that wide one which embraces projects and practical efforts for the amelioration of the condition of mankind, especially in the three lines of (1) provision by employers for the instruction and moral care of operatives, including the due protection of females and the young of both sexes from premature or excessive exertion, and from avoidable contact with what is rough or vile; (2) provision, whether by public or private enterprise, for the treatment of the afflicted classes, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the insane, and the idiotic; (3) the preservation of society from the infection of hereditary or acquired taint in its members. In the sociological department no country made a larger exhibition, relatively, or one which witnessed more fully to the intelligence and humanity of both people and government, than Switzerland.

How many persons, if required in advance to divide their time among the several departments of the Exhibition, would have put down one tenth to pottery and porcelain? Some thousands, doubtless; tens of thousands, perhaps.

Probably to a million of visitors to "the Centennial" the display in this department was like a revelation, opening up to them, according to their capacity, realms of beauty of which they had previously no sort of conception, and awaking a taste never to be quenched.

The pottery and porcelain exhibition was excellent, though probably not up to the standard of either Paris or Vienna. Europe was backward. Some of the first houses of England did not exhibit, and the great national factory of Sèvres, in France, was represented by only a few examples, shown as works of art in Memorial Hall.

On the other hand, oriental productions were shown as never before, the Japanese porcelain, in especial, being placed at Philadelphia in surprising richness, giving to the entire Exhibition a character it would otherwise have wanted. Who of all that visited the Main Building did not miss meals and break appointments from lingering in the courts of Japan, studying the marvellous effects of its strong native art in the wares of Arita and Kiyoto? The larger Japanese vases, manufactured expressly for the Exhibition, were miracles of skill in pottery and of fancy in decoration, and among the slabs shown were some not merely extraordinary for their superb ornamentation, but almost incomprehensible in the technical conditions of their production. No one could long study this

display without noting the wealth of the art of Japan in the strong individual characteristics of the artists employed in moulding and decorating the work.

The pottery of China was more largely of a commercial character than that of Japan, the exhibits being, indeed, chiefly offered by merchants out of stocks on hand. Still, much was shown of interest, while specimens of pottery of a very early date were both curious historically and of great intrinsic worth. Chinese art in this department has, as is universally admitted, suffered deeply from the opening of European markets, over which a vulgar and gaudy taste too often dominates. Even Japanese art, with more of self-assertion, has not been wholly unimpaired by the same influence.

While the Eastern world thus made its most notable exhibition of pottery and porcelain at Philadelphia, the United States for the first time made a serious appearance in this department at an international exhibition, and that with a degree of success surprising not merely to those foreigners who were present, but to our own citizens. The progress of this art in this country during the last ten years has been remarkable. In body, form, and glaze the products of the "granite" potteries of Trenton and of East Liverpool, Ohio, exhibited at the Centennial, were fairly entitled to take rank with the corresponding products of older countries. In decoration we are yet behind, and must continue to manufacture at this disadvantage until schools of art and design, as popular and as thorough as those of Europe, shall elevate the taste and refine the touch of our artisans.

In saying that Europe was backward in this department, the remark must be taken relatively. The display of the Messrs. Daniels, of London, embracing the superb productions of Minton and of the Worcester works, with the artistic stoneware of Dowlton and various admirable exhibits of tiles and materials for mosaic decoration, formed conspicuous features of the English section; while the majolica and faience of France were profusely shown from several of her most eminent establishments.

In glassware, the display from foreign countries was deficient, allowing the success of the United States in the production of flint and lime glass to appear the more conspicuously. Both here and in the exhibit of porcelain was manifest the great advantage possessed by the United States in the abundance and wide distribution of the choicest materials. Most of the countries of Europe failed entirely to do justice to their decorative glass, France, so

eminent in this department, being represented, like Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands, almost exclusively by plates, mirrors, and window-glass. England sent one first-class exhibit—that of Green, of London. Sweden and Norway, Spain and Portugal, were also creditably represented, the two former states showing marked progress. Austria alone was brilliant in this department. Her Bohemian glass appeared to the highest advantage in several exhibits, especially that of Lobmeyer.

In jewelry, gold and silver ware, and artistic metal-work, England was handsomely, though not very fully, represented, the house of Elkinton bringing the display up to a high standard, their damascening and inlaying of metals and imitations of oriental art being unapproached in the Exhibition, while their repoussé work was only surpassed in the Russian section. France furnished a great deal that was truly admirable; but if her exhibit be compared with her well-known capabilities, it must be pronounced scanty, many of the lines of production which she has worked most successfully being represented slightly or not at all. Italy sent profusely of her wares for immediate sale; little that added to the instructiveness and interest of the Exhibition. Switzerland exhibited freely, and her products maintained at all points the high reputation of her skilled artisans. Here, as in so many other sections, Russia offered a genuine surprise in the richness and variety of her display. Her workers in metal showed a cunning and skill, and often a high artistic sense, not anticipated even by those who knew of the triumphs of Sazikof. Throughout this department, the profuse use of the beautiful and precious stones of Russia afforded a striking novelty to our people.

In jewelry and gold and silver ware, the United States were less fully represented than was to be expected, considering the great success attained in these branches of manufacture, especially in chains, bracelets, and necklaces of gold, and in silver tableware. The products of many factories of the highest reputation were not shown at all. Enough, however, appeared, especially in silverware, to fairly mark the great progress in this direction of our national industry, which is now firmly established upon a basis of thorough commercial honesty and high mechanical skill, with great fertility of resource, both in invention and in adaptation. Here, however, as in the newer field of the porcelain manufacture, we show painfully the need of art education. If we are to extend our markets, and aim to supply other nations with our pro-

ducts, the school of design must be made the inseparable adjunct of the workshop and factory. In jewelry, two New York houses made brilliant displays, which contributed greatly to the attractions of the Exhibition. The Bryant Vase, though not rising to rivalry with the Milton Shield or the Helicon Vase, showed itself fully worthy to be their companion.

In artistic bronzes the Exhibition was not rich. The country of Story, Powers, and Randolph Rogers had nothing to offer under this title, except some zinc and spelter images, candlesticks, etc., dignified in the catalogue as bronzes. France, *facile princeps*, was not justly represented, though many admirable things were shown in this section. Italy presented one excellent collection of bronze reproductions from the antique. The triumphs of the Exhibition were reserved for Japan and Russia. The Japanese bronzes were as unique in the conditions of their production, and not less admirable in an artistic view, than the porcelain of that country. The same striking individuality which was observed in the products of her potteries obtained here. Russia, applying the French spirit and methods to the representation of her peasant and military life, exhibited a small but most interesting collection of bronze figures and groups, all finding place on two or three small tables, which possessed more real merit than some of the most pretentious national exhibits of sculpture in Memorial Hall.

(To be continued.)

BARRY CORNWALL AND SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

BRYAN WALLER PROCTER¹ occupies a prominent place among poets of the second class, in a generation signalized by the appearance of such imaginative minds of the first class as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Scott, Shelley, and Keats. In the early part of the nineteenth century there was, in Great Britain, a revival of letters, such as the nation had not witnessed since the grand Elizabethan period of its literary history. Inspiration was in the very air of the time, and sensitive hearts and intellects inhaled it in the mere unconscious effort of breathing. The stimulus of this new atmosphere was specially felt in its quickening effect on the imagination and the passions. In the age of Dryden and Pope, the poet made his mark by the condensation and point of the heroic couplets in which he embodied his practical thinking; in the new age inaugurated by Wordsworth, the poet penetrated below the maxims of practical thinking into the profounder region of ideal thought.

The mistake committed by most of the followers and imitators of Pope was due to their fond delusion that they became poets simply by exercising an acquired knack of putting the commonplaces of common-sense into smooth ten-syllabled verses. Their utter sterility, both of thought and of the results of logical thinking, invited and provoked the reaction against the whole poetic system of which Pope was the head. Persons whom he would hardly have condescended to admit into the "Dunciad" came to be at last the only representatives of his school. But it was found that the revolution which violently overturned the old dynasty furnished dunces and charlatans with new temptations, motives, and opportuni-

¹"Bryan Waller Procter (Barry Cornwall). An Autobiographical Fragment and Biographical Notes, with Personal Sketches of Contemporaries, Unpublished Lyrics, and Letters of Literary Friends." Boston: Roberts Brothers.

"Barry Cornwall and Some of his Friends." By James T. Fields. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co.

ties to hide their poverty of thought and incapacity for thinking, by a skillful mimicry of Wordsworth's thoughtfulness and Byron's passion. They indulged to their heart's content, or rather to their tongue's content, in wild outbursts of senseless sensibility, expressed in a throng of irrelevant metaphors and images which represented nothing, which illustrated nothing, and which were accordingly good for nothing. Wordsworth's theory of the intimate, mysterious connection of the soul of man with the soul indwelling in visible nature was almost as much a discovery in the realm of poetry as Newton's demonstration of the law of gravitation was a discovery in the realm of science. As expressed in his lines on revisiting the ruins of Tintern Abbey, and in his immortal ode on immortality, it gave the key-note to the poetry of the century. Talfourd was justified in his assertion that Wordsworth was both "ridiculed and pillaged" by Byron; for the stanzas in the third canto of "*Childe Harold*," which are specially elemental in thought and feeling, penetrating, as they do, into the very soul of nature, are merely the translation of Wordsworth's mysticism into *Byronese*. But Byron popularized the original thought of Wordsworth by giving it the stamp of his own individuality, and infusing into it the heat of his own passion. He made it infectious in making it his own. The effect of the establishment and domestication of this transcendental element in the poetry of the period was to relieve vagueness of thought and expression from its old stigma of being identical with vacuity of mind. The finest passages of Wordsworth, Byron, and Shelley might be called vague, because they demanded a certain subtlety of perception in the reader to be appreciated at their full worth. The vagueness, in their case, was the result of exceptional depth and delicacy of thought and feeling; but the new school of poets supplied no critical tests by which mediocrity might be instantly distinguished from excellence; for obscurity of expression was no longer the one unpardonable sin of rhetoric; and three quarters of the readers of Wordsworth, nine tenths of the readers of Shelley, and at least a half of the readers of Byron, did not comprehend—they were content merely to feel—the noblest and most original ideas concerning nature which were announced in their writings as divinations of the soul, working under the impulse of impassioned imagination. There was therefore a vast opportunity presented for second-rate, third-rate, and fifth-rate poetasters to puzzle, distract, and dazzle a public which had come to consider vagueness and obscurity as perfectly consistent with a high order of genius, and which

had not acquired the power of discriminating between the transcendentalists, who really transcended ordinary minds by superior gifts of insight, and impudent pretenders to transcendentalism, who were unintelligible merely because they had no definite idea of any thing, no real passion for any thing, and no capacity to express any thing.

On the other side, there was one admirable and settled principle taught to the rhymers brought up in the school of Pope, that their littleness, whether of brain or character, was inevitably revealed in adopting his form of versification and in submitting to his poetic laws. The austere requirements which he exacted of all persons who aspired to be poets after his model were vigor of thinking and vigor in expressing the results of thinking, and he placed a special emphasis on clearness of thought and expression. The pretenders who seemingly adhered to his somewhat pedantic rules were instantly detected by their lack of his terseness and brightness, of his graceful fancy and strong good sense, of his incisive reasoning and epigrammatic point. Young's series of seven satires on the Universal Passion prove that an able man, writing under the limitations of what is called the school of Dryden and Pope, finds in them nothing which obstructs the action of a fertile, original, and energetic mind. Even Cowper, in his satires, submits to the autocracy of Pope, without losing any of that originality of mind and character which made him the fit precursor of Wordsworth in writings worthier of his genius. Churchill found the heroic couplet an efficient medium of communication with the public, allowing free and full vent to all the ferocity and brutality of his nature, as well as to the coarse, strong vein of sense, wit, humor, and sentiment which were inseparably associated with his ferocity and brutality. But the vast majority of the followers of Pope were a feeble folk, perhaps best represented, in the dying out of his system and method, by William Hayley, who was, as a man, kindly and well meaning, and who was, as a poet, the perfection of amiable imbecility. Still he, no less than the other small poets of the school he represented, was compelled to be clear in thought as well as "correct" in versification; and his lucidity, therefore, only made his mediocrity more glaringly and distressingly conspicuous.

It was not so with the followers and imitators of Wordsworth and Byron. Many of them obtained a transient reputation, with no more real pretensions to renown than were found in their profuse indulgence in obscurity and rant. The new school of poets, subordinating understanding to insight, and logic to spiritual per-

ception, aimed to restore the long-lost connection between the bard and the seer. In thus striking at the deepest sources of poetry, they abandoned the current standards of excellence established by the most influential critics of the time; and when the leading organ of critical opinion, the *Edinburgh Review*, decried the grandest, most profound and moral original passages of Wordsworth as the prolix outpourings of a "rapturous mysticism," as the dull products of "forced and affected ecstasies," the result was to bring criticism itself into disrepute, since it thus plainly showed its incapacity to discern what it derided. If men of the first class could thus be contemptuously underrated, fifth-rate men might well hope to pass off their really "forced and affected ecstasies" as the genuine inspiration of the Muse, since their unintelligible rant could call forth no harsher judgment than that rendered in the case of the loftiest spiritual experiences of imaginative genius, in the expression of which there were palpable marks of the presence of "the vision and the faculty divine." And not only was the criticism of the poetry of the time deficient in perception of the higher qualities of the new school of poets, but it was further vitiated by intense political prejudices and personal enmities, so that at last it became almost impossible for well-meaning readers to be honestly guided in their judgment of books by consulting the decisions of the self-created authorities in matters of literature and taste. Thus Keats was merely the friend and acquaintance of Hunt and Hazlitt; there was no evidence in his verse of his political opinions; and yet he was brutally assailed in the *Quarterly Review* and in *Blackwood's Magazine* as a drooling, babyish fool, with no genius, because he happened to be connected with a radical set whom all good Tories were taught both to despise and abhor.

Procter grew up into manhood at the period when this fertility in original genius was accompanied by this anarchy in the decisions of critical jurisprudence. He was an imitator of none of his contemporaries; but what powers of thought, fancy, imagination, and passion he possessed were naturally influenced by the poetic medium in which his mind moved. He had a passionate love of poetry in every form in which it found expression, and even keenly appreciated the merits of poets who denied merit to each other. There was a singular union in him of boldness and modesty. When his feelings and imagination were touched, he resolutely abandoned himself to the inspiration of his theme, and ventured freely into fine audacities of thought and expression; but in individual disposition he

was the reverse of self-asserting, and in conversation was rather reticent. There was, however, a precious something in his nature which attracted esteem and love. His numerous friends and acquaintances, including at least a hundred persons eminent or prominent in politics, art, literature, and science, never seemed disposed to exercise on him the intolerance they frequently displayed in their intercourse, or non-intercourse, with each other. The imperturbable kindliness of his nature, the delicate sense of justice he evinced in refusing to have his literary opinions affected by political animosity or personal prejudice, and the absence in him of egotism while genially mixing with a crowd of able egotists, made him a delightful companion to all who had the pleasure of enjoying his companionship. It is probable that much of his diffidence, extending at times to self-abnegation, came from that dramatic element in his individual disposition which found through his genius brilliant, though not to him satisfactory, expression in his "Dramatic Scenes" and no less dramatic "Songs." His ambition evidently was to be an observer of human life and character, and, as a poet, to be able to pass out of himself at will into a world of imagined beings, in which impartial justice should be done to types of character and moods of mind that widely differed from his own. He wished to be a dramatist in the sphere of ideal life, as he was, in actual life, a dramatist through his sympathetic insight into minds and hearts that came under his daily observation, and for whose infirmities and defects he had the large toleration which is an indispensable element of true dramatic genius. His immense admiration of Robert Browning, a poet who appeared after he had himself almost abandoned even the habit of making verses, was due to his admiration of Browning's exceptional dramatic power, by which he multiplied his individual existence by making his mind inhabit and animate so many different forms of human character. Procter had, in his early poetic manhood, a similar desire for this extension of his individual being; but he felt, in his poetic middle age, that he had not been endowed with a similar power of realizing it.

As Procter was born in 1787 and died in 1874, his life included three generations of poets, extending even to the period when the fame of Browning and Tennyson,—authors who began to write after he had practically ceased to publish any thing,—was contested by a new brood of poets, now fighting for prominence in the public eye, with novel theories of poetry sustained by novel theories of criticism. All three of these generations seem to have loved and honored

him. He was celebrated in verse by the octogenarian Landor and by the youthful Swinburne. "Barry!" exclaims Landor,

" Barry, your spirit long ago
Has haunted me ; at last I know
The heart it springs from : one more sound
Ne'er rested on poetic ground ;"

and Swinburne, after Procter had let fall, in a conversation with him and Bayard Taylor, that his poetry was now (1868) less known than it had been, could not rest until he had denied it in some graceful stanzas. There were some vernal blossoms, the young poet said, that "bear no fruit eternal;" but he adds:

" No time casts down, no time upraises,
Such loves, such memories, and such praises
As need no grace of sun or shower,
No saving screen from frost or thunder,
To tend and house around and under
The imperishable and peerless flower."

Indeed, there hardly ever was a sweet and an honorable old age cherished by more tender marks of domestic affection, and ministered to by a larger troop of attached friends and admirers, than the old age of this poet.

The interesting "Biographical Notes" published by his family, and the pleasing memories of him recorded in the charming little volume by Mr. Fields, exhibit him as he was in himself, and as he appeared in his relations with his intimate friends. "The Autobiographical Sketch" provokingly stops at the very commencement of his career, and is characterized, or, if we may invent a more intense word fitting his case, "peculiarized," by his persistent habit of underrating his powers. He was the son of a man of moderate fortune, scanty education, and mediocre abilities, but one in whose nature parsimony was indissolubly connected with integrity, and who was uncompromisingly honest in thought, word, and act, without having the grace of generosity to make his rectitude lovable. His mother was simply "the kindest and tenderest mother in the world." At the age of five he was sent to a boarding-school near London, and had to fight his way, as well as he could, among older boys; at the age of thirteen he was sent to the great public school of Harrow, where he bore himself creditably among the boys, both as to learning his lessons and using his fists, without, however, having any particular ambition to excel others either in scholarship or pugilism. Among his school-fellows there were two striplings afterwards cele-

brated all over the world, Robert Peel, who lived to become one of the foremost statesman of England, and Noel Byron, who attained an equal celebrity as a poet. Of Peel, Procter says nothing, though he must have shown, as a boy, some of the qualities which eventually made him the great compromiser between opposite political factions, and may perhaps, in his dealings with other boys, have early given in his adhesion to the economic doctrine which only in his old age he consented to carry out, of "buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest." Of Byron, Procter says that none of his companions could have dreamed of his blossoming into a poet, as he was loud, coarse, capable, very capable, of a boy's vulgar enjoyments, playing at hockey and racquets, and "occasionally indulging in pugilistic combats." Procter's vacations were spent in a large mansion of his mother's uncle, where, he tells us, his imagination was first awakened by a bedroom, papered in the old-fashioned way, which "suggested many wonderful thoughts," and was not without its terrors. There looked out of the paper, he says, "strange faces and objects, partaking at once of the bird and the beast," some beautiful, some terrible, but all disturbing to his brain. He began to dream, to recollect his dreams, to dwell upon them, and to strive "to discover their meanings and origin." Then the meadows, fields, and gardens around the house stirred a strange rapture in his soul. There happened also to be in his uncle's family a female servant who was "the daughter of a man who had failed in a profession or business," and who was the most cultivated person in the spacious mansion. She had read some of the English historians and poets, was familiar with the novels of Richardson and Fielding, and narrated to the eager boy "their stories fluently and emphatically, and with marvellous taste and discrimination of the characters. But above all—high above all—she worshiped Shakespeare. She it was," he adds, "who first taught me to know and love him;" and by reciting to him passages from the plays, made him resolve "I will buy a Shakespeare with the first money I get." This vow he kept; and thus, as a boy, he entered "into a world beyond his own." Shakespeare led him at last to study the whole dramatic literature of the Elizabethan age, and the result was evident when he came to publish his "Dramatic Poems."

The youth, on leaving Harrow, was not sent to Oxford, because his father, "a saving soul," was determined against it by the statement of a friend he had consulted. "I never learned much at Oxford," said this critic, "and my boy has learned nothing—nothing

except extravagant habits." Bryan was accordingly sent directly to study law under a solicitor in a Wiltshire village. He thoroughly prepared himself for this profession by "reading all the English poets from Chaucer down to Burns," all the romances of Le Sage, Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Inchbald, and Radcliffe, most of the classics which had been translated into English, and most of the histories accessible to ordinary English readers. In order further to qualify himself for the arduous duties of the practice of law he fell in love, and began to write verses. At the age of twenty he went up to London with the intention of living by his pen, and at the same time to prosecute the legal studies thus happily begun. It was not until 1815, when he contributed some poems to the *Literary Gazette*, that his talent attracted attention. In 1816 his father died, leaving him a modest competence, which he was disposed to spend freely, though at about this time he began the serious study of conveyancing, and soon afterwards entered into partnership with a solicitor—an unproductive partnership as it proved, which was dissolved in 1820, after he had incurred some losses. A passion for literary distinction which, for many years, had been stirring within him now found an adequate outlet in his "Dramatic Scenes, and Other Poems," published in 1819. The volume passed deservedly to a second edition. In 1820 it was succeeded by "A Sicilian Story," in the same year by "Marcian Colonna," and in 1821 by the tragedy of "Mirandola," which was not only a success on the stage, having a run of sixteen nights, but also a success with the reading public, passing rapidly through three editions. The author's gains reached the sum of £630. In 1823 appeared "The Flood of Thessaly, and Other Poems;" and then, with the exception of "Effigies Poeticæ," a thin volume published in 1824, the author's literary ambition subsided. The reason for this is found in the fact that the poet had realized his poetic ideal in one of the happiest marriages recorded in the lives and loves of the poets. In 1820 he had been introduced to the family of Basil Montague. He fell in love with a daughter of Mrs. Montague by a former husband, became engaged to her in 1821, and married her in 1824. He thus obtained the great prize of life—a prize in winning which either Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, or Byron might have envied while congratulating him. He insured his domestic happiness and domestic peace by marrying a noble woman, whose talents and accomplishments fitted her to appear in any society in Great Britain on a footing of equality, who could enter no society where she

would not be recognized as a brilliant addition to it, and who tenderly loved and appreciated the husband by whom she was adored.

His domestic happiness he celebrated in his well-known "Poet's Song to his Wife;" but we should rather select some passages from the little-known "Epistle from an Obscure Philosopher," as more autobiographic in spirit. In this he describes both the ecstasy of the lover and the calm, "sober certainty of waking bliss" of the husband:

" She stood disclosed,
A perfect soul within a perfect form ;
Unparalleled, intelligent, divine.
Dreams of some inner Heaven then took my soul
Captive, and flushed the thrilling nerves with joy,
Commingle with my sleep and blessing it ;
And when she warmed with love, my eyes amazed
Met thrice the wonders I before had seen :
I drank in fragrance thousand times more sweet
Than ever lay upon the hyacinth's lip :
Music I heard, sphere-tuned, harmonious,
Ravishing earth and sky : Swarms of delight
Encompassed me, until my soul o'erwhelmed
Sank in the conflict ; and I then poured forth
My heart in numbers such as lovers use :—

O perfect Love, soft joy, untinged with pain !
O sky kept cloudless by the sighs of Spring !
O Bird, that bear'st sweet sounds through sun and rain .
Give thy heart way, and sing !

Look down, dear Love, as Heaven looks down on earth !
Be near me, round me, like the enfolding air !
Impart some beauty from thy beauteous worth .
Or be thyself less fair.

As the hart panteth for the water-brooks :
As the dove moaneth in the lone pine-tree
So, left unsunned by thy care-charming looks,
I pant, I mourn for thee !

—She came unto my home ; and with her came
Infinite love ; content ; divine repose.
Life rose above its height ; and we beheld
Beauty in all things, everywhere delight !
The sun that dwelt in our own hearts shed forth
Its beams upon the world, and brightened it ;
And from that brightness, as the ground takes back
The dews it gently lends, we gathered light
That led us through the dim sweet paths of life,
Until our hearts bloomed forth in happiness."

It is not surprising that the lover, blessed in possessing the object of his affection, should have resumed his profession as a conveyancer, and worked steadily to provide his goddess with a suitable temple. At the time he married, the property bequeathed to him by his father yielded an income of five hundred pounds. He added largely to this by laboring with all his might to make himself a conveyancer of the first class; he worked so hard that for some time he sat up all night for two nights in every week, in order that his business might be effectually done; and added further to his income by taking into his office some forty or fifty pupils, among whom were two who afterwards became distinguished in literature—namely, A. W. Kinglake, the author of “Eothen” and “The Invasion of the Crimea,” and Eliot Warburton, the author of “The Crescent and the Cross.” By indomitable industry, by sheer practical, prosaic work, this poet obtained the means of making his London house one of the great centres of literary and intellectual society. As a man and as a poet he was perfectly contented with the domestic paradise he had created by his professional exertions, and gave vent to the poetic impulses stirring within him only secretly and, as it were, by stealth, singing the joyousness of wine, in which he only moderately indulged, exulting in glad conceptions of the sea, on which he never ventured, even to cross the patch of water which separates Dover from Calais, and putting himself into a number of dramatic positions, some of which were happily foreign to his own. All these moods of his brooding intellect and heart, some of them resting on solid grounds of individual experience, but most of them springing from imagined scenes, incidents, and characters intensely realized to his own mind as he dreamed by his happy fireside, suddenly blazed out, eight years after his happy marriage, in his book of “English Songs.” The volume gained at once an extensive popularity which it still retains. It will probably float more securely down the stream of time than any of his other works.

In the same year (1832) that the songs were published, Procter was appointed to the office of Metropolitan Commissioner of Lunacy. Whether he owed this distinction to the fine poetic frenzy exhibited in his lyrics may be doubted; but from his ceasing to publish any more verses, it may be suspected that he considered his new post as one which directed him rather to keep a sharp lookout on poets than further to bring his own sanity into question. In 1835 he made the mistake of writing “The Life of Edmund Kean,” a publication unfortunate in every respect, and which was merci-

lessly criticised in the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*. The latter periodical had for years pursued him with an apparently motiveless malice; and the appearance of the *Life of Kean* furnished it with an opportunity for defamation which it did not hesitate to seize. "This," it said, "is the silliest book of the season. To say that it is like a couple of bottles of small-beer would be to libel that fluid." In 1866 he published a memoir which was worthy both of his heart and his head, his charming volume on Charles Lamb. "I have found in your work," Carlyle wrote to him, "something so touching, brave, serene, and pious, that I can not but write to you one brief word of recognition. . . . Brevity, perspicuity, graceful clearness; then also perfect veracity, gentleness, lovingness, justness, peaceable candor throughout; a fine, kindly sincerity to all comers; with sharp enough insight, too, quick recognition graphically rendered—all the qualities, in short, which such a book could have I find visible in this, now dating, it appears, in your seventy-seventh year. Every page of it recalls the old Procter, whom I used to talk with forty-two years ago, unaltered except as the finest wines, and such like, alter by ripening to the full; a man as if *transfigured* by his heavy-laden years, and to whom the hoary head is as a crown. Upon all which another old man congratulates him; and says with a pathetic kind of joy, his *Euge, euge*." In 1861, five years before this, Procter had resigned his office as one of the Commissioners of Lunacy, owing to the condition of his health; and the last ten years of his life were more or less oppressed by the infirmities of age. He died on the 4th of October, 1874.

Procter's relations with all the men of letters of his time were cordial and friendly; but his sympathies were specially attracted to that circle of writers which included Lamb, Hunt, and Hazlitt. He liked them all the more because they were atrociously slandered and, socially, in bad odor. Professor Ticknor, who met almost every body of note in England, was once introduced to this cluster of authors, who despised fashionable society and were rejected by it. In 1819, at a dinner at Godwin's house, and afterwards at a meeting of the Saturday Night Club, at Hunt's, he saw "these people," as he somewhat superciliously calls them, together, when they felt called upon "to show off and produce an effect;" for then "Lamb's gentle humor, Hunt's passion, and Curran's volubility, Hazlitt's sharpness and point, and Godwin's great head full of cold brains, all coming into contact and conflict, and agreeing in nothing but their common hatred of every thing that has been more successful than their own

works, made one of the most curious and amusing *olla podrida* I ever met." It is somewhat surprising that a man whose whole studies in Europe were directed to the object of making himself an accomplished student and critic of various literatures should dispose of such persons as Lamb, Hunt, Hazlitt, and Godwin in such a contemptuous way, and speak of them as "these people," thus echoing the fashionable slang current in the higher social circles in which Ticknor habitually moved. Indeed, nothing he records of the conversation at Holland House is so good as two remarks made to him by Hazlitt, one that "Curran was the Homer of blackguards," and the other that the Emperor Alexander of Russia "was the Sir Charles Grandison of Europe."

Procter evidently thought that "these people" were worthy of being cultivated, though he knew them so intimately that none of their faults escaped his attention. If he is uncharitable at all, it is in his estimate of Godwin. He was repelled by the frigidity of that philosopher's character. The poet Campbell, he said, had ordinarily a cold, Scotch, cautious, and canny manner, but "there was sap behind the bark. If the oppression of the Poles, or any other flagrant enormity, was brought before him, his energy quickly flamed up. And he was also very vivacious, not to say riotous, in his cups." Godwin, on the contrary, was ever "very cold, very selfish, very calculating." All his philanthropy was put into his books, leaving nothing to be put into his life. His conduct towards Shelley "was merely an endeavor to extract from him as much money as possible." The special champion of equity as distinguished from legality, he still did not hesitate to deny a pecuniary liability to a friend, because "there was no witness to the loan." And yet this man, Procter adds, "has in his study compiled fine rhetorical sentences which strangers have been ready to believe flowed warm from his heart. I have always thought him like one of those cold intellectual demons of whom we read in French and German stories, who come upon earth to do no good to any one and harm to many." This seems to us too harsh a judgment of the author of "Political Justice" and of the novel of "Caleb Williams." Godwin was the type of a class of men whose hearts find no adequate expression except through their brains. There is passion enough both in his political writings and in his romances, but it is passion intellectualized; passion used, even economized, to give heat to analysis and impetus to reasoning. His big head rested on a short, slight body; and all the blood he had was sent "through the veins of his intellectual

frame." He was poor, and as his poverty proceeded from the indisposition of the general public to pay for reasonings which were intended to prove that the people were the needless victims of superstition and injustice, and that they might, by following the processes of his logic, emancipate themselves from their oppressors, he was compelled to keep up the interesting connection between his strong mind and his frail body by borrowing from his friends and acquaintances money which was never repaid. Talfourd tells us that the next day after his first introduction to him at Lamb's chambers, Godwin called upon him, and, after "a little chat on indifferent matters," carelessly observed that he was in need of £150 for a few weeks, and requested Talfourd to lend it to him. On learning that his new acquaintance was a young lawyer struggling for existence, and had no money for such a benevolent purpose, he blandly remarked, "O dear! I thought you were a young gentleman of fortune—don't mention it—don't mention it; I shall do very well elsewhere;" and then continued the conversation first started without any seeming consciousness that there had been such an insignificant break in it. It seems to us that there was nothing of the demon in Godwin, though there was much of the intellectual pedant; his calm, supreme confidence in the unassailable truth of his opinions may have come from his laying an undue emphasis on the first syllable of his name; and his habit of borrowing money from every body who would lend it was distinguished from Hunt's only by the absence of geniality in his manner of asking for such favors, and perhaps by a thoroughly-reasoned, a true philosophical absence of gratitude to those who conferred them.

Procter made the acquaintance of Leigh Hunt in 1817. He found him residing in a small and scantily-furnished house, with a tiny room for a study, which contained few books, but among them were an edition of the Italian poets in many volumes, Warton's edition of Milton's minor poems, and the complete works of Spenser. No edition of Shakespeare was in the collection. "There were always a few cut flowers, in a glass of water, on the table." His suppers of cold meat and salad had little to tempt the epicure, but the guests were such men as Lamb, Hazlitt, Peacock, and Coulson; and at small cost the company enjoyed all the raptures and glories of conviviality. Thought and wit, knowledge and humor, were not wanting in such an assemblage; and the festivities were sometimes prolonged to two or three o'clock in the morning. Hunt, says Procter, "was always in difficulty about money; but he was seldom

sad, and never sour." His friends did what they could to prevent poverty from souring the disposition of a man who ever resolutely opposed gayety to misery, and preached the gospel of cheer while bailiffs were watching at his humble door. He reminds us more of old Dekkar, the Elizabethan dramatist, who turned his calamities into commodities, and, though in a debtors' prison, was still "all felicity up to the brims," than of any other professional man of letters in English literary history. Mr. Fields, who saw much of him in 1851, thirty-four years after Procter first made his acquaintance, declares that "in his bare cottage in Hammersmith the temperament of his spirit heaped up such riches of fancy that kings, if wise ones, might envy his magic power. . . . When he looked out of his dingy old windows on the four black elms in front of his dwelling, he saw, or thought he saw, a vast forest, and he could hear, in the note of one poor sparrow even, the silvery voices of a hundred nightingales."

Procter was the constant friend of this Harold Skimpole in money matters as well as in heart matters. "I have reasons," Hunt said to Mr. Fields, "for liking our dear friend Procter's wine beyond what you saw, when we dined together at his table the other day." It is a pity that Procter did not record more special examples of Hunt's peculiarities of thought and character than he has done in his tribute to his old associate. Perhaps the one instance he gives is better than any other he could recall to his memory. Hunt "led a very correct and domestic life;" during an intimacy extending to forty years, Procter never heard him utter an oath or "indulge in an indelicate hint or allusion;" but he had a crotchet or theory about the social intercourse between the sexes which he, at one time, harped upon so frequently as to bore his companions without winning any converts to his opinion. "Dash him!" said Hazlitt, "it's always coming out, like a rash. Why doesn't he write a book about it, and get rid of it?"

This was exactly what Hazlitt himself did, in the strange hallucination which clouded his keen intellect and, for the time, made his friends fear that he would end his days in an insane asylum, when he fell madly in love with Sophia Walker, the daughter of the keeper of the lodging-house where he resided. He wrote and published "*Liber Amoris*," one of the most mortifying instances ever exhibited, in literature, of a strong man, mature in age and somewhat cynical in his observations of life, falling violently back into the mental and sensuous condition of a babbling, blubbering,

boobyish boy; but after the book was published "the rash" that had broken out all over him subsided, and his intellect resumed its normal clearness and force. While under the influence of his insane passion he not only abandoned all literary work, but he bored every acquaintance he met with the most minute details of his infatuation. "I am a cursed fool," he said, as, in the course of his wanderings, he happened to button-hole Procter; "I saw J—— going into Wills' coffee-house yesterday morning; he spoke to me. I followed him into the house, and whilst he lunched I told him the whole story. Then I wandered into Regent's Park, where I met one of M——'s sons. I walked with him some time, and on his using some civil expression, by ——! sir, I told him the whole story. Well, sir, I then went and called on Haydon, but he was out. There was only his man Salmon there; but by ——! I could not help myself. It all came out; the whole cursed story! Afterwards I went to look at some lodgings at Pimlico. The landlady at one place, after some explanations as to rent, etc., said to me very kindly, 'I am afraid you are not well, sir?' "No ma'am," said I, 'I am not well;' and, on inquiring further, the devil take me if I did not let out the whole story from beginning to end!" Procter knew the girl who thus degraded Hazlitt into an imbecile chatterer. "Her face," he says, "was round and small, and her eyes were motionless, glassy, and without any speculation (apparently) in them. Her movements in walking were very remarkable, for I never observed her to make a step. She went onwards in a sort of wavy, sinuous manner, like the movement of a snake. She was silent, or uttered monosyllables only, and was very demure. Her steady, unmoving gaze upon the person she was addressing was exceedingly unpleasant." This essentially stupid and vulgar wench may have had in her some of the fascination of the witch; but we find nothing in Procter's description of her, or her traits as exhibited in the ravings of her lover in "*Liber Amoris*," which are not consistent with the theory that she was quite an ordinary specimen of selfish, cold-blooded maidenhood, endowed with a low kind of feminine craft, cunning, and malice, and, on the whole, the occasion rather than the cause of the unexpected outburst in Hazlitt of a sentimental madness as wild as any recorded in the *Confessions of Rousseau*.

Of Hazlitt as a writer, thinker, and critic, Procter had a high opinion, and he also esteemed him as a man. "Some things," he says, "of which he has been accused were referable merely to tem-

porary humor or irritability, which was not frequent, and which was laid aside in an hour. All other times (by far the greater portion of his life) he was a candid and reasonable man. He felt the injuries and slanders, however, which were spit forth on him acutely, and resented them." When a question arose in a company of intellectual men, "the most sensible reply always came from him." So enduring was the impression left by Hazlitt's power on Procter's mind that he was never tired of quoting pointed sentences culled from the writings of his friend; and shortly before his death, he wrote to Mr. Fields, "I despair of the age that has forgotten to read Hazlitt."

In the "Sketches" of literary men, now first published, Procter adds little to what he had previously written of Charles Lamb. This delightful companion, distinguished not more by his genius than by his character,—his character being indeed a prominent element in his genius,—was among the dearest and most valued of Procter's friends. Lamb signs himself, in a short letter printed in this volume, "yours ever and two evers." Mr. Fields's book contains a characteristic anecdote of Lamb's generosity. "Thinking, from a depression of spirits which Procter in his young manhood was once laboring under, that perhaps he was in want of money, Lamb looked him earnestly in the face as they were walking one day in the country together, and blurted out, in his stammering way, 'My dear boy, I have a hundred-pound note in my desk that I really don't know what to do with: oblige me by taking it, and getting the confounded thing out of my keeping.'" Procter assured him that he was not in an impecunious condition, but found it hard work to make his companion believe it.

Like the rest of the race of authors, and indeed, it may be added, the rest of mankind, Procter knew Samuel Rogers, the poet and banker. Rogers must have begun to look old forty years before he died. Jokes which date back as far as the year 1830 depend for their point on the fact that there was then something withered and ghastly in his countenance. The story runs that an acquaintance who met him in a public conveyance, looking like a corpse on its travels, said to him, "Now that you are rich enough, Rogers, why don't you set up a hearse of your own?" Mr. Fields, who saw him in his last years, denies that his face, faded as were its features, looked spectral and sepulchral. He gives an amusing account of the old man's indignation at Samuel Lawrence's recent portrait of him. "Rogers himself

wished to compare it with his own face, and had a looking-glass held up before him. We sat in silence as he regarded the picture attentively, and waited for his criticism. Soon he burst forth, 'Is my nose so dashed sharp as that?' 'No! no!' we all exclaimed, 'the artist is at fault there, sir.' 'I thought so,' he cried; 'he has painted the face of a dead man, dash him!' Some one said, 'The portrait is too hard.' 'I won't be painted as a hard man,' rejoined Rogers. 'I am not a hard man, am I, Procter?' Procter deprecated with energy such an idea as that. Looking at the portrait again, Rogers said, with great feeling, 'Children would run away from that face, and they never ran away from me.'"

What most impressed Mr. Fields was the feeble manner in which Rogers's best stories were received by the gentlemen present at his breakfast-table. Mentioning his surprise to Procter, the latter told him that they "had heard the same anecdotes every week, perhaps for half a century, from the same lips." In fact, the bard of Memory had nearly lost the faculty whose pleasures he had sung. The winding-sheet nearly covered his mind years before it enveloped his body. Procter, who remembered him in what may be called the prime of his old age, says, "It has been rumored that he was a sayer of bitter things. I know that he was a giver of good things—a kind and amiable patron, where a patron was wanted; never ostentatious or oppressive, and always a friend in need. He was ready with his counsel; ready with his money. I never put his generosity to the test, but I know enough to testify that it existed, and was often exercised in a delicate manner and on the slightest hint." Procter gives but one instance of his "sub-acid words." After going to see the statue of Campbell, he remarked, "It is the first time that I have seen him stand straight for many years."

Perhaps the account of Coleridge is the most notable of Procter's "Sketches." Wordsworth caught Coleridge in his inspired moments when he described him as

"The rapt one with the godlike forehead.
The heaven-eyed creature."

Procter speaks of him as having "a weighty head, dreaming gray eyes, full, sensual lips, and a look and manner which were entirely wanting in firmness and decision. His notions also appeared weak and undecided, and his voice had nothing of the sharpness or ring of a resolute man. When he spoke, his words were thick and slow; and when he read poetry,

his utterance was altogether a chant." Procter, like all persons who met him, was amazed at the immense extent of his reading, ranging from Jacob Behmen and Thomas Aquinas to "Peter Simple" and "Tom Cringle's Log." He was ready to talk with "every body on every thing," and grateful to the listener who would relieve him of some portion of the burden of his information by taking it, through the ear, on his own shoulders. One amusing instance is given of the impossibility of dethroning him from his dominant place in conversation. Dining once with a company of lawyers, he provoked one of the party into saying to his neighbor at the table, "I'll stop this fellow;" and he accordingly said to the host, "I've not forgotten my promise to give you the extract from 'The Pandects.' It was the ninth chapter you were alluding to. It begins: '*Ac veteres quidam philosophi.*'" "Pardon me," Coleridge at once said, "there I think you are in error. The ninth chapter begins in this way: '*Incident sæpe causæ,*' etc." Who could stop a talker so ready with unexpected knowledge as that? Again, Coleridge once went from Highgate to London to consult a friend regarding some matters affecting the welfare of his unfortunate son Hartley. He arrived at two o'clock; found a number of persons conversing in his friend's drawing-room; talked until four o'clock, when dinner was announced; talked all through the dinner; talked all through the evening to the time when the last stage for Highgate was announced; and then hurriedly took leave, saying to the host, "My dear Z——, I will come to you some other day, and talk to you about our dear Hartley." "He had," said Procter, "quite forgotten his son and every body else, in the delight of having such an enraptured audience." Again, Wordsworth, apologizing to Rogers for being late at one of his breakfasts, said that he had been to see Coleridge, and had been detained by listening to his inexhaustible flow of conversation. Rogers naturally inquired, "How was it you called so early upon him?" "Oh," replied Wordsworth, "I am to dine with him this evening, and—" "And," said Rogers, concluding the sentence, "you wanted to take the sting out of him beforehand."

Thomas De Quincey, the author of "The Confessions of an Opium-Eater," was a writer of whom Procter knew little, and the little he knew he cordially disliked. What he says of him in the "Notices" is right enough so far as it goes, but he evidently had no appreciation of the massiveness and range of his erudition, or of his grand qualities of sentiment, reason, and imagination. The

defects of De Quincey's writings spring from the fact that they are all, more or less, "Confessions." Even when he abandons the form of personal narrative, and expatiates on politics, theology, history, philosophy, art, literature, and science, the peculiarities of his individuality are ever prominent. Whether he discourses of the Cæsars or of Dr. Parr, of the Essenes or of Wordsworth's poetry, of German literature or of tory principles, a subtle element runs through the most widely-varying subjects he treats, giving evidence that he is writing a kind of psychological autobiography even in discussing topics which are seemingly most impersonal in themselves. This egoism leads him to violate the law of proportion, and to disturb the relations naturally existing between the different parts of whatever subject he grapples with. He wanders into an episode where at first he meant only to bring in a pertinent illustration; and when he once starts off in one of these zigzag movements of his mind, it is impossible for him to keep himself to his "objective point." He translates trivialities into thundering polysyllables, and subjects them to the most painful processes of analysis, merely because they have become associated in his mind with some obscure oddity in his own intellectual constitution or moral experience. His caprices, his personal animosities, his obstinate prejudices, his tendency in discussing the most important questions to lay stress on the weakest argument for the side he supports, are but signs of the impatient pressure of Thomas De Quincey's individuality to be uppermost in every thing his mind touches, even when the matter under discussion has, to ordinary readers, no connection with the said Thomas at all. But with all these deductions from the value of his writings as a whole, the plain fact remains that he was a scholar, a thinker, a great master of English style, and a man whose general largeness and depth of nature are evident even in his strangest freaks of intellectual eccentricity. Above all, he was the last of that school of English prose writers who had sufficient grasp and power of mind to venture on the composition of long, intricate, artfully-balanced sentences, which took up in their majestic sweep all the subsidiary considerations connected with the main thought to be expressed, either limiting its scope or adding to its force, and which were brought to a rhythmical end in cadences which pleased the ear as well as satisfied the mind. Campbell says of Wallace, the stalwart hero of Scotland,

"The sword which seemed fit for archangel to wield
Was light in his terrible hand."

Considered as an intellectual weapon, the long sentence, so efficient in the hands of Hooker, Taylor, and Milton, was generally abandoned for Dryden's smaller weapon, even in the age when Clarendon gave one of the latest examples of its effective use. Burke seized and brandished it anew, wielding it as such a giant might have been expected to wield it, while, at the same time, freely availing himself of the rapier, the dagger, and all the other small arms in the armory of rhetoric which had, from the time of Dryden, been found to be the easiest for ordinary controversialists to handle. The prominent prose writers of the present century, including such widely-contrasted masters of prose eloquence as Southey, Landor, and Macaulay, did not dare to take up the sword which had somewhat rusted since it fell from the hands of Burke. De Quincey felt no such distrust of his powers. The weapon "fit only for an archangel to wield" is certainly not "light" as he swings and brandishes it; but, at any rate, it is one which he alone among his contemporaries ventured to grasp and wield with a resolute purpose. Indeed, the prose style of De Quincey is of itself evidence that he possessed an original and creative mind.

But it is time to turn from the authors that Procter knew to a short consideration of his own works. His dramatic scenes, his songs, and his narrative and descriptive poems form a body of verse of no inconsiderable bulk and variety—in bulk exceeding that of the poetic works of Collins, Gray, and Campbell combined. It can not be said that any portions of his writings can claim to elude criticism on the ground that they were youthful productions. In 1815, when the name of "Barry Cornwall" first became known by his occasional contributions to the *Literary Gazette*, he was three years older than Keats was when he died. In 1819, when his volume of "Dramatic Scenes, and Other Poems" appeared, he was two years older than Shelley was when he died. Whatever immaturity may be discovered in his earlier efforts could therefore not be referred to any immaturity in respect to age. Charles Lamb affirmed that, if he had found any of his "dear boy's" dramatic scenes in exploring the almost forgotten works of the minor dramatists of the Elizabethan age, he would not have hesitated to reprint them in his "Specimens;" but his dear boy was then thirty-two years old. There can be no doubt that by brooding long over his models, Procter had caught something of their peculiar audacity and *verve*, and become capable of reproducing, in a manner of his own, that strange charm which fascinates us in the best passages of Middleton, Dekkar,

Webster, Heywood, and Fletcher. His success in this, however, seems to us greater in his "Dramatic Fragments" than in his first "Dramatic Scenes." But, taking his works as a whole, the one criticism to be made upon them is that their substance, estimated by the number of printed pages they occupy, is disproportioned to their real substance, estimated by the amount of thought, imagination, knowledge, experience, and passion they convey. We have to pick and cull, sift and reject, when we come to distinguish between the faculties which the poet displays and the matter on which they are exercised. A certain antiquated kind of reviewing, much cherished still by what Procter would himself have called the "ferrets" of criticism, depends for its success on discovering unwarrantable rhymes, defective lines, and broken or discordant images, in the verses it reviews; but the fundamental question, in such a poet as Procter, relates to substance rather than to form. Judged by this test, he exhibits a decided predominance of stimulant over nutriment, of melody over matter, of poetic quality and force over original poetic observation and experience. However large, rich, eloquent, melodious, and potent may be the power of utterance, the inevitable question at last comes up, to the poet as to the man of business, "What have you to say?" Wordsworth answered it, more or less satisfactorily, to the last generation; Tennyson has answered, and is now happily alive to continue answering it, with a somewhat faltering tongue, to the present generation; but there still remains a mischievous tendency to exalt the mere possession and exercise of poetic faculty, apart from the matter in which it is embodied. Literary history proves that all great poets are distinguished by their more or less rapid accumulation and assimilation of poetic materials, drawn from all quarters of the known intellectual and moral world, as well as from their own observation and experience; and that their divining and shaping imaginations operate on a tangible substance of knowledge, however different may be their modes of representing, transforming, or transfiguring it. After making all proper deductions, however, from the mass of Procter's poetry, we find that what remains is a solid addition to the poetical literature of the century. His songs, as Longfellow says, "have the very pulse of music in them;" even when little is expressed that has any intellectual and imaginative value, the sentiment and the melody are still sweet and attractive; and there are some scores of them which are remarkable for other qualities than the mere indefinite

beauty which comes from vague images wedded to harmonious sounds. "The Sea," "King Death," "The Sea King," "Belshazzar," "Wine," "Song of the Outcast," "A Storm," "Fuller's Bird," "A Poor House," "To the Singer Pasta," "The Lake has Burst," "A Bacchanalian Song," "The Blood Horse," "The Rising of the North," have a grand lyric energy which produces an instantaneous effect on the brain as well as on the blood. Among the "Unpublished Verses," printed now for the first time in the present volume, "The Burial Club" and "The Field Preacher" have a similar energy. Then what can exceed the exquisite beauty and softness of "The Chamber Scene," "A Repose," "After Death," "To the South Wind," "Home," "I Die for thy Sweet Love," and other poems of the same general kind? "Touch us gently, Time!" is perhaps the most popular of all his songs. Longfellow sent him, in 1853, a slip from an American newspaper, wherein the editor states that, in opening twenty-seven of his exchanges, he found that each of them contained this home-inspired lyric. Longfellow then goes on to say that on the 1st of June, 1853, it must have been left at a hundred and forty thousand doors, and been read by half a million readers. "The pleasure I have had," he concludes, "in seeing this poem so reflecting and flashing from thousands of mirrors makes me hope it will give you pleasure to see it." Perhaps "The Poet's Song to his Wife," "Golden-Tresséd Adelaide," "A Prayer in Sickness," and "Softly woo away her Breath" should be welcomed in every household where "Touch us gently, Time!" has entered with its sweet consecration of home life and home feeling.

A large portion of Procter's works consists of miscellaneous poems, from which numerous examples might be cited of his tenderness, thoughtfulness, melody, and grace, of his deep and delicate sentiment, playful fancy, intense passion, and strong, daring imagination. In reading them, one is impressed anew with the exceeding wealth of England in poetry, by the mere thought that she can afford to forget so much in Procter's verse which would enrich a more barren poetical literature than her own. What she does not forget, however, is excellent; and the poet, dying at the advanced age of eighty-seven, had not the mortification of outliving his reputation. The melodies which had charmed the generation of Wordsworth and Byron charmed also the generation of Tennyson and Browning, and still charm the generation of Buchanan, Rossetti, and Swinburne. At the age of eighty, he wrote to Mr. Fields that he

had recently visited the house where he had played with a wooden sword when he was at the age of five. "What," he exclaims, "has occurred since? Why, nothing that is worth putting down on paper. A few nonsense verses, a flogging or two (richly deserved), and a few white-bait dinners, and the whole is reckoned up. Let us begin again." This is the transient, querulous discontent of an old man, vexed with bodily infirmities, and for the moment forgetting the glow and gladness which he had put into his verse, because both the gladness and the glow had been in his life. In one of his "Dramatic Fragments," he put into the mouth of an assumed character this statement:

" Age is a grave ;
Where Kindness, and quelled Passion, and mute Love,
Lie, hand in hand, cold,—dead,—perhaps forgotten !"

But this was not the old age of Procter. Passion was quelled, but kindness and love neither died out of his own heart nor were wanting in the hearts of his family and friends. He had lived a good life, unspotted by any mean or base passion, and delivered over to no impulse of his impassioned Muse which made him violate one of his duties as a husband and father; and, while he was on his death-bed, his "nonsense verses" were sung or read by thousands of men and women he had never seen, whose hearts and imaginations his poetry had stimulated, enriched, elevated, consoled, and cheered.

THE FEASIBILITY OF A CODE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

This paper was prepared by the late ex-Gov. Emory Washburn, shortly before his death, and is now published for the first time. Gov. Washburn was for many years Professor of Law at Harvard College, and a jurist of great eminence. His interest in the establishment of a code of international law was absorbing, and this expression of his views on its feasibility was one of his very latest efforts. It was read before the International Code Committee, but has only now come into the hands of the editors of the *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW*. On account of the high character and standing of the writer of the article, and its great value at the present moment, when war is waging on the continent, and discussions on international law are peculiarly important, the editors hasten to give it to the public.

THE codification of the law of nations may look to some like an attempt to move the world; but it is not difficult to show that it is rather an effort to give direction to a movement to which centuries have already given an impulse, and which has become all but automatic. If it is the purpose of the movement toward international law reform and arbitration to give a practical direction to the scientific thought of the age, and thus aid in binding the nations of the earth in the bonds of amity and good-will, I greatly mistake or the friends of the movement may find encouragement in their work by recurring to the analogy which subsists between men in their relation to law in their social state, and nations in the way they are bound to each other in their intercourse as independent communities. Nor is there any thing to deter us from pursuing this analogy arising from the circumstance that, while the people of a state are subject to laws which are imposed upon them by some superior power, in a community of states each is independent of all restraint in the way of law, except what has been self-imposed. The analogy I have spoken of lies deeper than the forms in which we are to contemplate men as individuals, and when collected into states and nations. By entering into the latter they do not lose the qualities which characterize them as individuals, they only assume new duties as citizens, corresponding to the added privileges and protection they thereby acquire. The importance of this in its connection with the subject before us consists in the fact

which we are to carry with us in our examination, that while we are treating of nations as, in many respects, political abstractions, we have the same moral element to work with which is to be found in the nature and constitution of the individual men themselves of whom these are composed. And in this way the average moral sense of the individuals of a state becomes the standard of moral duty in the policy of such state. A nation of Quakers would have the same scruples in engaging in war which prevail among its individual citizens.

Nor is it difficult, with this fact before us, to show that the same principle which binds men together in a body politic, under the name of law, prevails also in its tendency to unite nations in social ties, though it may want one element—its being an emanation from a superior power. However it may have been in more barbarous ages, it is no longer true that nations can or will live alone or unassociated with others, any more than the men can who are represented in them.

If, now, we start with the familiar doctrine that nations are to be regarded as moral persons, having obligations as well as rights, it is not difficult to understand why *law* should be predicated of their relations to each other, on the same ground that it has become universally recognized in defining the rights and obligations of individuals in organized bodies politic. It is, necessarily, of vastly slower growth, but the stages and processes through which the Christian nations, for example, have been passing within the period of history, point unmistakably to a condition of things when the reason and conviction of these independent moral agents will effectually dictate to them a law binding upon them all alike, regulating their intercourse, and supplying the means of adjusting and determining the disputes arising between them.

I have limited my remark to Christian nations, because, as to these at least, there is a common starting-point, for states as well as their subjects regarded as moral agents, in the recorded law emanating from a sovereign power acknowledged alike by all. And although, in its application to the affairs of life, it may want the directness of action which we look for in municipal law, it forms the basis of, and lends force and character to, all modern systems, whether they relate to states or individuals. And when we come to analyze and inquire what law is, and how it originates, we shall find further grounds of encouragement in the manner in which municipal law has grown up to meet the wants and necessities of an advancing civilization, such as the nations of the earth are and have been

passing through. One difficulty in speaking of law is the vagueness of the idea which men attach to the term. To some it is a mere abstraction, like fate or destiny, the source of which is too remote to be sought. One may go through life without being conscious of its presence unless reminded by the consequences of its breach. It is, at most, simply a rule to which the subject must conform or be answerable in some loss or damage, the infliction of which impends upon its violation, by the way of sanction. It matters little how the rule is made, if, when made, it is accompanied by this sanction. A municipal law derives its form from the expressed will of the sovereign power in the state. It may be the utterance of a despot, the declaration of a legislative assembly, or the judgment of a court speaking for an entire people. But in the case of nations, law has its origin in an actual or implied compact alone between the parties who are to observe it.

In either case, the rule is supposed to have its origin in some want and necessity of those for whom it is designed. The very idea of a state implies the inhering of a sanction in the expressions of the sovereign will, which is another term for its laws. And it only needs that something answering to these should be devised by the great commonwealth of nations for their own self-government, to secure for them collectively all the advantages which have accrued to the people of individual states through the adoption of wise and salutary laws on their part, not the least of which is the reflected influence of these laws upon the habits of thought and character of such communities. Every step, therefore, taken by these nations in this direction may be regarded as some advance towards the consummation of securing the benefit of wise laws by some adequate provision for their enforcement. And it may be added that in the case of nations, as with the people who compose them, necessity often makes the rule for the occasion, or, what seems to be nearer true, the law seems to spring up spontaneously, as was the case, to a considerable extent, in the adoption of the three famous rules in the Treaty of Washington. It is true these rules became no further law than as binding upon the parties adopting them by force of compact, but in prospective they embraced as many nations as might see fit to recognize them as rules. There has, in fact, grown up a broad system of rules which modern nations regard, in their intercourse with each other, as of binding obligation, to which the term international law is applied; and although the ultimate sanction of such a law at present is war, the same law has even prescribed rules for conducting war whenever it is resorted to. I speak of war here

as a measure for enforcing a right or redressing a wrong, and, without dwelling upon the general principles of international law, I propose to consider how far we are justified, as we reach the history of municipal law and the developments which have been made in the elements of civilization, to believe that the same moral power which brought out and established the rules of international law will, in due time, provide, and that, too, through the law itself, a sanction for its violation, which will supersede the occasion for any further resort to war. Not that we may reasonably hope for the cessation of all wars, so long as nations are governed by bad rulers, who are at liberty to follow the bent of vicious pride or selfish ambition. Nor is resistance to oppression, or the preservation of the life of a state against a groundless rebellion, to be withdrawn from the cognizance of war, while advocating peaceful compromise or arbitration.

What I mean is, that between nations, as between men, differences and disputes will often arise, involving questions of rights violated, injuries done, and honor assailed, which among men are grounds for personal revenge, and between nations give rise to what are called causes of war, in respect to which a wiser and, in the end, a more satisfactory course of adjustment may be adopted than the reckless waste of life and property which marks appeals to brute force. History shows that this has been effectually done in the settlement of disputes between men of whom nations are composed, and reason and analogy speak strongly in favor of its being equally feasible between nations themselves.

Without adopting the famous theory of Hobbes that the natural state of man is that of war, there is no question that, long within the historic period, among the Teutonic nations of Europe, the men who composed them vindicated their own rights and avenged their own wrongs by what answered to private wars. It was not only a right, but it was much a point of honor, that one who was struck should strike back again. It involved, moreover, in the feuds to which these quarrels gave rise, the blood-relations of the respective parties. If the life of a subject was taken, the state left it to his kinsmen to take that of the offender in return, as the only redress then known to the law.

And even among God's chosen people it was a great step in the progress of civilization when the "avenger of blood" was compelled to suspend the execution of his vengeance, while his victim was within the protection of a city of refuge, and the question of his guilt was being inquired into. Nor need we go farther than the

history of our own Saxon ancestors to trace how, step by step, the kindred of the slayer, or of the person slain, were relieved from the obligation of taking part in their feuds, and how the injured party was at length compelled to compound an offense by the acceptance of a *veregelt* of a prescribed amount, till at last a regard for the king's peace became paramount to the right of private revenge, and the state took upon itself the general safety of its subjects, by extending over them all the protection of the law. Even the last relic of this barbarous age, the duel, sustained, as it has been, by a false notion of honor, has all but disappeared among those who have a right to claim the qualities of Christian civilization. It has been substantially the work of men as individuals, with whom some of the strongest passions in their nature have been made to yield to the dominion of reason and moral sense, without the direct intervention of any power other than their own will. And the question forcibly suggests itself, if such has been true of men grouped together into states, why may it not be true of the same elements though grouped into still larger masses, and a single step only removed in the scale of moral agency and accountability?

But if it is said that men as nations have not kept pace with men as individuals in moral culture and refinement, is there not enough in the personal history of these nations to justify the belief that they are going through the same humanizing process by which civil law has been found stronger than men's passions, and the power of public sentiment has been shaping the policy and opinions of independent states to something like a common standard?

In the first place, nations can no longer, if they will, be solitary and isolated. Even China has opened her ports to the commerce of other nations, and Japan is going through a process of assimilation which is fast obliterating the jealousies of race. Greece long since had her Amphyctionic Council, and the necessity of letters of safe conduct for the protection of the citizens of one state when traveling or residing within the territory of another, passed away with the age of Cardinal Richelieu. Treaties have come in, like the contracts which bind men to each other, to define the duties and obligations of states to one another; and, by maintaining resident ambassadors at the various courts, nations are able to hold political checks which, though silent, become at times of marked efficiency. Through these and other media of free and frequent intercourse, but without compromising a single element of individual sovereignty, rules have been framed which are accepted as having

the qualities of law, which define the rights of each in the navigation of the ocean, the mode of conducting war, the rights and duties of neutrals, and the rights and immunities of ambassadors, and the like, and enter into and form parts of a system which civilized nations everywhere are expected to observe. Commerce already has its code, which nations recognize and obey. Take, for another example, by way of signaling the progress that is being made towards a final discontinuance of war as a means of adjusting national disputes, the important step taken by the parties to the Treaty of Paris in 1856 in declaring, and asking other nations to join them in making it good, that "Privateering is and remains abolished." It was virtually abolishing, so far as they were concerned, an entire and important branch of maritime warfare, solemnly declaring that it of right ought to be prohibited by law.

Grant that thus far we have no sanction beyond a moral one by which such a law can be enforced, is it difficult to perceive why, if laws which nations feel bound to obey may and do regulate when and how states may carry on war, and may deny to any state the right of making it in any or other than in prescribed forms, a law equally effective may not forbid the engaging in war at all? I propose to consider hereafter whether for such a law, if made, there may be a sanction, and, if so, what that may be.

With the experience which we have that men and nations will continue to be aggressive and unjust, that differences and disputes will arise which will have to be adjusted, we come next to the inquiry whether, in the case of nations as with men in states, the Christian world is not to discover and apply some better mode of accomplishing this than the wasteful, savage, barbarous agency of war. In looking at the subject in the light of an advanced civilization, we are to bear in mind that all the elements of such a civilization move on together in harmony; and if, as we have seen, the rules of these nations have been co-operating in the work of devising laws to regulate amicable relations between each other, and, at the same time, of changing the features of war, we are to remember that the people of these nations themselves have not been passive or indifferent to what has been going on in their midst.

Nothing is more remarkable, as we contemplate the moral and political revolutions which have been taking place in the world during the last two centuries, than the change in the social condition of the *people* of those states. From being little better than pawns in the games of war in which the crowned heads of Europe saw fit to engage, they have, in that period, become a most impor-

tant factor in the problem of making war at all. The world was slow to comprehend the true character of that movement which culminated in the achievement of our independence, whereby the people of a state came to the front in leading and carrying forward national reform. Even as late as 1815 the potentates of Europe could meet in conclave and dictate the forms of government which the people were to obey, and recast the territorial limits within which their own sovereignty was to be exercised. But now, within the period of a single life, the Holy Alliance is with the things before the flood, while the voices of the people whom they despised are heard and heeded in the councils of the very states over which they once ruled. Austria owns not a rood of land in the united domain of Italy, Paris is the capital of a republic, and the rotten boroughs of England have disappeared before the bloodless revolution of her people, while free schools and a free press are speaking to an awakened intelligence of the many, within territories whose lines of demarkation guarded, for centuries, the sacred precincts of royalty and autocratic prerogative.

This fact receives an added importance, when we remember that it is from those very people that governments have to draw the material of men and stores with which war is to be carried on and the strife of nations maintained. And men are beginning to ask each other why the peace and prosperity of a whole people should be made the sport of the folly, or passion, or mad ambition of their rulers. Let this interchange of sentiment be but a little more free and enlightened than it hitherto has been, and war must carry with it the sympathies of the people, or it loses its power altogether.

There is another fact of significant importance, when considering the question of war as a means of determining differences and disputes between nations, and that is a growing inability on the part of governments to meet the expense. Of all enterprises in which a nation can engage, war is the most wasteful and expensive. No nation has ready money enough to carry on war for any considerable length of time, and the consequence has been that the nations of Europe, with hardly an exception, if there be one, are deeply in debt for loans by which they have had to carry on their wars.

The natural result has been that the power of making and carrying on war is passing out of the hands of the crowned heads, into those of the money-kings of Europe. The sovereigns have had to come down to chaffer with their subjects, and to take the

money-changers into their council. It is a modern movement, and the conditions of many of the states is an assurance that, with some of them at least, it must soon come to an end. England, whose debt goes back less than two hundred years, is fortunate enough to owe her four thousand millions of dollars to her own citizens, while our own debt of half that amount, the outgrowth of a single war, is eventually sure to be raised out of the resources of a young and thriving republic. The Eastern question to-day is an earnest of the measures to which nations will have to resort, as one after another of them shall find itself sinking under the weight of debt, and compromising its independence as it goes down into the gulf of bankruptcy. It puts into the hands of commoners the regulator that controls the movements of that political engine which the crowned heads of Europe vainly imagine is their own, and hastens on the time when national wars will have to give way before the demands of personal interest and individual thrift of the people. With these restrictions upon war, these increasing motives for peace, this growing tendency to a union of interest and sentiment among the people of different states, and the sure progress, though it may be slow, which the world is making in intelligence and civilization, we have, in the necessities to which they will give rise, the elements of a code of laws under which the Christian nations, at least, are to become a commonwealth in interest, in thought, and in the mutual relations of moral agents.

If now it is asked by whom and upon what basis such a code is to be framed, and from what source it is to derive its sanction, I answer that, in the first place, we have a succession of treaties embodying and defining the compacts between nations by which they are accustomed to hold themselves bound, regulating their dealings and transactions with each other, defining their rights and duties towards one another, both in peace and war, and bringing into exercise many of the elements which are becoming recognized as entering into the modern law of nations. Let the work be undertaken by an associated commission, or by those who are delegated to represent the sovereignties of the states, and they will find the work, to this extent, already done at their hand. And they will find a still more important auxiliary in their task, in the treatises upon international law which from time to time have been published to the world, and are referred to as authorities by courts in which these questions have arisen, as well as in the diplomatic discussions in which the nations have, of late, been engaged. In

these we not only have the rules, but their reasons, which should enter into an international code, and these have found a place in the popular thought of these nations, by having become a part of a literature common to them all. We have a long list of illustrious names in every language of Europe, in whose works the learning of successive ages has been preserved, from Grotius to our own Wheaton and Kent and Woolsey, who are accepted as authoritative expositors of public law, in the same measure as, in applying the common law, Coke and Blackstone are referred to as exponents of its principles.

In the use which may be made of these aids towards framing an international code, the field is as open to private enterprise as to the most formal commission. The world is more interested in the results than the instrumentalities by which they are wrought out. All it wants is that, in the end, there should be a free and spontaneous acceptance of the code, and it matters little how this is attained. In this light, the labors of Mr. D. D. Field, in presenting the outlines of a feasible international code, have an importance which reaches altogether further than mere statement of the principles which he has there embodied. It carries with it a pregnant hint of what individual minds may do in achieving a great international work.

If in this connection we bear in mind how few are the springs which give an impulse to the mighty power of public sentiment, and with what effect they may act if they only harmonize with the natural sentiment that is common to all, and if we confine our views to the question of war as a means of settling national controversies, in contrast with that of amicable arbitration, we find the principle of fair dealing between man and man already enlisted in favor of such arbitration. It is what good sense dictates in controversies between man and man. It needs neither learning nor any great show of sagacity to conceive the idea of umpirage being wiser and better than an appeal to brute force. And writers upon juridical history assure us that in the development of law and its administration in the primary stages of social order, in its bearing upon the rights of individuals composing a community, this mode of determining questions in dispute by submitting them to arbitration was in fact, one of the steps by which positive and settled rules for the determination of rights (or what we call law), become systematized. So far, therefore, as commanding public favor in behalf of a code which contains this principle of arbitration is concerned,

it matters little who frames it or who signs the commission. We not only have this abstract sense of fitness in its favor, but also the experience of nations as well as individuals in its support. Nations have so often waived the bloody ordeal of war, that it is no longer a point of honor that peace should be the concession of a conqueror to a conquered enemy. The strongest and the bravest of nations have won higher honor by umpirage than was ever achieved by the prowess of contending armies.

But there remains to be overcome a prevailing impression in the public mind, that no scheme of an international code can reasonably hope for success which has not its foundation in the direct support and encouragement of the rulers who represent the sovereignty of the nations. But that is assuming that public sentiment, upon which any code depends, in no small degree, for its efficiency, borrows its force and direction from these rulers, and that they are not to be reached through the ordinary means by which men in general are influenced and controlled. On the contrary, these rulers are becoming, every year, more and more the organs of communicating the sentiment of their people, rather than of dictating opinions which the people are to follow. Like the men they govern, they are influenced by the circumstances by which they are surrounded. One of the powers against which they can not stand is the press. It is stronger than prerogative, and reaches beyond the lines by which a state is bounded. Napoleon, in the height of his power, felt the keen shafts of the English press far more sensibly than he did the bayonets of her soldiers. The ultimate sovereignty in a state, I repeat, is in its people, and, if sufficiently educated, they are seen, in the end, to wield it for their own purposes. This has been done in Switzerland. It immortalized Holland and the Netherlands. It is what makes America what she is, and has, again and again, marked the progress which England has been making. With all of the prerogative there which is left to the potentates and crowned heads of Europe, the time has gone by when any one of them can, for any length of time, set himself against a reform of which the people of Europe are in favor. And it is preposterous to suppose that a reform which, like substituting arbitration for war, has been here advocated and found favor in every Christian state for a hundred years, which has been made illustrious by the example of two such nations as England and the United States, has yet to wait till some accidental ruler of an enlightened people shall have given his permission to its friends to move in its behalf.

The difficulty which would, after all, remain to be overcome, if all other obstacles in the way of an international code were removed, is that of providing an adequate *sanction* by which to give it effect. We ordinarily associate with the sanction of a law something in the nature of a penalty for its violation, by which those who are to observe it are deterred from disobeying it from a fear of the consequences.

This implies the existence of, as well as the right to exercise, a superior power like that of sovereign over a subject, in the hand of some one ready to take cognizance of such a violation. But not one law in a hundred depends for its observance upon any consciousness of such a sanction. Men are not restrained from stealing their neighbors' goods from a fear of punishment for the theft. It is enough that it is right, and that it is a law, to have it observed by men in their transactions with each other. — The moral restraint which is upon such men is, ordinarily, all they need in its silent and all but unconscious influence. This is, every year, extending itself to the intercourse of nations and their rulers. Instead of Richard I. being seized after his shipwreck on his way home from the Holy Land, and sold as a lawful prize by one crowned head to another, had he lived in our day, he would be welcomed as a great and boon companion at the tables and in the households of kings and emperors, because the laws of hospitality have become part of the laws of nations. Or, like Dom Pedro, he might have sat side by side with Kaiser William at Wagner's musical festival, because the laws of civility are binding alike upon sovereigns and gentlemen.

If, then, nations can be prevailed on to adopt, by mutual obligation, such as now constitutes, in fact, the law that binds nations in their relation to each other, a rule which shall require them before going to war to offer arbitration as an alternative, in such cases as come within the proper scope of such a mode of adjustment, is there any good reason to doubt that they would feel as strong a moral sanction to obey it as they or their rulers would to be governed by the courtesies of gentlemen, or to observe the salutary laws of social life under which they live?

But if we assume that the leading nations in Christendom may have already gone so far as to have adopted a code of international law, is there any thing extravagant in the idea that they are equally ready and prepared to enforce it by some adequate means? It does not require that it should be by physical force or a resort to arms. If they make such a code, it is because they deem it im-

portant to have it observed. And no one of the Christian powers would hardly presume, without good cause, to break its own pledges, at the hazard of incurring the censure of its associates. Even if such were the case, these powers would have a means of coercion left, powerful in form but hardly less fearful in its consequences than war, the law of non-intercourse which few nations could long withstand. And if, after all these, a still more coercive power must be applied, such a state of things might be regarded a *casus belli*, which, like the principle of self-defense in private life, is reserved to nations when the law fails to provide the requisite protection which it promises, and which they would have a powerful motive to apply.

How much farther does any one suppose Turkey can carry the atrocities of which she has been guilty in her present conflict with her provinces, and the nations of Europe remain passive spectators? It is a case where not only there must be a law but a sanction by which it may be enforced, and Christendom is awaking to the calls of mercy and human right.¹ The world is not going back again into barbarism. In the words of Mr. Gladstone, "The time has come to say, you must let Europe define what is just, and then enact it."

But I will not dwell longer upon this part of the subject. What we have immediately before us is the feasibility of such a code and how it is to be wrought out. In the first place, it must stand or fall upon its own merits.

In the next place, its initiation must steer clear of the jealousies and suspicions which would be sure to be awakened by any movement which looked like the dictation of a policy by one power to another. And in the next place, the plan of such a code should be presented to the nations together as complete in itself as possible, that they may receive it as a whole, with all its appropriate checks and limitations, that there may be no prejudging of it as a measure by any of its parts. And when we go one step farther, and ask, Who are to do this work? we may ask in return, Who so fit as men who have made the subject a study, who have no personal ends to gain or local pride to gratify, who come together by the attractions of a common interest to build up a work of universal beneficence which is to last for ages, and in which their own fame

¹ This passage shows that Gov. Washburn had in mind the exigency of the Eastern war, even when advocating the international code.—EDS.

and honor are involved? They should be the appointees of no power, the servants of no master, the champions of no theory.

And as we contemplate the present condition of the world in the light of its past history, is it unreasonable to believe that an international code thus conceived and thus put into form, addressed to the consciences and good sense of the nations of Christendom, would be received by them with the respect which is due to the importance of the measure? But grant, if we must, that it would fail of its immediate consummation, the concentration of so much thought upon a topic of such universal interest could hardly fail of becoming the germ which will grow and bear fruit at some no distant day; for, vast as the work may be, it is not beyond the capacity of the human intellect to accomplish it, and, when accomplished, it will be second to none in dignity or importance among the events which have illustrated the world's history.¹

¹ The history of international codification may be thus briefly summarized: The first movement was made by David Dudley Field, of New York, at Manchester, England, in October, 1866, at the meeting of the British Social Science Association, when a committee was appointed, at his suggestion, to frame a code of international law. The committee consisted of members from different countries of Europe and America, including Sir Travers Twiss, Justice Denman, Mr. Westlake, Q. C., Mr. Daniel, Q. C., of England; M. Berryer, of France; Herr Mittermeyer, of Germany; Messrs. Field and Lawrence, of the United States, and others. At the time this committee was appointed, Lord Shaftesbury was President of the Social Science Association, and Lord Brougham President of the Council. The work of preparing the code was divided among the members of the committee; but the difficulty of procuring an interchange of views was such that Mr. Field prepared a complete outline of an international code, hoping that the other members would do the same. The completed code of Mr. Field was laid before the Social Science Association at Norwich, in October, 1873. In the same year the Institute of International Law was founded at Ghent, and the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, at Brussels. These associations, composed of the leading jurists and publicists of both Europe and America, have had annual conferences ever since their formation, the forthcoming conference being announced to be held at Antwerp, August 28th, 1877. The international law societies owe their inception to the efforts of the International Code Committee of America founded May 15th, 1873, the original membership of which included, among others, David Dudley Field, Theodore D. Woolsey, Emory Washburn, William Beach Lawrence, James B. Miles, Reverdy Johnson, William Cullen Bryant, Elihu Burritt, Charles Sumner, John G. Whittier, John V. L. Pruyn, Charles A. Peabody. The work of codification has progressed favorably thus far, and the movement seems to be gaining strength constantly.—EDS.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE,¹ ART, AND EVENTS.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

A STUDY OF HAWTHORNE.²—It was Hawthorne's earnest and constant wish, that no biography of him should be published. In the face of this desire, a worthy life of our great story-teller would still be welcome; the world of letters had too large an interest in him to acknowledge even his own right to silence and suppress its memories of him. Perhaps a biography of him may be imagined which would deserve a place on that shelf, alas! still a narrow one, which holds all that is immortal in English biography; but it would have required a genius as marked as Hawthorne's own to write it. The book before us could only serve such a writer as a warning: it is vague in aim, provincial in tone, loose in style; utterly unsatisfactory as an account either of the life or of the mind of its subject.

"This book was not designed as a biography, but is rather a portrait, and, to speak more carefully still, it is not so much this, as my conception of what a portrait of Hawthorne should be. . . . My guide has been intuition, confirmed and seldom confuted by research. . . . The history of Hawthorne's genius is in some sense a summary of all New England history."

"Whoever reverences something has a meaning. Shall he not bend it? But there are two ways in which he may express himself—through speech and through silence—both of them sacred alike. Which of these we will use on any given occasion is a question much too subtle, too surely fraught with intuitions that can not be formulated, to admit of arbitrary prescription.

¹ The object of the book department of the REVIEW is to set forth the literary activity of Europe and America so far as this is indicated by the principal books published from time to time. In order to accomplish this object, resident reviewers have been appointed in London, Berlin, and Florence, whose duty it is to obtain the new and important works issued in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy for the purpose of giving prompt information to the readers of the REVIEW. It has been found impracticable to give lengthy and elaborate notices of books, except in a very few instances. A brief, accurate, and comprehensive summary of the chief merits or demerits of the various works received is all that can usually be given. This is deemed sufficient to enable the readers of the REVIEW to obtain, in all respects, an adequate and reliable estimate of the important publications of our time.

² "A Study of Hawthorne." By George Parsons Lathrop. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

In preferring, here, the form of speech, I feel that I have adopted only another form of silence."

These sentences, from his introductory chapter, are a fair indication of Mr. Lathrop's qualifications for his task. That his critical views of Hawthorne's works and of every other literary subject—and the number of these on which he discourses is surprising—are without value needs no further proof. But the book contains several letters of Hawthorne himself and a few new facts of his early life, which are welcome to all who sincerely honor his genius, and who are curious—as who is not?—concerning his youthful associations and experiences.

MY OLD LETTERS.¹—Dr. Bonar's lyrical writings have rendered his name quite familiar to the religious world. Many of his pieces have found their way into most of the recent manuals of Christian song, both in his own country and the United States, and constitute a valuable addition to English psalmody. In the present volume something far more elaborate and extended is attempted. "My Old Letters" is nothing less than a poem in twelve books, filling three hundred and fifty-two duodecimo pages. The title is at least unique, and would of itself hardly suggest any thing poetical; but by an ingenious device the author turns his pile of old letters received into a fountain full and overflowing with poetic fancies. He pictures himself as sitting down in his quiet moods and opening one after another of these memorials of by-gone days, and of friends many of whom are no longer among the living, and then as seizing on some thought or passage which he quotes and makes the suggestive starting-point of his own trains of meditation. Each letter of course furnishes a new topic; and the poem, as regards its subject matter, presents rather a succession of meditations cast in a poetic mould than the unity of one steadily-developed theme. The internal continuity is mainly that given by the artificial connection which the "Old Letter" fiction supplies.

Dr. Johnson said of Young's "Night Thoughts," that the volume was a wilderness of thought. The same may be said of this of Dr. Bonar. It is discursive, didactic, ethical, meditative, spiritual. It presents the views of life—the memories of its successive scenes, the experiences, hopes, joys, sorrows, failures and triumphs of which its history is made up—from the stand-point of one who knows their significance and loves to ponder and to speak of them. To lift these from the plane of the common and familiar into the region of imagination, and invest them with the golden light of poesy, was necessarily a very difficult task. The attempt to do it on so large a scale was a bold one; and if it has been but partially successful, this certainly is nothing to be wondered at. The poem has many fine passages—lines that are likely to strike the discriminating reader, and to be remembered and quoted as gems. The thought is sober, healthful, and

¹ "My Old Letters." By Horatius Bonar, D.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1877.

affluent; the verse vigorous; the language clear, and the imagery often very striking. It was, however, nearly or quite inevitable that in so long a poem there should be passages that are prosaic, and even commonplace, rather than imaginative and poetical. Wordsworth himself did not avoid this in "The Excursion." We fear that, like "The Excursion," it will prove too long for many readers. It deals so largely with thoughts and feelings in the abstract, and so little with the concrete, with living persons and tangible things, that it will probably be found rather hard reading for those who do not like to have their attention taxed. Like the "Night Thoughts," it embodies much of practical Christian wisdom; but it lacks the condensation, terseness, and point of that remarkable poem. There is too much amplification of particular topics, not leaving enough to the imagination of the reader in the form of suggestive intimations. If the same matter substantially had been compressed into half the space, we can not but think the poem would have been more forcible and more likely to find many interested readers. But, with all drawbacks, the volume has many and great merits, and will without doubt be read with pleasure and profit by a great number of thoughtful readers, especially of those who have had more experience of life and have best understood its higher interests and relations. It need hardly be said that the whole spirit of the work is Christian and in keeping with the writings of Dr. Bonar, with which the public are already familiar.

THE JUDGMENT OF JERUSALEM.¹—To the mere student of history the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, and the final overthrow of Jewish national institutions, must always form an intensely interesting chapter. But to the Christian believer, who is familiar with the prophecies both of the Old and New Testaments, there is an interest in these events which is altogether peculiar in its character and, from the nature of the case, far more profound. Jesus Christ explicitly and minutely foretold them, and the question of his personal character and divine mission is closely connected therefore with the fulfillment of his predictions. Fortunately a full account of the taking of the city by Titus, and the unprecedented miseries that attended and followed this terrible catastrophe, has been preserved by Josephus, who was an eye-witness of the scenes which he describes. It was a happy thought to bring together and place side by side the most striking prophecies of the Scriptures in relation to the event, and the leading facts as they actually occurred. Dr. Patton has done this in the tasteful and convenient volume before us. To Sabbath-school teachers and Bible classes, to all careful readers of the Bible who are not familiar with the original sources of information, it will be a great advantage to have in hand a careful digest both of the Scriptural predictions and their fulfill-

¹ "The Judgment of Jerusalem. Predicted in Scripture, Fulfilled in History." By the Rev. William Patton, D.D., New Haven. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

ment. It will save much time and labor, and probably afford a more clear and comprehensive view of the whole matter than would by most readers be otherwise attained. The volume is printed in the best style of the Cambridge press, is illustrated with plans of the city and temple and other drawings, and is sufficiently full in its details to answer the purpose for ordinary readers. Not even the most highly-wrought work of fiction that our own or any other literature can supply is so full of the pathetic, the terrible, the harrowing incident, as the story of the final judgment executed on the Holy City by the Roman armies. We commend Dr. Patton's volume to those who would readily possess themselves of the material facts.

HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.¹—The best biblical scholars are generally agreed that any thing like a perfect harmony of the gospels is impossible. This is not because they are palpably inconsistent, but because they are unquestionably fragmentary. With the four gospels we are in the condition of a boy who has a number of pieces of a dissected map, from which, however, some important pieces are wholly wanting. He may put together those which he has in such a way as to give a very good idea of the probable proper arrangement of the whole, but he will almost inevitably have some out of place and others for which he can find no place whatever. The gospels are not chronological histories to be reconciled, they are scraps of biography to be formed into a history. Nearly all the best scholars are also agreed that neither one of the evangelists follows a chronological order or can be taken as the basis for a chronological arrangement of the others, certainly no one of the Synoptists. The attempt to square Mark to Luke, or either to Matthew, has been definitively given up. We think that it is equally clear, though it may not be as universally conceded, that the time and place of incidents and teachings are to be determined not by notes of time in the gospels, such as the word "then" or the phrase "in those days," but chiefly by other considerations. A rational scholarship recognizes that there was a development in the ministry of Christ, and it seeks for the key to harmony by tracing the course of this development. Thus we may be reasonably sure that he did not deliver two sermons at the time of the induction of his disciples into their office, one on the mount reported by Matthew, and the other on the plain reported by Luke. We may be very sure that after bidding good-by to Galilee, he did not go back and appoint seventy apostles there to do over again the work which had been done by the twelve. We may be certain that he did not deliver the denunciation of the cities of Galilee in Samaria, according to some harmonists, nor in Perea, according to others. We feel reasonably sure that the anointing at Bethany did not take place till after the denunciation of the Pharisees in Jerusalem and the prophecy of the destruction

¹ "The Harmony of the Four Gospels in English." "A Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek." By Frederick Gardiner, D.D. Andover: Warren F. Draper.

of the Holy City, for this is necessary to explain the otherwise inexplicable course of Judas Iscariot. His disappointed ambition had made him quick to take offense at the rebuke of Christ, which, following those events, was quite sufficient to turn one of his temperament and disposition into a traitor. In brief, any harmony is and must be imperfect; it can only approximate the truth and suggest lines which each student must to some extent fill out for himself; and in making it, the author must be guided rather by his insight into the life of Christ as a whole, and his recognition of the successive stages of his teaching, than by a critical examination of particular words and phrases. It was this insight which made Dr. Robinson's *Harmony* almost a new departure in this school of literature, in which nearly all his predecessors had been artificial and unsatisfactory to the last degree; and either because he has availed himself of Dr. Robinson's labors, or because he recognizes this element of development, Dr. Gardiner seems to us to have produced an exceptionally helpful book in his *Harmony*. In the Greek edition he has followed the text of Tischendorf with a collation of the *Textus Receptus* and of the texts of Griesbach, Lachmann, and Tregelles. In an appendix he considers the principles of textual criticism and gives a list of all the known Greek uncials, and a table representing the parts of the text of the New Testament contained in each. The accompanying indices are excellent, and include one embracing the more recent harmonies arranged in parallel columns.

BATTLES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.¹—It would be superfluous to remark upon the timeliness of a work on the battles of the Revolutionary War published in an epoch when all eyes are turned toward the events of that war by the centennial celebration of them, were it not for the fact that the work has a deeper relation to the present state of American thought and tendencies than is generally observed. We are in the midst of one of those great periods of historical thought through which all nations which live a century or more always pass. We are in the retrospective period—a fact which is not only made evident by the centennial celebrations of which we have spoken, but by the remarkably numerous and large production of works relating to American history, within the last decade, and by the wonderful avidity with which the American mind seizes upon them. What the precise effect this historical activity will have upon the people, it would be, of course, difficult to state; but the general effect will be of the most beneficial character, because there is little, if any thing, in our history which the most fastidious would care to conceal, and there is every thing to be gained by a careful study of our institutions and the process of their growth. Certain it is that he can not be a real American who does not admire the endurance and the devotion to principle, the enterprise and the mastery over adverse circumstances, for

¹ "Battles of the American Revolution," 1775-1781. Historical and Military Criticism, with Typographical Illustration. By Henry B. Carrington, M.A., LL.D. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1876.

which our forefathers were distinguished, and who does not feel the better for having perused a page of the history of the earlier American people.

In the "Battles of the American Revolution" Col. Carrington has attempted to set forth something more than an historical account of the incidents of that war. He has endeavored to render his work valuable as a criticism of the military operations which were carried on from 1775 to 1781 in this country, and as an aid to the accomplishment of this design he has furnished numbers of typographical illustrations. The author declares it to be his aim "to inspire fresh interest in the principles which underlie national defense," and to "illustrate these principles by reference to the war for American independence." Among the first topics treated are those relating to the justification of the use of force and the right of revolution. Col. Carrington says:

"A nation has in fact no right to go to war unless it can pledge its entire national resources to the hazard. Neither has a nation the right to go to war if there be any attainable settlement of controversy upon a just basis without war. As a general rule, one nation has no purpose to destroy or absorb its opponent, but only to wear it out a little, so that it will be too tired to keep up controversy. As an equally general rule, nations are left after war pretty much where they started in respect of the issue made, but fearfully poor in the elements of a truly national life."

Revolution must be inaugurated only "in the last resort" and "when legitimate methods fail." Of course it is too late now to seriously debate the question of the justification of the American Revolution. All Americans, at least, claim that the colonists had the right to throw off the British "yoke," and that the war was a defense of this right. As evidence of the justice of the American cause, Col. Carrington seems to think that there were plain manifestations of divine providence in favor of the Revolutionary armies. Passing to the less speculative portion of his task, the author begins the real work of describing and commenting upon the campaigns of the seven years' struggle. This he does in a clear and entertaining manner, avoiding the use of technical terms as far as possible, and evincing not only a thorough mastery of military science, but a complete knowledge of all the circumstances bearing upon the military situation. An impartial and judicial tone pervades the book, and the judgments expressed are as just to the British as to the American generals. The volume can not fail to be of service and interest to both the historical and military student.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

HARRIET MARTINEAU.¹—THIS Autobiography has been looked for with keen interest for some months back. It was written by Miss Martineau, twenty

¹ "Harriet Martineau's Autobiography." With Memorials by Maria Weston Chapman. With Portraits and Illustrations. In three vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

years ago, when she did not expect a long life. The work has been concluded by Mrs. Chapman, who also adds memorials of the author. Judged from the point of view of its interesting revelations, this work will fulfill every expectation; its portraits of the writer's illustrious contemporaries are ably and incisively drawn; but when Miss Martineau, after having thrown off all belief in religion, comes to deal with those who retain their belief in Christianity, there is a tone of bitterness apparent which is much to be regretted. She has met with religious Pecksniffs and Chadbands, and leans too much to the opinion that these are typical of the bulk of believers in Christianity. Miss Martineau's latest phase of belief is thus expressed: "I hold with Democritus, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, and others that matter is eternal, possessing an active principle, and being the source of all objects and their effects." She was, in fact, at her death a complete Necessarian—blind and careless to all the possibilities of a future existence. This is no misstatement of her attitude, for she refers with satisfaction to her feeling of complete indifference towards all things in the expectancy of death. She is somewhat impatient that this experience is not that of the mass of mankind. While we pin our faith to no man's creed, however, and despise insincerity as much as Harriet Martineau, we have only to say that she has passed away, that Voltaire (who said he could destroy unaided the fabric of Christianity which had taken centuries to build up) has also passed away, and that the great verities of Christianity possess as much vitality at the present moment as though its assailants had never existed. It was in consequence of Miss Martineau's atheistic tendencies that an estrangement sprang up between her and her best-beloved brother, the Rev. James Martineau, the distinguished Unitarian minister. This breach was never healed, and was the great life-sorrow of the deceased writer. There are passages in this Autobiography which can not fail to give just cause of offense to the inhabitants of the United States. Writing twenty years ago, in the near prospect of death, as she thought, Miss Martineau said, "I must say that I regard the prospects of the Republic of the United States with more pain and apprehension than those of any other people in the civilized world. It is the only instance, I believe, of a nation being inferior to its institutions; and the result will be, I fear, a mournful spectacle to the world. I am not thinking chiefly at this moment of American slavery; . . . I regard with a deeper concern the manifest retrogression of the American people in their political and social character. They seem to be lapsing from national manliness into childhood—retrograding from the aims and interests of the nineteenth century into those of the fifteenth and sixteenth. Their passion for territorial aggrandisement, for gold, for buccaneering adventure, and for vulgar praise are seen miserably united with the pious pretensions and fraudulent ingenuity which were, in Europe, old-fashioned three centuries ago, and which are now kept alive only in a few petty or despised states, where dynasty is on its last legs." This language is manifestly unjust to the greatest Republic in the world, and its predictions are being rapidly falsified in the history of the United States. The pleasantest part of these volumes is occupied with sketches of

Miss Martineau's literary friends, Hallam, Brougham, Jeffrey, the Brownings, the Carlyles and others. The work will be read with great avidity; for, whether we agree or disagree with the religious, political, and social views of Harriet Martineau, she was unquestionably one of the most able and learned women of the nineteenth century.

LONDON, June 1, 1877.

THE short period which has elapsed since the publication of my previous notes has been prolific in the issue of works of considerable importance, if it has not been rich in the efforts of original genius. In criticism the appearance is to be recorded of new books by Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. J. A. Froude, Sir Francis Doyle, and Mr. J. Addington Symonds. In biography we have had the memorials of "Barry Cornwall," the lives of Sir W. Fairbairn, Sir W. Fergusson, and Major Loftus's Recollections. The interest, however, in such lives as Fairbairn's or Fergusson's is one rather appealing to a class than the general public, although doubtless there are points of view which touch the latter in some degree. I will only say of the two biographies in question that they furnish a fair estimate of the distinguished men of whom they treat. Fiction has been but poorly represented; the only novel of note issued during the past two months is "Weavers and Weft," by Miss Braddon, and this work can scarcely satisfy that lady's most fervent admirers, notwithstanding the fact that it is by no means devoid of talent. All our great novelists have been dormant. Nothing is heard of "George Eliot" or Mr. Hardy, the writer of "Far from the Madding Crowd;" while Mrs. Oliphant still runs her story in *Cornhill*, Mr. Black his "Green Pastures and Piccadilly" through the pages of the *Examiner*, and Mr. Justin McCarthy his "Miss Misanthrope" in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Perhaps the greatest interest excited in any recent book, subsequent to the publication of Harriet Martineau's Autobiography, was evoked by a work of a totally different character, viz., Dr. Russell's "Diary of the Prince of Wales's Tour in India." I shall say more of this anon. Poetry has been represented by a new volume from Mr. Allingham, author of "Laurence Bloomfield in Ireland;" by Mr. Cayley's "Iliad;" by an anonymous work, "The Unknown Cross, and other Odes," respecting which I have only space to say that there is much poetic gold mingled with considerable dross; by the "Epic of Hades," the production of a new writer, and one of no little promise; and by several other volumes of less importance, though not altogether without value. Other important books are also noticed herein.

The deaths have been recorded of two ardent workers—Mr. Cowden Clarke and Mr. Andrew Halliday. The former is too well known for me to specify his claims upon the remembrance of the present generation. The friend of men of genius for upwards of fifty years, he has not left behind him a single enemy. Mr. Halliday some years ago forsook the strictly literary career for the dramatic, in which he achieved notable success; but whatever durable fame cleaves to his name will be in consequence of the charming essays he wrote many years ago for *Household Words*, the *Cornhill Maga-*

sine, and other serials. His name will doubtless, however, be more familiar in the United States in connection with his dramas. His death resulted partially from an overtaxed brain—a form of disease which is attacking literary men in a far larger proportion than was the case a generation ago.

MR. FROUDE'S SHORT STUDIES.¹—Mr. Froude is a very vigorous polemic, with a little touch of prejudice. He is just now troubled with the progress of Romanism, which afflicts him greatly. In more than one of these essays he recurs to the topic, while the whole of a special paper is devoted to it, viz., "The Revival of Romanism." While one is disposed to think that he exaggerates the importance of the spread of Romanism in America and England, and does not sufficiently allow for the spread of other religions, Mr. Froude is undoubtedly in the right when he affirms that the Ritualists are doing the work of Rome in the Church of England. More than this: "Romanism," the writer says, "has taken into her service her old enemy, the press, and has established a popular literature." In this, if it were strictly true, we should be prepared to read the downfall of Rome; but, as a matter of fact, the Roman Church only uses the press in a most restricted sense; she knows that to establish a free popular literature would be to give the death-blow to her superstitions. Mr. Froude is very severe upon Protestants for their lukewarmness, and recalls, in striking contrast to our own times, those of Knox and Wiclif. Here he is on safe ground, for the supineness of the Protestants has much to do with the temporary headway which Roman Catholicism appears to be making. In writing upon Party Politics, Mr. Froude's hand is against both Liberals and Tories to a great extent, though he is a strong advocate for party government, perceiving in that institution one of our most valuable national bulwarks. Several of the remaining essays in this volume deal with literary topics; and in all we find the same keenness of mind, comprehensiveness of view, and excellence of diction.

MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD'S ESSAYS.²—In the preface to this work Mr. Arnold announces that the present series of essays closes his attempts to deal directly with questions affecting religion and the church. He speaks almost with a tone of disappointment, and is surprised that essays which in France and Italy should be regarded as orthodox, should in England be pronounced skeptical and heterodox. But Mr. Arnold has placed two classes of judges erroneously in juxtaposition. He gives us the views of two able free-thinkers, Professor de Gubernatis and M. Challemlacour, upon his "Literature and Dogma," and sets these against the opinions of religious men in England. It is obvious that between these parties a great gulf is fixed. Foreign skeptics are astonished that Mr. Arnold should have any religious faith at

¹ "Short Studies on Great Subjects." By James Anthony Froude, M.A. Third Series. London: Longmans & Co.

² "Last Essays on Church and Religion." By Matthew Arnold. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

all; while English Protestants, attached to their creeds, are astonished that his faith in Christianity should not be more robust than it is. Mr. Arnold will never be able to bring together the two, though all through this volume there is an effort to reconcile the conflicting elements. The parallel which he endeavors to draw between Sir Matthew Hale's belief in witchcraft and St. Paul's belief in the bodily resurrection of Christ is not a happy one; for there is an immense distinction between the two things—St. Paul affirms his belief in a single definite act, the knowledge of which did not filter down to him through sources corrupted and tampered with. Mr. Arnold again hits the Dissenters hard, and opposes them on the Burials Bill. The objects of his wrath, however, continue to increase and multiply, and, *mirabile dictu*, to exhibit that "culture" which is under Mr. Arnold's special but self-elected patronage. Yet, notwithstanding the faults of this volume, it is thoroughly enjoyable, for its author is a man of taste, erudition, and refinement. His style is always one to attract, and those who disagree with his conclusions can welcome his work upon many points of concord with those who are at one with his opinions.

MR. SYMONDS'S *RENAISSANCE IN ITALY*.¹—This work deserves to be welcomed with the highest degree of satisfaction. It is executed in a large and broad manner, and with conspicuous ability. Mr. Symonds has long been known as an admirable critic upon the Greek poets and a writer upon Italian art; but even his greatest admirers could scarcely hope to have received from him a work of this magnitude. In a previous volume the historian of the Renaissance in Italy discussed the "Age of the Despots," and the present two large volumes are devoted to the Revival of Learning and the Fine Arts respectively. Mr. Symonds could not have chosen a more glorious era in modern Italian history for his recondite investigations; and those who desire to become acquainted with the origin, progress, and influence of that great movement known as the Renaissance have now at their command the most exhaustive treatise upon the subject which exists in the English language. I can not even indicate the chief features of the work, much less discuss its scope. The chapters devoted to examination of the Humanists and their principles are of the utmost value to the student. We rise from the work with a thorough understanding of the spirit which animated Petrarch and Michael Angelo, and their contemporaries and successors. In style, Mr. Symonds can be eloquent without becoming turgid. Altogether, one can have nothing but praise for the entire work.

MR. KITCHIN'S *HISTORY OF FRANCE*.²—This work has not met with the attention it deserves. The Clarendon Press is doing more to furnish English people with thoroughly trustworthy histories than any other agency. Nor do

¹ "Renaissance in Italy. The Revival of Learning: the Fine Arts." By John Addington Symonds, author of "Studies of the Greek Poets," etc. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

² "History of France." By G. W. Kitchin, M.A. Vols. II. and III. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

these histories overburden the reader with useless details. Mr. Kitchin's work—of which three volumes have already been issued—is a case in point. With the utmost discrimination, the author has sifted state documents and other writings bearing upon his task, and has given us as the result an eminently readable history, in which nothing of essential importance has been omitted, while all that is worthless or unnecessary to a right understanding of the facts has been carefully eliminated. His summary of French society in the middle of the fifteenth century and his portraits of Richelieu and Mazarin are admirable. Of the former, after allowing that he ardently desired the honor and glory of his country, he observes, "He showed no feeling for the happiness of the French people, who have repaid his neglect by excluding him mercilessly from their roll of popular heroes. His influence over Europe was far greater than that of Henry IV., yet what Frenchman would for a moment rank them together?" Mr. Kitchin writes history as it should be written, fearlessly and dispassionately.

MR. MACCOLL ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.¹—Mr. MacColl leaves us in no doubt as to his sympathies. They are against the Turk, and as distinctly with the people of the suffering principalities. A man who could discuss the Eastern Question in England without warmth would be a *rara avis*. Mr. MacColl is even warmer than Mr. Gladstone; nor am I much surprised at this, for he has traveled in those regions distinguished for the horrible deeds of the Bashi-Bazouks. The author unites in one fell condemnation Mahomet, Midhat Pasha, Lord Derby, and the *Fall Mall Gazette*; and while he may be wrong on some points, he has the melancholy satisfaction at this moment of pointing to one sentence of his work in proof of his prescience. Some time before the war broke out, he expressed his belief that Lord Derby's policy would bring on war, and leave Russia mistress of the situation.

SIR F. H. DOYLE'S LECTURES ON POETRY.²—These lectures are eminently readable, if they are not profoundly critical. The ease and freedom perceptible in the style are accounted for by the fact that the lectures are printed as they were delivered to the students of the university. There will be those who will think that Sir F. H. Doyle has not done full justice to Wordsworth, and has given rather more than his due to Sir Walter Scott, and amongst such persons I must count myself; but the lectures are so delightful, and show such a keen appreciation for the essence of poetry, that the fault is easily condoned. There can be no difference of opinion as to the excellence of the criticisms upon several of Shakespeare's tragedies. Appended to the lectures are a number of the author's own poems, which exhibit some genius and more art.

¹ "The Eastern Question: its Facts and Fallacies." By Malcolm MacColl, M.A. London: Longmans & Co.

² "Lectures on Poetry." Delivered at Oxford. By Sir Francis H. Doyle, Bart., Professor of Poetry in the University. Second Series. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

DR. RUSSELL'S DIARY OF THE PRINCE'S TOUR.¹—Although this work came rather late in the day, it has been none the less popular. This is doubtless owing to the fact that Dr. Russell traveled with the Prince in an official capacity, and therefore possessed advantages which were not enjoyed by other correspondents. The author corroborates the view that the Prince's visit to India has been productive of great benefit, and has more firmly knit together the bonds which already existed between Great Britain and her eastern empire. We obtain from his sumptuous volume a better idea of what the Prince really did and saw in India than could possibly be gathered from previous works upon the same subject. His Royal Highness appears to have braved some dangers, to have gone through the bore of an unparalleled number of official ceremonies, to have traveled an immense deal in a very limited time, and to have left India with his popularity firmly rooted in the minds of the native chiefs. As an example of the publishers', printers', and binders' art this work calls for the highest praise. When all interest in the Prince's tour has evaporated, the volume will still be prized as a splendid drawing-room ornament.

MR. ALLINGHAM'S POEMS.²—This is an admirable selection from the lyrics of a genuine poet. Many of Mr. Allingham's songs and ballads are known in America as well as England, and one of those now reprinted Mr. Longfellow included in his "Poems of Places." The writer's gift is a pure and true one; he sings naturally and unrestrainedly, and such ballads as "Lovely Mary Donnelly" deserve all the popularity they have acquired. I understand that Mr. Allingham contemplates issuing another volume in a short time.

DE COSSON'S "CRADLE OF THE BLUE NILE."³—Mr. De Cosson gives us the results of a six months' holiday trip, and his recital is both interesting and instructive. Passing beyond the Red Sea, he crossed the highlands of Abyssinia, visited Berber on the Nile, and traversed the desert to Suakin. He was entertained by King John at his camp near Lake Tsana, and records that he never beheld a more intelligent countenance than that of the sable monarch. Much of these volumes is occupied with details affecting the relations between Egypt and Abyssinia; and Mr. De Cosson confirms a previous impression prevalent in England that the suppression of the slave traffic is by no means so easy as Europeans were at first led to imagine. Edicts which have been issued are treated in some quarters as little better than waste

¹ "The Prince of Wales's Tour: a Diary in India." With some Account of the Visits of his Royal Highness to the Courts of Greece, Egypt, Spain, and Portugal. By Wm. Howard Russell. With Illustrations by S. P. Hall. London: Sampson Low & Co.

² "Songs, Ballads, and Stories." By William Allingham. Including many now first collected. The rest revised and rearranged. London: George Bell & Sons.

³ "The Cradle of the Blue Nile: a Visit to the Court of King John of Ethiopia." By E. A. De Cosson. London: John Murray.

paper; and now that the Khedive is failing in health, the extinction of slavery will be inevitably removed to a remote period. Instances are given which show that the slave traffic still flourishes in Egypt and the Red Sea. These volumes are well worth reading from more than one point of view.

MAJOR LOFTUS'S RECOLLECTIONS.¹—Major Loftus is now an octogenarian, but he still writes with a good deal of spirit, and yields quite as much interest as that we drew from his previous work, "My Youth, by Sea and Land." In fact, when once the reader makes sufficient allowance for his Tory proclivities, he could not desire a better story-teller than the Major. If he does not always write grammatically, he writes cheerfully and vividly. He falls foul of society as at present constituted, and longs for "the good old times." The story of the Cato-street Conspiracy is here related anew, as well as the trial of Queen Caroline—a sad business, as the author admits, and one out of which no one reaped credit save the brilliant advocate of Her Majesty, Henry Brougham. The game laws are very dear to Major Loftus, and I gather from the tenor of his observations upon them that if once these laws were abolished the sun of England's glory would begin to set. But the Major's advocacy of his political opinions is harmless, and will beget in the reader tolerance rather than anger. The interest in his volumes lies in another direction—namely, in their social and personal reminiscences. The writer is one of a body of men fast dying out in England, whose idiosyncrasies a future race will look back upon with astonishment.

MR. CAYLEY'S "ILIAD."²—This is not Mr. Cayley's first venture upon a formidable translation. He has already acquired considerable renown by his translation of Dante. He now takes up Homer, whom he reproduces in hexameter measure. Certain of the passages are very effectively rendered, notwithstanding the difficulty which any translator of Homer must necessarily feel in attempting to emulate the great Greek poet's fire and energy. Pope's translation, however, will still be considered by many more easy reading, though in saying this I do not wish to detract from the value of Mr. Cayley's labors.

ACROSS AFRICA.³—Commander Cameron is very outspoken in this work. He maintains that the question now before the civilized world is whether the slave-trade in Africa, which causes a loss of quite a half a million of lives, is to be allowed to continue. Cameron travels on a different principle from Stanley; the former is more conciliatory and peaceful, the latter determined and severe, with, it is to be feared, an insufficient regard to the sacredness of human life. Cameron has crossed Africa from the Indian

¹ "My Life, from 1815 to 1849." By Charles Loftus, formerly of the Royal Navy; late of the Cold-Stream Guards. London: Hurst & Blackett.

² "The Iliad of Homer." Homometrically translated. By C. B. Cayley, Translator of Dante's "Comedy," etc. London: Longmans & Co.

³ "Across Africa." By Verney Lovett Cameron, C.B., D.C.L., Commander R.N. Two vols. London: Daldy, Isbister & Co.

to the Atlantic Ocean, and met with unnumbered hardships by the way. The railway is a great civilizer, and Cameron recommends the acquirement of a port—Mombasah, for instance—from the Sultan of Zanzibar, by treaty or purchase, from which might be run a light line of railway to the Tanganyika, *via* Unyanyembé, with branches to the Victoria Nyanza, and to the southward through Ugogo. Such a line he considers might be constructed for about £1000 per mile. He would also station steamers on the Zambési, Kongo, and Kwanza, by which means merchandise might be rapidly developed, while the affluents of the Kongo would enable traders and missionaries to penetrate into the greater portion of the at present unknown regions of Africa. Probably no book besides Livingstone's has been published, affecting Africa, which can equal this by Commander Cameron, either as regards interest or importance.

WILLIAM, EARL OF SHELburne.¹—The life of a distinguished statesman is now concluded by his descendant, Lord E. Fitzmaurice, a young English Radical of considerable talent. Lord Shelburne succeeded to the leadership of the little party left without a head by Lord Chatham's death. Shelburne's relations with Charles James Fox are narrated, as well as their subsequent estrangement from each other, which led to the coalition of Fox and Lord North, to the great disaster of the Whigs. Mr. Fox was unreasonably jealous of Shelburne, and the angry flame was fed by the king's sending for the latter. The Shelburne administration, however, could not stand before the attacks of its enemies, and was defeated in 1783, when the Premier retired into private life. We must do this statesman the justice to admit that he was opposed to political corruption at a period when political corruption was the fashion. Shelburne died on the 7th of May, 1805. His political scheme was once described by Lord Beaconsfield as embracing "a real royalty in lieu of the chief magistracy; a permanent alliance with France instead of the Whig view of regarding her as England's natural enemy; and a plan of commercial freedom, the germs of which are to be found in the Treaty of Utrecht." This volume is entertaining, irrespective of its political aspect.

VIENNA AND BERLIN.²—Dr. Reeve's "Journal" has been edited by his son, the present Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. It was well worth doing. We get personal glimpses of such men as Napoleon the First, Humboldt, and the musical composer Haydn. There are many views of Dr. Reeve upon continental matters which are not held now, but his expression of them is not the less interesting for that. Nothing remarkable of a political nature is recorded, but the glimpses of social life are given with a good deal of animation.

¹ "The Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterward first Marquis of Lansdowne." By Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. Vol. III. London: Macmillan & Co.

² "Journal of a Residence at Vienna and Berlin, in the Eventful Winter 1805-6." By the late Henry Reeve, M.D. London: Longmans & Co.

GREAT FAMILIES.¹—Mr. Walford is an industrious compiler, but he scarcely seems to have exercised sufficient care in the historical facts cited in his present volumes. The title of the work is a most taking one; but many of the "tales" are already familiar to most readers of English history. It is essential, above all, in writing a work of this class, to be strictly accurate; for it is precisely from such works that many persons derive their knowledge of past celebrities and events. We are afraid that in many cases Mr. Walford is not a safe guide in these volumes, though they are written with that ease and freshness which have made his previous works popular.

ENGLAND AND THE EAST.²—Mr. Partridge is already favorably remembered for his previous works—"Democracy," and "From Feudal to Federal"—and this new book shows him to be still the same bold thinker and writer. He has arrived at the sensible conclusion that keeping Turkey for the Turks is not the wisest policy England can adopt for the preservation of her Indian possessions. She must look elsewhere. Mr. Partridge's arguments are worthy of careful study by British statesmen, and his conclusions from these arguments are manifestly irresistible. He urges England, first, to avoid all acquisitions beyond the true Hindostan, but to get real possession of the passes; secondly, England must be able to concentrate at Ispahan and Herat; thirdly, she must acquire influence over the tribes of Southern Asia, whilst maintaining strictly their independence. This would enable her to dissolve barbaric barriers existing against herself, and to establish those of civilization against Russia. Fourthly, will England postpone the reorganization of the Indian Army as to artillery, additional officers, infantry reserves, and horses, until they are actually wanted in the field? Fifthly, she must command the Mediterranean entrance to the Suez Canal by a first-class port and fortress, else she imperils her whole strategy in Europe and Asia; and neither Crete nor any other place can vie with Alexandria in this respect as a base of operations. To say the least, Mr. Partridge's policy is a very intelligible one as compared with many others which have been promulgated.

COMETS.³—This volume sensibly and ably contributes to our knowledge upon the subject of which it treats. From the siege of Troy to the present day the appearance of comets has been viewed with wonder and frequently with affright. Comets have always been regarded as evil omens. M. Guillemin, perhaps the most distinguished of living French astronomers, broaches some new theories in connection with comets, and in the course of their development asks the question: "Who knows but that the incessant

¹ "Tales of Our Great Families." By Edward Walford, M.A. London: Hurst & Blackett.

² "The Policy of England in Relation to India and the East." By J. A. Partridge. London: Sampson Low & Co.

³ "The World of Comets." By Amédée Guillemin. Translated and edited by James Glaisher, F.R.S. London: Sampson Low & Co.

rencontre of the planets with these cosmical atoms may be a means of increasing the planetary masses?" It appears to be still doubtful whether the nucleus of a comet is transparent or opaque. Much remains yet to be done in exploring the nature of comets. Kepler, Newton, Herschel, Tyndall, and Encke have all held different views as to their origin and substance. To the general reader, as well as to those devoted to astronomical studies, M. Guillemin's work may be cordially commended.

RUSSIA.¹—It is said that this work was declined by seven London publishers, and yet it is one of the few leading books of the season. Publishers can err now as greatly as they did when seventeen of their number refused Thackeray's "Vanity Fair." Mr. Wallace has minutely studied Russia and Russian life for six years (1870-76), and this work is the result of his observations. Those who wish to be instructed upon Panslavism and Slavophilism, together with a thousand other things affecting that empire which is now pushing to the front in European politics, can not take a better guide than Mr. Mackenzie Wallace. His book was not written in London or Paris, but amongst the scenes and people he graphically describes.

LETTERS OF MRS. BROWNING.²—A good deal of interest attaches to this work, though Mrs. Browning's life remains still to be written. When it is written, it will be seen what a fine and noble spirit possessed her. When Miss Barrett, she corresponded with Mr. Horne, also a poet of some power, and we have here published most of her letters, in which we get glimpses of her views upon poetry and poets. Perhaps it would have been wiser to have refrained from publishing some of these letters at present; but they unquestionably add to our knowledge and appreciation of the woman and the poet. It is pleasant to read any memorial of one of the greatest female writers of poetry in the English language.

A RIDE TO KHIVA.³—One of the most successful books of the season, and justly so, is that detailing Capt. Burnaby's Ride to Khiva. We have been almost surfeited with records of travel of one description or another—in which, not unfrequently, we are afraid our old friend Baron Munchausen has played a conspicuous part—but Capt. Burnaby's book is of an altogether different stamp, and one which we should not like to do without. Its writer is not only a man of courage, but he possesses the ability to narrate his adventures in a graphic manner. We "who live at home at ease" can contemplate in these pages the dangers of the man who took a winter's journey across

¹ "Russia." By D. Mackenzie Wallace, M.A. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

² "Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, addressed to R. H. Horne, with Comments on Contemporaries." Edited by S. R. Townshend Mayer. London: Bentley & Son.

³ "A Ride to Khiva; Travels and Adventures in Central Asia." By Fred Burnaby, Captain Royal Horse Guards. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

the steppes to the north of Lake Aral, and over the deserts situate between the mighty rivers Syr Daria and Amu. Besides a readable account of romantic adventures, there is much information accruing to us by reason of Capt. Burnaby's Ride.

THE JESUITS.¹—Mr. Cartwright's work will deepen the antipathy to the Jesuits which exists in the minds of the great mass of the people of England. The history of the order and its practical working are detailed with much perspicacity, though the conclusions will no doubt be severely combated by the Roman Catholics. The English character, however, is too straightforward and open ever to be reconciled to the teachings of the Jesuits, and in this sense, able as Mr. Cartwright's book is, it is not an absolute necessity. It will, however, serve to confirm the opponents of Jesuitism in their opinions.

ENGLISH THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.²—Mr. Leslie Stephen is the editor of the *Cornhill Magazine* and the author of the genial essays "Hours in a Library." He has here essayed a work of much greater magnitude than he has hitherto attempted, and in all essential respects has succeeded admirably. Certainly there is no work in the language which covers the same ground as these two volumes cover. Mr. Stephen writes in an attractive style, and has much power of expression; he is not humorous, but he possesses a very caustic vein of language. He pilots us carefully through the great philosophical writers—Locke and others—and the division of his work headed "Constructive Deism," in which he traces the decay of the theory, is very able and very interesting. Three separate chapters are devoted to Butler, David Hume, and Warburton, who may be taken as the three cornerstones of the varying structures of thought which they represented in the last century. The student will discover in these volumes a thorough digest of the opinions of the numerous authors Mr. Stephen treats upon. The second volume is occupied with "Moral Philosophy," "Political Theories," "Political Economy," and "Characteristics," in which last-named chapter the purely literary writers are dealt with. The author of this work now assumes a new and more important position: he is no longer the mere essayist, but the capable writer of a History of Thought which deserves to hold a permanent position in literature.

FICTION.—In fiction there is little of moment to chronicle recently in English literature. One of the most striking novels of the season is "The Dark Colleen,"³ by the author of "The Queen of Connaught." It presents us with vivid and lifelike sketches of Irish character, and is equally excellent for its descriptions of natural scenery. Its writer, who is a lady, has evidently a successful career before her.—Mr. Hepworth Dixon has also appeared amongst the novelists. His "Diana, Lady Lyle"⁴ is worthy of his name,

¹ "The Jesuits: Their Constitution and Teaching." By W. C. Cartwright, M.P. London: John Murray.

² "History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century." By Leslie Stephen. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

³ London: Bentley & Son.

⁴ London: Hurst & Blackett.

and that will be held as sufficient praise. As might be expected, Mr. Dixon especially excels in description, and his character-drawing also exhibits considerable power. It is understood that the author has already dramatized this his first novel, and that it will shortly be produced upon the stage.—Miss Tytler is a facile and pleasant writer, and “What She Came Through”¹ is distinguished for a natural grace and simplicity of style. This writer is never very sensational in plot, though there is sufficient interest evolved in her characters to make us go through her stories, even did she not possess other excellent qualifications for writing.—Mr. Black’s latest novel² will naturally attract considerable attention both in England and America, yet it is doubtful whether his friends will be satisfied with it. The heroine fully bears out her title, but Violet North can not be compared with Sheila. There seems just a little indication that Mr. Black is failing to present us with types of womanhood which have all the freshness and naturalness upon them characteristic of his earlier portraits. And yet his present novel has many charming descriptions of scenery and excellent touches of character. There are few novelists of the male sex who can adequately portray female characters, but Mr. Black has been generally more successful with the other sex than with his own. “Madcap Violet” is, however, an exception to the rule. Perhaps the best character in the novel is Mr. James Drummond, and after this some of the minor characters stand out with the greatest prominence. The scene of the novel is laid partly in England and partly in Scotland, and, what is rather unusual in Mr. Black, there is an improbability of incident. In his next story let us hope to welcome him again as one of the most natural of all our existing novel-writers.—Miss Braddon,³ has a tremendous power of production. We should really be afraid to say how many novels she has written within the past few years. We do not, of course, expect from her works of art or works of deep thought, but she generally manages to write so that we invariably read her stories through. Her hysterical and sensational power is great, and will always find its market. By those who like her novels, this latest fiction—which relates to Cornish life and scenery—will be found as readable as any of its predecessors. There is some power of character-drawing exhibited.—Miss Grant has written an admirable story,⁴ clever alike in its delineations of character and scenery. This writer published a few years ago a novel, entitled “Victor Lescar,” which afforded greater promise than that of almost any of the younger race of novelists. While the present novel is scarcely equal to the work just mentioned—being in fact

¹ London : Daldy, Isbister & Co.

² “Madcap Violet.” By William Black, author of “A Princess of Thule,” etc. London : Macmillan & Co.

³ “Joshua Haggard’s Daughter. By M. E. Braddon.” London : Maxwell & Co.

⁴ “The Sun Maid.” By Miss Grant, author of “Victor Lescar,” etc. London : Bentley & Son.

of a totally different type—it is still far in advance of the ordinary books of fiction of the day. It details the history of an Englishman, Sir Gilbert Erle, and a Russian princess, and their subsequent union, and the sketches of life at Pau and descriptions of Pyrenean scenery are admirable.—The author of “Elsie”¹ is understood to be a young lady, and this is her second novel. It is not often one can chronicle so distinct an advance in the novelist’s art as we find to be the case here. There is a greater grasp of character, and altogether more boldness of method. The writer is not without her faults, but she has excellences which far outweigh them. Helen Colquhoun, the heroine of the present story, is a woman of the noblest and purest type. The nature of her victory shall not, in justice to the author, be revealed, but the narrative is one that will enlist the sympathy and admiration of every reader.—Mrs. Henry Wood² is a very prolific writer, exhibiting considerable ingenuity in the elaboration of plots. Her present novel is not equal to many others we have had from the same hand. In fact, there is too much danger of all our successful novelists writing too rapidly. The example of George Eliot would be salutary to many of the manufacturers of fiction. Mrs. Wood, however, is always pleasant to read; her stories never flag, and that is a tribute of no mean importance to a story-teller.—Miss Hay’s new novel³ has much impressed me in its favor. Without straining after effect, she has really produced an excellent work. The character of Nora stands out in bold relief, as an impulsive girl in the first instance, and finally as a truly brave and noble woman. The book altogether is upon a high level of merit, and such as to afford every encouragement to its author to proceed in the literary path she has chosen.

G. B. S.

LONDON.

LANFREY’S NAPOLEON THE FIRST.⁴—Like the preceding volumes of this interesting and instructive work, the volume before us is written for the purpose of showing France and the world the other side of Napoleon’s character. We say the “other side,” because hitherto, with but few unimportant exceptions, historical and biographical writers, and especially Frenchmen, have been so dazzled by the transcendent military genius and unparalleled success of the great Napoleon, that they have endowed him with nearly every human virtue, while they have lost sight of his manifold vices and imperfections. They have admired and praised him with such unanimity, and criticised him with such an abundance of justification and excuse, that the world has finally adopted an entirely false idea of him. Indeed, it is doubtful if any man in modern times has ever had his faults more leniently treated, or his merits, such as they may be, more generally overestimated by

¹ “A Woman’s Victory.” By the Author of “Elsie.” London: Tinsley Brothers.

² “Edina.” By Mrs. Henry Wood. London: Bentley & Son.

³ “Nora’s Love Test.” By Mary Cecil Hay. London: Hurst & Blackett.

⁴ “The History of Napoleon the First.” By P. Lanfrey, Vol. III. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

historians, orators, and statesmen. It is not our intention to point out the reasons therefor, nor to enter into any general discussion of the circumstances of Napoleon's career. The former would carry us too far, and the latter has been rendered unnecessary by the work now under consideration. The critical reader will find it a positive relief to turn from the dead level of adulation and hero-worship, beginning with the *Moniteur*, and including Abbott, Thiers, and even Carlyle, to Lanfrey's independent and searching exposition of the real motives and principles of this most bloody scourge of the human race. Here, for the first time, we find his character, aspirations, and deeds set forth in all their hideous wickedness. The volume before us begins with the campaign of Pultusk and Eylau, November, 1806, and ends with the deposition of King Louis, and the absorption of Holland by the French Empire, July, 1810. From the first page to the last, treating as it does of one of the most remarkable periods in Napoleon's career, it commands the closest attention and interest of the reader. The narrative is clear, strong, and convincing, and presents the personal aims and motives of Napoleon in a new but truthful light. The author has collated and studied the private and public correspondence of the Emperor, together with that of the principal characters of the time, whether they supported or opposed him. Reports, bulletins, and decrees have been compared and quoted, and many sources of information hitherto unattainable or overlooked have been sought out and used to elucidate not only the overmastering military genius, but also to expose the insatiable ambition and greed, the never-ending duplicity and falsehood, the overbearing cruelty and tyranny, the heartless coldness and infidelity, the contemptible meanness and pliability of the successful adventurer, who subjugated France and, for twenty years, deluged all Europe with blood. How his own genius and audacity extricated him time and again, as at Austerlitz and Wagram, from the desperate straits into which his greed and ambition had led him; how the weakness and imbecility of neighboring kings, and the disorganization and dissensions of neighboring nations tempted him with the hope of establishing an universal empire, and thus led him from the intoxication of victory, through the doubt and humiliation of a fruitless struggle against Europe united, to the despair of irrevocable defeat and exile, are so clearly set forth in the story which Lanfrey has written, that no disinterested person can read it without adopting the author's conclusions, albeit they are not always supported by citations of documents or authorities. No one can carefully study this history without being deeply impressed by the reflection that, if Napoleon was endowed with extraordinary abilities, he was also favored by the most extraordinary opportunities; that, no matter how great may have been his merits as a soldier and statesman, his character, in every other relation of life, was about as bad as it is possible for human nature to become.

We commend this work to every man who has come to look upon Napoleon as his hero; to every American citizen who values liberty and the sacred forms of law higher than Cæsarism and military glory; and, finally, to every

family in which there are sons to be imbued with correct ideas of history and historical characters, and, above all, of the inestimable value of the personal liberty and free institutions which are the common heritage of all English-speaking people.

DIFFICULTIES OF BELIEF.¹—Mr. Shore is known as one of the most earnest and hard-working clergymen in London, and he has just surprised his friends by publishing a volume of sermons which are remarkable for their ability and catholicity. Originally preached in Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair, these sermons now seek a wider suffrage, and they will not seek it in vain. The author speaks as a brother in clear and emphatic terms, while at the same time he admits that there are deep mysteries in Religion which can not be explained, just as there are mysteries in Nature and Life. He has shown, however, how these difficulties may be reconciled with an unswerving faith, and he has done this with a literary force and power which make his work eminently acceptable.

THEBES AND ITS TEMPLES.²—A vivid impression of the ancient city of Thebes is gained from the photographs which Captain Abney took upon the spot during his recent visit. The grand colonnade of Luxor and a sunset at Thebes, giving the effects of a cloudy sky, are admirably realized. The author seems to have exercised a praiseworthy discretion in choosing his points of view, and the whole volume is most creditably executed.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

IN point of literary style, of general popularity, and of practical usefulness Professor Ihering's little monograph³ of barely one hundred pages may fairly claim to be placed at the head of our present list of new German books. It has indeed almost ceased to be new, except in the sense that a valuable book is always new. The substance of the first edition was originally delivered as a lecture before the Jurists' Association of Vienna, but it has already passed through five editions. If the author before a society of learned colleagues perhaps gave more attention to a technical and abstract argument against the theory of Savigny and Puchta, that the formation of law in a state is a process of natural growth, in which the people are mere passive spectators, he has reduced this somewhat in the published form, and the more concrete discussion has the largest place. And what a discussion! so lucid in style, so pertinent in illustrations, so healthy in tone! The price

¹ "Some Difficulties of Belief." By the Rev. T. Teignmouth Shore, M.A. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin.

² "Thebes and its Five Great Temples." By Captain W. de W. Abney, F.R.S. London: Sampson Low & Co.

³ "Der Kampf um's Recht." By Professor Rudolf von Ihering of Göttingen. Vienna: G. J. Manz. 1876.

of law in a state is eternal conflict. The peasant who defends his property in the village court, the merchant who jealously resists any tampering with his credit, the soldier who defends his honor at the sword's point,—each of these is fighting for that law which is dearest to him. He who tolerates an injustice from hatred of strife, from indolence, or from any other cause, is not only untrue to himself, but also to society. The strength of law in a state is no greater than the sum of individual purposes to defend individual rights. The itinerant Englishman will break his journey, not only in his own country but also on the continent, and resist at any cost of money, time, and trouble the pettiest attempt at extortion. The German simply growls and then submits. But in this difference between the individual Englishman and the individual German is contained, says the author in an eloquent passage, all the difference between the histories, the freedom, the institutions, of England and Germany. This is a lesson which Germany very much needs, and nobody could put it more boldly, clearly, and forcibly. But while the author develops the proposition that the individual in asserting his own rights creates law for society, which though true is a selfish truth, he does not state the converse, that in defending the rights of others—that is to say, of society—he also vindicates his own. If the first proposition is often neglected in Germany, the second seems to be unknown. Somebody, perhaps Dr. Ihering, might do his countrymen a service by a treatise on this other valuable social law. In the number of languages into which the “Battle for Law” has been translated, such as Hungarian, modern Greek, Servian, Russian, Roumanian, and nearly all the Western tongues except English, one will recognize a literary success which has few parallels.

There is at present among Germans a marked revival of interest in their older philosophers, and especially in Leibnitz. It is indeed refreshing now and then to turn from the tiresome hair-splitting, from the subjective and the objective, from the “Ich,” the psychical moment, or the “Ding an und für sich,” of modern philosophy, to that universal genius, that muscular and healthy understanding. Leibnitz¹ was perhaps not more of a German in feeling than Goethe, or Heine, or Monsieur Jacob Offenbach. He lived a great deal at Paris, wrote chiefly in French and Latin, and when Dr. Kirchner prepared his little book, he had to translate nearly every thing into German. It is true that he once drew up a plan of German unity, and this may justify the presentation of the author of the monadic theory as a typical German patriot and philosopher. The plan of collecting a volume of detached passages for the purpose of making known an author's views on a great variety of topics, which is one of the tendencies of the present age, is not altogether inexcusable in the case of a man whose published writings number some two hundred. Dr. Kirchner's collection, which seems to be made with industry, judgment, and taste, covers no less than thirty-one sub-

¹ “Leibnitz: Sein Leben und Wirken.” By Dr. Friedrich Kirchner. Cöthen: Paul Schettler. 1877.

jects. They give, so far as isolated extracts can give, Leibnitz's views on the conduct of life, patriotism, politics, science, history, philosophy, logic, ethics, art, religion, atheism, law, God, theology, death, immortality, besides his own peculiar and favorite topics, monadology, pre-established harmony, etc. The German version is for the most part concise, clear, and pointed. Here is a wholesome maxim for controversialists: "I have always been glad to hear reasonable objections to my own views, and have never examined them without good results." Again: "Ordinary persons have the childish habit of abusing wise men for errors in trifling and unessential matters." Some of the epigrams suggest Emerson, as for instance these: "The future world lies in the present; the present, made pregnant by the past, carries the future in its womb." "In the Middle Ages criticism was sunk in a well." "The philosophy of Descartes halted in the anteroom of truth." "As soon as one admits that God is possible, one must also admit that he is necessary." "We have a surer knowledge of God than of any thing outside ourselves." Finally, here is the whole theory of revelation in two lines: "All details on the subject are problematic; for God has revealed enough to warn us against the greatest calamity, but not enough to enable us to conceive it." The volume of Dr. Kirchner contains also a short life of the philosopher, the autobiography, a quaint and original production, and a chronological list of his writings.

Of the four leading German novelists, all but one, Paul Heyse, have this season presented the public with new volumes. In *Neue Dorfgeschichten* (Stuttgart, Cotta) Berthold Auerbach returns after thirty years to the subject and the characters by which he made and deserved his world-wide reputation, as a painter of rural German life. Like the first series, the second has also three "village tales." One of them has for hero an "American," the son of German emigrants. He returns to his father's native village to seek a German wife; and, like the true American that Auerbach constantly describes him, he makes his purpose known at once to all the old gossips and chattering girls of the place. The different candidates for his hand receive him in the most business-like fashion; and while the young people test their feelings for each other, the parents sit in the next room and await the result. After a week or two, he makes a choice, and the betrothal is celebrated to the satisfaction of the crowd collected outside, and to the music of "Yankee Doodle" performed by the village band. Can Auerbach seriously believe that a "true American," even the son of German parents, would fall so easily into the ways of Black Forest peasants? This singular error mars the effect of what is otherwise the best tale of the three; but all are alike full of the quaint simplicity, the almost pathetic realism, of which Auerbach is such a master. Frederic Spielhagen, the leading rival of Auerbach, takes his scene this time from the opposite side of German life—from Berlin, its society, politics, and speculation. In *Sturmfluth* (Leipsic, L. Stackmann), he treats the period of political and commercial inflation, which followed the late war and the milliards. He introduces, therefore, an old radical who fought behind the

barricades in 1848 ; a patrician general whose troops crushed the revolt, and a swindling stockbroker, son of the former. The heroine is Ferdinande, the daughter of the radical, and she is loved by Lieutenant Ottomar, son of the general. The evil spirit of the novel is an Italian, a compound of Iago and Monsieur Rigaud, a sly, subtle, treacherous man of the world ; and if he is not the first cause of the deluge, which in the end overtakes the characters, he is a potent influence throughout the work. The "deluge" is an extravagant finale, but worked up with very powerful dramatic effect. Gustave Freytag's great work, "*Die Ahnen*," is one volume richer, and has advanced one step farther. The reader will recollect that the plan of the learned author is, in a series of romances giving the fortunes of a single family through the centuries, to treat the chief characteristic events in the history of Germany. Thus the first sketch is in the fourth century, the next has to do with the conversion of the Germans to Christianity in the eighth century, the third treats the rise and power of the religious orders in the eleventh, the fourth is laid in the thirteenth, and has the crusades as subject. The present volume, *Marcus König* (Leipsic, S. Hirzel), covers the period of the Reformation, but the scene is laid in the old Duchy of Prussia, and the chief characters have to do with the famous Teutonic order. In *Marcus König*, the hero, a rich patrician, who supports Albert of Brandenburg in resisting the authority of Poland, one misses the etymological thread which had hitherto connected the heroes as members of a single family ; but the new volume is in no respect inferior to the others.

H. T.

BERLIN, June, 1877.

RECENT ITALIAN BOOKS.

PLAUTUS.—Few as are the pages of this little book,¹ they acquire importance when we remember the increased interest felt by philologists of the present day, especially Germans, for the language of Plautus, and this value is the greater because of the merit of Professor Stephano Grosso as a latinist. In Italy there still remains a good number of latinists who write the language with great elegance. Among these special mention ought to be made of Tommaso Vallauri of Turin, Michele Ferrucci of Pisa, Luigi Crisostomo Ferrucci of Florence, Filippo Guanciali of Naples, Diego Vitrioli of Calabria, Signor Vaccaro and Giuseppe de Spuchez of Palermo. Signor Paresi, who lately won the prize at Olanda for his fine poem entitled "*Hollandia*," and Captain Giuseppe Petriccioli of San Terenzio, near Spezzia, also deserve to be noticed. The author of the work we are reviewing occupies the chair of Greek and Latin in a lyceum in Milan. The learned Abbé has published his

¹ "Del Supplemento di Antonio Urceo Codro alla *Pentolinaria* di Plauto." *Lettera Critica* di Stefano Grosso. Milano : Civelli.

brief essay in the form of a letter respecting the famous Urceo Codro, the precursor of Politian. The former, in the time of the Renaissance, completed the *Aulularia* of Plautus by adding to it so as to restore the last scenes, which were wanting. The aim of del Grosso is chiefly to point out how much Urceo was at home in the diction of Plautus, and how expert he was in all the finer shading peculiar to the Latin tongue. Yet both del Grosso and Vallauri have, as they believe, discovered in him a tautological expression, not proper to good Latin, *i.e.*, *supra quam quod*.

THE ACADEMY DELLA CRUSCA.—The slight publicity given to the proceedings of the Accademia della Crusca¹ has done it much harm. True it is that in the past its proceedings could not, for the most part, be published, inasmuch as there were none of them, or because the academicians, happy and contented with the honor of their position, continued utterly inactive or merely directed their discussions to matters so trifling as to merit oblivion, and which, if published, would perhaps have incurred ridicule. But these last few years the affairs of the Accademia della Crusca have been going on in a little different fashion. The present academicians can not be called either the greatest geniuses or the greatest writers of Italy. Charged, however, with the preparation of a new, and that the fifth, edition, completely recast and corrected, of the great dictionary of the language, they are devoting themselves to the task with eminent zeal, and, it must also be said, with patient accuracy. This is proved by the first volumes that have seen the light, which bring the compilation down to *convicino*, and are composed according to the best critical method, if not always with a learning commensurate with the exceeding difficulty and importance of the undertaking, and by the volume published by the academician Tortoli in default of the new and larger vocabulary of the society. We have finally the report of proceedings just offered by Signor Cesare Guasti, secretary of the academy and director of the archives of Florence. Signor Guasti completes his report with full and appropriate obituary notices of the two members who died in 1876, Gino Capponi and Enrico Bindi. In the same volume will be found an excellent discourse on Michel Angelo, by Augusto Conti, the accomplished *arciconsulo*, or presiding officer of the academy. Father Alberto Guglielmotti contributes a memorial account of the renowned philologist Cardinal Angelo Mai, who died at Rome in 1854. This discourse is couched in a repulsive, rhetorical style, but overflows with facts respecting the illustrious discoverer and expounder of so many unedited Greek and Latin manuscripts.

AN ITALIAN WOMAN.—The author of "Demeter"² has taken a suggestion from a brief anecdote to be read in the American journals of 1873. A

¹ "Atti dell' Accademia della Crusca" (1875-1876). One volume, 216 pp., 8vo.

² "Demeter ; Saggio sull' Ideale femminile in Italia." Per Davide Levi, deputato Torino : Loescher.

German finds in New York a poor Italian woman exhausted with fatigue and hunger. With her are her two little children. He learns from her that she is from Calabria, and that she bade adieu to her native land in order to go in search of her three "bambini," who had been kidnapped and carried far from their home. She crosses countries unknown to her, the first among them Italy, her fatherland, and at last attains her object. Signor David Levi, a Piedmontese statesman and poet, thus prompted, has composed a work, half in prose, half in verse. The prose is an essay in history on the condition of Italian women from the earliest antiquity down to our own day. The verse relates the journey of the mother from her home in Calabria to the port of Genoa, where the luckless woman takes ship for America. We hasten to say that the verse is far superior to the prose. Signor Levi is a cultivated writer, who has read widely, but who has not much special, well-digested learning. Though writing history, he gives full rein to his fancy, has an eye to effect, is constantly on the look-out for scenes, pictures, and, contenting himself with strong, brilliant coloring, sometimes forgets to present the truth in a clear shape. While his learning is always at third or fourth hand, he turns it to account very cleverly, and sometimes the ideas he puts forth are at once just and elevated. But, however defective may be the prose of Signor Levi, his verse, varying in metre, is full of dramatic *momento* and of vigorous and well-colored lines. Maternal love assumes a genuine grandeur, and reveals itself in a literary form, foreign indeed, but of a singular poetical effectiveness.

HERODOTUS.—We have already had in this century four translations of Herodotus.¹ The one before us is the fourth, and will remain beyond comparison the best. The author, the Marchese Matteo Ricci, is one of the most accomplished hellenists of the Italy of to-day. A distinguished nobleman of Macerata, he married the daughter of Massimo d'Azeglio. To great skill in Greek, he adds very good taste in Italian composition. Hence his rendering of Herodotus remains faithful to the original, and is otherwise a success. Ricci adds, moreover, to each book very full and learned philological and historical notes. Some of these have grown into important little monographs, like the *excursus* which enhance the value of so many German works, and make them the favorites of students. The second volume, just published, contains the translation of the fourth, fifth, and sixth books. We hope soon to see the completion of the work with the three remaining books.

MORALITY AND POLITICS.—Signor Eugenio Corbetta,² as one of the Lombard deputies to the Italian parliament, has had means of gaining experience in political affairs and in administrative matters, has studied the history of our constitution, compared it with those of foreign countries, and in particu-

¹ "Delle Istorie di Herodoto, volgarizzamento con note di Matteo Ricci." Tomo secondo. Torino: Loescher.

² "Politica e Liberta di Eugenio Corbetta." Libri due. Milano: Brignola. Un vol. in 8vo, di 596 pp.

lar with that of England. After all these researches, pursued for his own pleasure, he has thought it high time to gather the ideas of others, which he has thus made his own, into a work destined to become a treatise on moral education for the use of statesmen of the present day. He insists more than is generally the case upon one good point, namely, the necessity of not severing morality from politics. He takes morality, indeed, in a somewhat wide sense. If the book gives proof of the reading, talent, and excellent intentions of its author, it is clearly wanting in literary art, and furthermore shows great confusion and indefiniteness in the political conceptions presented. A diction at once infelicitous and prolix can hardly lend much force to a book which aims to impart what the author has learned, but has failed first to assimilate.

ITALIAN CLASSICS.—A little work¹ by a worthy Tuscan teacher, aided by a distinguished Roman litterateur, might seem undeserving of the notice of foreign readers, as it aims to show Italians how to write their own language with greater purity. But yet it costs the same to gain a just conception as a false one, and a neat phrase as an awkward one; and even a foreigner might well be glad to have in his hands a book like this, of well-chosen examples teaching *ad evidentiam* that good writing is a frequent proof of clear reasoning, and that to say a thing well one must first see it distinctly. At all events, such a work as this must aid younger readers to comprehend our Italian classics, and to penetrate their secret beauties.

ART IN EUROPE.

MR. RUSKIN need be under no apprehension concerning any possible diminution of his celebrity, at least in the present generation, for something is always occurring to remind the world both of his existence and of his originality. Since the world began, there has never been an eminent writer who took his readers so frankly and fully into his confidence about his private affairs, and so every now and then he says something which attracts the attention of the general public as it reaches them through the medium of the newspapers. The last sensation of this kind has been created by a full account of Mr. Ruskin's money matters, published in *Fors Clavigera*. Here let me pause a moment to explain to some of your readers who may not happen to have seen the work, what *Fors Clavigera* is. It is a monthly periodical, entirely written by Mr. Ruskin, in the shape of a letter to the laborers and workmen of Great Britain, and published by Mr. Ruskin himself, through his agent, at tenpence a number. The writer, who is often very much by himself, and wants somebody to talk to, has got into the rather dangerous habit of talking to his subscribers, and, being entirely un-

¹ "Aiuto allo Studio della Lingua Italiana offerto agli Alunni delle Scuole Secondarie da Angiolina Bulgarini e Paolo Emilio Castagnola." Roma: Manzoni.

restrained by the friendly hints which a publisher will sometimes give (that is one of the great advantages of having a publisher), he readily becomes just as frank in clear print as other people are in the privacy of the most intimate conversation. It is certain that conversation must be intimate indeed before the speakers will tell each other what Mr. Ruskin tells every body who cares to read him.

I have known for some time that Mr. Ruskin's theories of political economy had so impressed their author with a sense of their beauty and necessity that he had applied them to his own affairs, and that one of his latest convictions was that a man ought to die poor. Nothing can be more opposed to our usual English theory, much believed in also by Americans, that the beauty of dying, and its blessed consolation, is the sweet assurance that we shall "cut up handsomely." "I shall die rich," said a Lancashire manufacturer to me, with the conviction that it was a beautiful end to look forward to. For Mr. Ruskin there will be no such bliss. Whatever may be said against his views, nobody can deny that they are more easily carried into practice than those of my manufacturing friend. To die poor is given to many; to die rich is the lot of a few. Even the rich man may die poor if he will only spend freely and be liberal beyond his income. This is what Mr. Ruskin has done and been. His father and mother left him £157,000 in hard cash, and a lot of property also in houses and lands, besides a valuable collection of pictures. Following the advice of wise business men, he invested one third of the cash in mortgages, whereby he lost £20,000. This seems to be the only loss of importance of a quite involuntary kind. A sum of £17,000 has been freely given to poor relations; another of £17,000 has been lent to a cousin, to whom the debt is also freely forgiven. Mr. Ruskin's gifts to Sheffield and Oxford have cost him £14,000. The rest of the cash has gradually disappeared by the familiar process of fixing expenditure above income, the annual expenditure being £5500, and kept steadily to that figure when the capital had been so reduced as no longer to yield that interest. The most curious thing is, that this year, 1877, is the last of Mr. Ruskin's existence as a rich man, so he allows himself a trifle of £3000 to be spent in amusement at Venice or elsewhere. He does not intend to commit suicide next December, but merely to invest money enough in the funds to bring him in a pound sterling per day, or a fraction less. He keeps his house, but gives most of his other properties away.

∴ This line of action has from the first been dictated by Mr. Ruskin's natural temper, which is not one of carelessness about money matters in the usual sense, but extravagance and generosity on principles of his own. Perhaps he may rather object to my word extravagance, since his expenditure has always been carefully restricted. Well, so it has, but to a sum considerably beyond what he could really afford, and the best proof of an extravagant disposition is this allowance of £3000 for mere amusement this year in Italy. I need hardly observe that a single man might amuse himself during a whole year in Italy for a fifth of that sum, seeing every thing, and living at the best hotels. I do not question Mr. Ruskin's right to do what he likes with his £3000,

especially after his gifts of much larger sums to others; but for a man who is to live on £1 a day during the rest of his existence, such a costly excursion is an odd apprenticeship to poverty. Again, Mr. Ruskin tells us that he spent £15,000 on his country house, which was certainly extravagant in proportion to his means. I think I have proved the extravagance; the generosity needs no proving. Mr. Ruskin, after a fashion of his own, is one of the most generous of men, and will still continue to be so, as he reserves his literary earnings for his charities. It seems very doubtful whether, before this voluntary acceptance of comparative poverty, Mr. Ruskin has fully realized its consequences. It may not matter so much now, but money was a wonderful help to him during his most productive years. It is a great thing to have capable assistants; to be able to withhold a volume until it is ripe; to be able to reject and destroy engravings which are not quite up to the mark. It is a great thing to have full leisure for the collection of materials, ample time and means for comfortable traveling, so that all the galleries of Europe are within a day or two of your writing-desk whenever you choose to visit them. Besides this, in a country like England a wealthy writer has a prestige which a poor one has not. The advantages which he has are very great, but people imagine them to be still greater, and have confidence in his superior opportunities for information. They are glad to think that he does not write for money, and so believe in his honesty. The general report exaggerates a rich man's means, and so gets him greater respect. Mr. Ruskin's fortune, before his own revelations, was estimated in London at half a million sterling, and his opinions came with the weight of all that gold behind them. His voluntary poverty will diminish his authority as a writer, not at all amongst really superior people, but with the vulgar, who are the majority. It is an odd coincidence that Mr. Ruskin's periodical publication should be called *Fortune, Keeper of the Keys* (*Fors Clavigera*), when we reflect with how little tenacity Fortune has kept the keys of his own treasury.

At the risk of making this letter all about Mr. Ruskin, I may add that he sells his own books now through an agent who lives in a country place, and only for ready money. Ten per cent is the allowance to the trade. Including this percentage, the price of the illustrated volumes is thirty shillings each, and that of the volumes without plates one pound. All this is done in obedience to the author's theories of political economy. The books are well bound in blue calf, yet dear nevertheless. Even the dearness is a matter of principle, as Mr. Ruskin objects to cheap books, forgetting that the difficulty of purchasing is variable when the price is not, being dependent always upon the means of the buyer. "I do not care," he says, "that any body should read my books who grudges me a doctor's fee per volume." Surely this is a wrong view of the subject. One man may be a great admirer of Mr. Ruskin and begrudge him nothing, yet simply not have the means to buy expensive books, whilst another may care very little about him, yet toss him a sovereign for the gratification of an evening's transient curiosity. For my part, I always

wish that the money question could be eliminated altogether, and books given for nothing to all who cared to have them.

It seems as if this letter were destined to be occupied entirely with money matters, for now I am going to talk about certain recent sales. Mr. Albert Grant's collection was sold in London at the end of April, and realized altogether £106,262—a large sum, no doubt, yet below the general expectation. It is perhaps quite as well that the enormous prices now given for pictures should pause within certain limits, and Mr. Grant's sale appears to indicate that these limits have been reached. Several important works showed a slight diminution in value, others a moderate increase, but those bounds from hundreds to thousands which have astonished the world in previous sales have been generally absent from this. I give in a tabular form a list of some pictures the prices of which have fluctuated more or less. This will enable your readers to judge of the present state of the English market.

Painter.	Title of Picture.	Present Price.	Price when last sold.
		£ s.	£ s.
J. Linnell, Sr.....	Milking-Time.....	1396 10	1150 00
	Balaam and the Angel.....	472 10	525 00
H. Wallis.....	The Death of Chatterton.....	157 10	273 00
	(A small study; not the celebrated picture.)		
Sir A. Calcott, R.A....	Classical Landscape.....	640 10	650 00
Sir D. Wilkie, R.A....	The Penny Wedding.....	357 00	730 00
H. O'Neil, A. R.A....	The Last Moments of Raffaele.....	1050 10	1102 10
A. Elmore, R. A.....	Life in Algiers.....	535 10	787 10
	The Nun.....	168 00	110 00
P. H. Calderon, R.A..	The Virgin's Bower.....	703 10	1029 00
W. Etty, R.A.....	Pluto carrying off Proserpine.....	745 10	1050 00
W. E. Frost.....	The Sea Cave.....	230 00	310 00
C. Stanfield, R.A....	Lago di Garda.....	1532 00	861 00
	The Moving of the Wreck.....	2687 10	2940 00
	The Eddystone Lighthouse.....	787 10	1039 10
	(A drop-scene in distemper which once belonged to Charles Dickens.)		
I. Israels.....	The First Sale.....	1050 00	787 10
E. M. Ward, R.A....	The Last Sleep of Argyle.....	945 00	840 00
	The Last Scene in the Life of Montrose.	840 00	840 00
W. Dyce, R.A.....	The Garden of Gethsemane.....	388 10	525 00
J. Phillip, R.A.....	The Scotch Baptism.....	1575 00	1845 00

From these instances the reader will at once perceive that, on the whole, the high-priced pictures have a tendency to decline, although there is an advance in some instances. On the other hand, artists who have become known within the last ten or fifteen years, and are receiving comparatively moderate prices, hold their own better than might have been expected. I should be glad to see this tendency to moderation confirmed in future sales, being firmly convinced that enormous prices do no good to art, but the contrary,

by concentrating in works by a few men, generally dead, an amount of wealth which might be the encouragement of many living ones. For example, I do not know what Landseer received from the Earl of Aberdeen for his picture of the Otter Hunt, painted when the artist was forty-two years old, and exhibited in 1844, but I know it must have been a moderate price. At Mr. Grant's sale this picture was an exception to the rule of moderation, being bought by Mr. Agnew for £5932 10s. Even here, however, there was some disappointment, for sanguine people, eager in predicting a sensation, expected it to run up to £10,000, like the stolen Gainsborough.

For the sake of comparison, your readers may perhaps like to see a few prices from the most recent French sale of importance. I will give them in English money, like the others. The pictures were sold lately, and were part of the Oppenheim Gallery :

Fortuny—Prayer (water-color)	£640
Isabey—Ceremony in the Church of Delft.....	1040
Marilhat—Ruins near Cairo.....	1160
Meissonier—The Sergeant's Portrait.....	4000
Meissonier— <i>Innocents et Malins</i>	3520
Meissonier—A Song.....	1960
Meissonier—A Warrior.....	1600
Meissonier—Ensign of a Civic Guard.....	1000
Meissonier—An Arquebusier.....	740
Troyon—Pasture.....	2480
Troyon—Animals Drinking.....	1044
Theodore Rousseau—Opening in a Forest.....	780

Meissonier has now passed almost as completely beyond the regions of discussion as the greatest of the old Dutchmen, who are his real ancestors, yet these are high prices. Such is the consequence of attaining perfection in a certain style, though it may not be a very elevated style. It is curious that French critics, who are so severe on some English artists for their love of finish and detail, should be unanimous in their approval of Meissonier's minuteness. The reason may be because he always contrives to preserve breadth. His color is not good; it is not colorist's color, but it is not crude. I know a very recent picture by him in which there are some objects supposed to have been painted a very crude green by the house-painter. Meissonier made us feel that they must have been painfully crude in nature, and yet in his picture they did no harm. I wonder if your readers know of an act of vandalism committed some time ago on a Meissonier in the Luxembourg Gallery, a small equestrian portrait of the late emperor. Somebody averse to Bonapartism has given a cut across the eye with a pen-knife. How absurd it is to take political hatred into a picture-gallery!

Your readers know perhaps that Sir Coutts Lindsay, an English amateur who has frequently exhibited at the Academy, has spent £100,000 in build-

ing a new public-gallery in London, to serve as a model of what exhibitions ought to be. Several of the conditions which I have long since desired to see applied to public collections are realized by Sir Coutts Lindsay. Pictures by one artist are kept together, well isolated from those of other painters, and sufficiently isolated from each other. There is great splendor of decorative accompaniment in the rooms: marble and alabaster pillars, gilding, decorative painting, even hangings, carpets, and consoles, after the fashion of a palace. Sir Coutts has the English taste for bright colors on the walls where pictures are to be hung, and he has it in the extreme, for he has used green and crimson boldly in preference to the quiet umber or maroon which a French amateur would have preferred. I certainly think that he is mistaken here, and that the quiet French taste is right. To my feeling the wall color, whatever it is, never ought to be bright enough to set up contention with the stronger parts of coloring in the pictures. The best ground is, to my feeling, old stamped leather, but, as that is too expensive, wall-papers may be substituted. There is ample choice now in wall-papers of a quiet kind, with some color and variety of device to relieve and please the eye, yet not enough of either to contend against the pictures.

You are aware, no doubt, that Gustave Doré has an exhibition all to himself in London, at 35 New Bond street. The wonder is, that this exhibition steadily continues to draw multitudes of spectators, although the principal picture in it has been there for years. They say that all the country people who come up to London make a point of seeing the Doré Gallery as one of the principal sights. Many of the London papers praise Doré's pictures quite enthusiastically, but I remember how one of the best writers on art in England called the gallery "that nefarious exhibition." There can be no doubt about Doré's power of moving the popular feeling, though he does not satisfy a fastidious, or even a highly cultivated taste. The principal picture in his gallery is "Christ leaving the Prætorium." The figure of Christ seemed to me well conceived, intensely sad, and full of dignity. In a canvas measuring 30 feet by 20 feet, and crowded with figures, the principal one was in great risk either of looking little or else of being overwhelmed; but Doré has managed to avoid these perils, and his Christ, though without much visible artifice, except a white garment and a clear space round him, at once claims and keeps the attention of the spectator. The picture was begun in 1867, and unfinished when the great war began, so it was rolled up in a metal cylinder and buried. On the conclusion of peace it was taken out, and continued till its completion at the end of 1871. I like it much better than its more recent companion, the "Entry into Jerusalem," which appeared at last year's Salon, and is now in the Doré Gallery in London. That picture is also 30 feet by 20 feet, and it contains about two hundred figures; but the arrangement is too obviously artificial (it reminds one of the drop-scene of a theatre), and the coloring is crude, especially in the unfortunate greens of the palm-branches which strew the foreground.

Doré paints on a needlessly large scale, so that even his own gallery

cannot show his pictures properly, whilst their defects are of course much more visible than they would have been in smaller works. I liked the "Neophyte," a young monk seated in the chapel of the monastery amongst old ones, and visibly scared by the future that lies before him. The stupid expressions of the old men's faces, and the as yet unsubdued, half-wild look of the young one, were powerfully rendered. This, however, is by no means a recent picture. I tried to persuade Doré long since to try his hand at etching, but he said that the wood-engravers were accustomed to him, and he to them, so he did not feel the need of a more direct method. Now, however, he has tried etching, and, curiously enough, in rather an elaborate manner, not at all what we might have expected; in fact, his style of etching emulates the merits of engraving. Let me say a word, in conclusion, for his painted landscapes, which are impressive and full of character, though not much made out as to detail. His expressions of Argyllshire and the Alps are sure to strike any one who knows both regions by their truth of character, though it might be difficult to recognize the places. The oddest thing about Doré's immense fecundity is that he does not seem to work fast, but he is very steadily industrious, and loses no time in dawdling over his work. He has finer powers for labor than any artist I ever knew, and keeps his health in spite of night-work and cigars.

P. G. H.

Pré Charmoy, par Autun, Saône et Loire, France.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

THERE are certain moral rights which are not recognized at present by the laws of different nations, and are therefore not enforceable in any judicial tribunal. Of this class of rights international copy-right is one. Frequent efforts have been made of late to procure a recognition of this right by the nations; but thus far little success has attended these efforts. The question has been agitated more recently and energetically in England than anywhere else. To say that because an author has procured a copy-right in one country he shall not have the privilege of procuring a similar exclusive right for the same work in another, seems to us contrary to all the principles of equity and justice. The arguments which have been advanced against international copy-right in this country have been addressed entirely to the selfishness of the community. It has been said that such a right would deprive our people largely of the advantage of cheap foreign literature, upon which they depend for their principal mental sustenance. This argument from expediency might be valid were it founded upon facts. The fact seems to be, that the very foreign works for which American publishers have paid the most have been sold as cheaply as those for which they paid nothing. We have no space to discuss the question of international copy-right in detail; but in general, we should say, that the practice in this or any other country of reprinting the works of foreign authors without compensation to them or their foreign representative is unjust and deplorable; that the effect of a uni-

form law of copy-right among nations, or a treaty providing for such a right among two or more nations, would be an act of international justice, while it would stimulate the authors of the countries concerned, and would not materially enhance the price of foreign books to the multitude, because publishers would find it to their interest to sell such books at a fair though much reduced profit. The opposition to international copy-right seems to us to be based upon false notions of public if not of private interest.

THE PARIS EXHIBITION of 1878 bids fair to be a great success, and it would be a misfortune for this country to fail of an adequate representation. At the forthcoming session of Congress an appropriation should be made, and a commission of an official and representative character should be provided for. The response which foreign nations gave to our Exhibition last year was remarkably cordial and worthy, considering the doubtful attitude of the United States Government toward the Exhibition. France has always been our natural "ally" in Europe, and now that it is a republic we ought to feel an especial interest in the success of endeavors which are intended to invest the present republican institutions in France with added lustre, and to show that magnificent exhibitions of the products of the skill and intelligence of the world can be successfully accomplished irrespective of the form of government. Still, the acceptance by the United States Government of the invitation to send official representatives to the Paris Exhibition need not be urged solely on the ground of international courtesy. A full and complete exhibition of American articles at Paris can not fail to enhance the reputation of this country in the eyes of Europe and the East. This can hardly be effected without Congressional action.

THE DIFFICULTY of forecasting events in Europe is now greater than at any time since the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war. The attitude of the neutral powers, while that of passivity at present, is not sufficiently well defined to warrant a prediction of the continuance of the *status in quo*. The position is one of extreme watchfulness on the part of England, Germany, and Austria, especially, of the movements of the contending powers. The future course of these neutral nations will be determined as the war progresses, as the designs of Russia are developed, and as success on the one side or the other advances or endangers the general interest of Europe. One thing seems to be quite certain—namely, that the final settlement of the conflict will be dictated by a conference of the leading nations like that at Paris after the Crimean war. In such a view the Eastern Question is likely to be a perpetually-recurring source of annoyance to Europe. It is not at all certain that the present war will *effectually* settle it.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES of neutrals in time of war have become matters of considerable importance on account of the conflict in the East. Notwithstanding the treaty of Washington, which, of course, binds only Great Britain and the United States, and the municipal laws of the several nations, which bind only their own citizens, there is much of uncertainty and obscurity in

the law of nations relating to neutrals. The Russian fleet was allowed to remain in New York harbor after the declaration of war between Russia and Turkey. It was allowed to receive supplies for a long voyage before it departed. The manufacture of arms and war supplies in the United States and their exportation to the belligerents are permitted by the government. The loss in case of seizure in course of transportation by either of the belligerents falls on the parties interested; but the United States Government incurs, it seems, no responsibility to the aggrieved belligerent. Publicists and philanthropists have endeavored, of late, to procure the recognition of a rule of international law prohibiting to citizens of neutrals the making of war loans, and the exportation of war supplies to either belligerent. But it seems difficult to procure the establishment of this principle in the present state of international sentiment, however desirable it might be on moral grounds.

THE EFFECT of the Eastern war upon American commerce, finance, and general industry has not been equal to the expectation of the public. So long as the war remains localized, the effects upon the United States will not be very considerable in any respect. The first stimulus was felt in the trade in agricultural products; but this was largely artificial and the result of speculation. Nevertheless the withdrawal of large bodies of men from employment in the grain fields of Eastern Europe, and the suspension of agricultural operations near the seat of war, must have a beneficial effect upon the American grain trade for a long time to come. The influence of any great disturbance in Europe is naturally, also, to encourage investments in United States securities, although the war loans negotiated there, at high rates of interest, have the opposite effect of keeping European capital at home. Should the present war become general, this latter influence might operate seriously to our injury; while, on the other hand, the increased demand for our products and manufactures would be highly advantageous. The material advantages of a great European war to the United States would have many corresponding disadvantages; while the miseries of the suffering nations ought to lead every one, irrespective of nationality or personal interest, to deprecate such a war and endeavor to prevent it.

THE POSTPONEMENT of the extra session of the United States Congress until October has been generally approved, partly because it would give the country a better chance to judge of the wisdom and success of the President's Southern policy, and partly because the extra session in summer would considerably disturb the tranquillity of the public, the comfort of the members of Congress and their friends, and lead to unnecessary agitation. The army appropriation will, however, be exhausted in a few days, and our soldiers will have to remain in service, trusting to the honor and sense of justice of the members of Congress. It appears that little change will be made in the condition of the army by this anomalous state of the military appropriations, except to put officers and men to the loss and inconvenience of borrowing money or having pay-warrants discounted.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW,

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THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1877.

THE COMMUNIST AND THE RAILWAY.

BY the light of flames at Pittsburg, we may see approaching a terrible trial for free institutions in this country. The Communist is here. In other lands he has forced property to prefer despotism to spoliation, and intelligent labor to prefer despotism to anarchy. By that route Cæsar came to Rome, and Napoleon brought order in his caissons to Paris, and to-day a President is really a Dictator because France remembers the Commune. The gaunt Communist has placed his foot on American soil, and already intelligent men are heard crying for a large standing army, and a noted capitalist offers \$1,000,000 for an Empire. This enemy of all civilized society touches the railway system, and, as if by magic, twenty thousand miles of rails cease to bear the commerce of a continent, two thousand millions of property are deprived of present value, half a million of workmen spend a week in voluntary or enforced idleness, manufacturing establishments close for want of materials, merchants wait in vain for goods, the United States is driven to send its heaviest domestic mails, by courtesy of foreign rulers, through the dominions of a foreign power, State and Federal governments gather quickly what armies they can, mayors and sheriffs not a few play the coward or the demagogue, ten cities listen to volleys of sharp shot, and Pittsburg stands by with sympathy while property worth eight millions is destroyed by the torches of a mob. If this is but the beginning, what will be the end?

Enemy of all government, Communism is most dangerous to free government. In every land the rich are the few. But a repub-

lic is government by the many. That form of government will wither and die like a girdled tree if the thousands who pay taxes get no protection from the millions who govern. Yet hatred of the rights of property has for years made insidious and not always unsuccessful war through forms of law. Not often have we seen its bludgeon and torch, so familiar in other lands, but in the thin disguise of inflation it still threatens the rights of all creditors and the honor of the government. Among its victories already won are the unequal taxation of banks, and the repudiation of many State, county, and municipal bonds. Disguised in Granger garb, it has attacked railway and other corporations by acts which missed confiscation of property only because they missed constitutional validity. By later laws, which courts sustain, losses have been inflicted the magnitude of which is yet unknown. All these are manifestations of the same desire of the many who are poor to plunder the few who are rich, which has appeared in the insurrection of Trades Unions. The methods differ. The repudiator and inflationist would rob creditors under color of law; the Trades Unionist, defying law, extorts by threats or force. The Granger, demanding cheaper rates, and the fireman, demanding higher wages than a railway can afford, are twins in spirit; though one seeks cheaper and the other more costly transportation, both assail rights of property for their personal advantage.

Western roads were mainly built to give value to Western farms. Transportation costs twenty cents per ton per mile by wagon, and one cent by rail; ten miles of distance saved, by completion of a railroad nearer to a farm, may add \$1.90 per ton to the value of crops, and double the value of the land. Careful comparison of increase of railroads with increase in value of farms in each State has proved that the roads built prior to 1873 in North-western States, whether worth any thing to stockholders or not, were worth a little less than \$100,000 per mile to the owners of adjacent farms. Hence counties and towns voted aid by the millions. Eastern capital, already largely invested in trunk lines, was glad to secure connections for them, with a view to future traffic. Two great forces were thus enlisted; the property-owners and laborers of the West lavishly voted bonds to make their lands more valuable; the railroads and capitalists of the East willingly took bonds and stock, built or aided roads, and involved themselves in heavy obligations by lease or guarantee.

Presently debts began to press Western towns and counties.

Was it ever as pleasant to pay the piper as to dance? Reduction of rates was not quite as rapid as hopeful men had expected. Those who had secured their roads began to grumble, to dispute validity of bonds, and to organize for class legislation. The farmer became a Granger. Repudiation of bonds amounting to many millions followed. Acts were passed which entirely ignored the right of the stockholder to hope for any return whatever for his investment. The Granger was a "toiler," while "bloated capitalists" made money without work. He turned Communist, and began spoliation. Capital took fright. Borrowing money, for corporations in any manner dependent upon Western honesty, became difficult in 1872, and well-nigh impossible after the Illinois act of May 2d, 1873, had been passed. The crash of September, essentially a railroad panic, was the immediate effect of Granger legislation, though due also to other causes. That the effects of the panic have been greatly extended, prolonged, and intensified by the communistic war upon capital at the West, no man can doubt. The amount of railway bonds defaulted now exceeds \$900,000,000; in many foreclosures, bonds exceeding \$250,000,000 have been made worthless or exchanged for new stock, but roads not yet foreclosed have bonds amounting to \$642,000,000 now in default. Exclusive of the two Pacific roads (Union and Central), the stock of railways amounts to \$2,157,000,000. But stock amounting to \$1,519,000,000, or more than two thirds of the whole, now yields no dividends.

Many roads at the East have been dragged down through their loans, investments, guarantees, or leases at the West. But exclusive of these, the losses occurring directly within the effect of Granger laws have been greatly disproportionate. Out of \$642,000,000 of bonds in default, \$342,145,876 are upon roads in ten North-western States and Dakota, and only \$300,000,000 on roads in all the other States and Territories. At the date of reports in Poor's last Manual, out of \$705,828,931 in stock of railways of the Granger States, only \$140,610,259 paid any dividends, while in other States and Territories, out of \$1,451,291,944 in stock, \$705,177,113 paid dividends. In the Granger States only 52 per cent of the bonds paid interest, and only 20 per cent of the stock paid any dividends. But in Ohio, which escaped the curse of communistic laws, 65 per cent of the bonds paid interest, and 58 per cent of the stock paid dividends. Out of 53 roads in Ohio, only 10 were in default and 18 paid dividends, but out of 232 roads in the other Western States 86 were in default and only 19 paid dividends. Moreover, of the 19 only 8 are

not leased roads, while it yield dividends to stock, whether earned or not, because they are leased. No one can say, in the presence of these facts, that the communistic laws of Western States have been void of effect.

The history of Trades Unions in the mines has been written in blood. It is not so attractive or unfamiliar that it should be here recounted. For the immediate purpose, it is enough to note that the enormous levies extorted from society by the Trades Unions in coal and iron mines, in furnaces, foundries, and rolling-mills, had for years borne very heavily upon the railways, swelled their expenses, and eaten up their earnings. It is true, the greatly enhanced cost of coal and iron was not wholly due to an artificial or enforced advance of wages. Some advance of wages was natural, when the demand for products was so great; some enhancement of cost was due to other causes. The monopolies of labor and of materials could not have been established or maintained, had there been free exchange with other countries. But the long and terribly costly strikes, of which some have involved great destruction of property, and the idleness for months of many thousand men besides the number, more than once exceeding 20,000, actually engaged, have not been without effect. Wages were secured for a time such as never were paid before, in this or any other land, for similar service. As long as "the basis" yielded champagne for the ordinary miner and silk for his wife, there was peace. If it did not yield to the satisfaction of an organized mob, assassinations multiplied, breakers and headings were burned, mines were flooded, and civilized society hid itself until "the basis" could be pushed up again. By methods not essentially different, the men of the furnace and mill took their turn in the spoliation of society. A few figures from records of the Iron and Steel Association show the change in yearly average cost of rails, ore, coal, and wages of labor in furnaces:

AVERAGE COST.	1859.	1860.	1861.	1871.	1872.	1873.
Iron Rails.....	\$49.37	\$48.00	\$42.37	\$70.37	\$85.12	\$80.00
Ore, per ton of Pig Iron.....	7.08	7.45	7.35	12.67	13.64	14.87
Coal, " " " " ".....	3.26	3.49	3.26	8.59	7.28	7.45
Labor, " " " " ".....	1.82	1.87	1.97	3.54	4.69	5.11

A large share of the increased cost of labor in mining coal, in mining iron ore, in smelting iron, and in rolling rails, was paid by

the railways, which consumed in building 35,000 miles of new road not less than 7,000,000 tons of iron in various forms, and in renewals of track, before the general use of steel rails, and in replacements of engines, cars, wheels, spikes, and other equipment, more than 1,250,000 tons of iron yearly at the close of this period. At the East, anthracite coal being used for fuel, another heavy tax was levied upon the railways by its increased cost. On each of the leading trunk roads the expense for fuel exceeds \$1,000,000 yearly, and recent events have shown that upon nearly 20,000,000 tons of anthracite sent to market yearly, consumers were compelled to pay fully \$40,000,000 more than the actual cost of mining and transporting. A part of this sum went to the operators and transporters of the coal combination, but another and probably a larger part to the "Molly Maguires," whose deeds have blackened the annals of Pennsylvania, and to the miners who profited by those deeds. In the end, too, society has to pay the cost of the long and destructive strikes, by which such prices for labor, coal, and iron were extorted—the cost of idle mines, furnaces, and mills, and of supporting all the men kept idle because others were on strike; the cost of machinery destroyed, and breakers burned, and mines flooded. Of all these burdens, a share, and not a small one, fell upon the railroads. If these losses, and the millions extorted every year by artificially-enhanced cost of coal, ore, labor, and iron, had not been added to expenses, but to yearly profits, the great railways would have been far more able to withstand the hard times, the loss of business, the decline in rates, and the unexampled competition to which they are now exposed from water routes, without a reduction of the wages of their employes. But so it always comes to pass; spoliation of capital always ends in loss to labor. The angry fireman, revolting against society, who welcomed at Reading the help of the blackened miner in a bloody struggle with the law, was too ignorant to know that the money taken from his wages had been extorted from the railroad and from society, year after year, through threats and force and midnight murders, by that same miner.

During eight years following the war, the building of 35,700 miles of new railway had created a demand for more than 100,000 competent operatives. At the same time, the rapid increase of traffic on the older roads made more men necessary; less than 20,000 freight-cars were in use in 1865 on the four leading trunk roads, but 47,439 were in use in 1873. The demand for men much more than doubled within eight years, and the man who had ever

fired an engine or turned a brake began to think himself a skilled laborer. Wages advanced rapidly; on the more important roads the opportunity to secure extra pay by extra work was constant; and promotion from lower to higher positions was rapid for all capable and reliable men. Very few workmen of other classes secured during these years as great an advance in wages as the railway employés, and it came when the average of wholesale prices was so rapidly declining that \$132 would purchase as much in May, 1873, as could have been purchased with \$184 in May, 1865. These were the benefits conferred upon employés in times of prosperity, and what return did they make? July recorded their answer. As soon as hard times came, they began to organize, threaten, and coerce, like other Communists, and men are now in jail for leading the riot on the Erie, who were paid \$1.12 per day in 1860, and \$2.36 per day for the same work in May last, and who swore to have blood before they would permit a reduction to \$2.13 per day—ninety per cent more than they received before the war.

The wildest statements have been made in extenuation of this strike. It is, therefore, well to place on record the wages actually offered by the companies and refused by the strikers, with the wages paid in former times for the same services. Before the war, firemen and brakemen had not been called "skilled laborers," and received about the wages paid to ordinary unskilled labor. But where special experience was valuable, and special aptitude was shown, higher wages were given. The usual rate was about \$30 per month, and for brakemen a little less. The wages paid to engineers varied, less widely, perhaps, than now, because the value of experience upon a particular road, or with particular engines, was not as well understood. Comparison of rates paid on eighteen roads shows that \$60 was the usual pay, and Mr. Arthur, head of the Brotherhood of Engineers, admits that this was then the average rate for engineers, and \$30 for firemen.

The wages actually paid daily on the Erie in 1860, according to a statement from officers of that road, compare thus with wages now paid by that road daily, and with the actual monthly average paid by the Pennsylvania in June, after the reduction:

	Engineers.	Firemen.	Brakemen.	Trackmen.
Erie, 1860.....	\$2 45	\$1 12	\$1 00	\$0 80
" 1877.....	3 60	2 13	1 80	1 12
Pennsylvania, passenger....	92 78	51 23	45 50	....
" freight.....	83 66	48 03	46 80	....

The increase is from 40 to 50 per cent for engineers, and from 60 to 90 per cent for firemen and brakemen. The following gives the wages paid since the reduction of rates on twenty leading roads, which employ more than 100,000 men. The distance required to be run as a day's work for engineers and firemen is stated wherever it is known. On the New York Central and Erie, and probably on nearly all the other roads, any man who chooses can run 150 miles instead of 100 per day, and obtain proportionate extra pay.

	MILES.	ENGINEERS.	FIREMEN.	BRAKEMEN.
New York Central.....	100	\$3 15	\$1 58	\$1 58
	150	4 72	2 37	1 90
Erie.....	100	3 60	2 13	1 80
	150	5 40	3 20	....
Pennsylvania.....	92	2 72	1 65	1 65
	117	3 20	1 80	1 80
Baltimore and Ohio.....	(Min.)	2 25	1 35	1 35
	(Max.)	2 93	1 58	1 58
Phil., Wilm. and B.....	(Min.)	....	1 56	1 56
	(Max.)	....	1 80	1 73
N. Y., N. H. and H.....	(Min.)	....	1 56	1 41
	(Max.)	....	1 71	....
New Jersey Central.....	(Pass.)	3 46	2 13	1 75
	(Freight.)	3 46	2 13	1 85
Del., L. and W.....	(Min.)	2 41	....	1 54
	(Max.)	3 46	1 73	1 75
Philadelphia and Erie.....	(Min.)	....	2 00	....
	(Max.)	....	2 50	....
Lake Shore.....	88	2 93	1 47	1 50
	104	3 64	....	....
Michigan Central.....	100	....	1 55	....
Pitts., Cin. and St. L.....	(Pass.)	....	1 40	....
	(Freight.)	....	1 80	1 57
" Vincennes div.....	(Pass.) 104	....	1 45	....
	(Freight.)	....	1 90	1 90
Bee Line.....	....	....	1 60	1 15
Ind., Bl. and W.....	....	....	1 50	....
Vandalia.....	78	....	1 32	1 35
	100	....	1 60	....
Indiana C. and Lafayette.....	113	....	2 07	2 37
Indiana, P. and Chicago.....	....	....	1 35	1 35
Chic., Burl. and Q.....	....	....	1 80	1 62
Michigan Southern.....	100	....	1 55	....
Chicago and Alton.....	(Min.)	3 30	2 00	....
	(Max.)	5 50	2 55	....
Average.		\$3 51	\$1 81	\$1 64

The average wages paid on all these roads amount, if the workman takes all his Sundays for himself, to \$91.26 per month for engineers, against \$63.70 in 1860 on the Erie, then and now one of the roads paying the highest wages; to \$47.06 for firemen, against

\$29.12 on the Erie in 1860, and to \$42.64 for brakemen, against \$26 on the Erie in 1860.

The question of prices necessarily enters here. The ascertained excess of wages, even since the reduction, over the wages paid before the war, is from 35 to 90 per cent; is it true that the prices of things necessary for the support of a family are still as much higher? Mr. Arthur, head of the Brotherhood of Engineers, asserts that it costs twice as much to live as it did before the war. Does he speak, after the habit of Communists, at random, regardless of facts, and zealous only to inflame his followers, or is it true?

The published quotations of prices, in every city in the country, show that the assertion is erroneous. In not a single city, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is the present average of prices twice as high, or even 35 per cent higher than in 1860. New York quotations by the *Journal of Commerce*, preserved for years before the war in official reports by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1863, and continued by that paper to this day, show that the average of prices in January was only about 6 per cent above the average of 1860, and nearly 20 per cent lower than in May, 1873, or May, 1874. Over fifty articles, quoted in 1860, are quoted now, including breadstuffs and provisions of different kinds, butter, cheese, sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, cotton, wool, leather, coal, iron, and tobacco, and others. The quantity of each article entering into commerce is approximately known, and therefore its relative importance in the general prices. If an engineer had bought precisely his proportion, per capita, of each article, on the 1st of May, 1860, expending \$61.55, or about one month's wages, a like quantity of each article would have cost him at New York, wholesale prices, on the 1st of January, 1877, only \$65.76, and yet his wages have advanced from \$60 to \$91.26 per month. The same quantities and articles which he could buy for \$81.43 in 1873, he could buy in January last for \$65.76, and yet we are told that men who lived comfortably and without complaint on \$100 in 1873 are utterly unable to live on \$90 in 1877, and are starving.

Meanwhile, what has been the condition of the railroads? They prospered before the war. Even until the panic they prospered, although they had greatly reduced the cost of transportation to the farmer of the West and to the consumer of the East. But since the panic, competition has been desperate. Transporters by water have provided boats and barges capable of moving freight at greatly reduced expense, and in numbers so far exceeding present require-

ments that the lowest rates ever known have been reached this year. The following are the average rates per bushel in May, 1860, and in the same month of later years, for transportation of wheat by lake from Chicago to Buffalo, and by canal from Buffalo to New York; in cents and mills:

	1860.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.
Lake.....	5.2	6.6	6.2	5.7	8.3	6.5	4.2	3.0	2.5	2.4
Canal.....	12.5	13.7	10.8	10.1	12.1	10.6	11.3	6.9	6.2	5.0
Total.....	17.7	20.3	17.0	15.8	20.4	17.1	15.5	9.9	8.7	7.4

Such is the competition which the railways have recently been forced to meet, and the effect upon their rates has been a loss of more than half the sum per ton per mile which they received in 1860. In that year the average rate for grain per 100 lbs. from Chicago to New York was 59 cents; in 1873 it was 55 cents; and during the past twelve months the average has been only 28 cents. Nor has the reduction been in grain rates only. The average receipts in cents and decimals for all freight per ton per mile, during each of the years named, on six roads which moved in 1860, and now move, a very large proportion of all freight between the West and the East have been as follows:

	1860.	1873.	1876.
New York Central.....	2.06	1.572	1.051
Lake Shore.....	2.02	1.335	.817
Michigan Central.....	1.97	1.57	1.03
Erie.....	1.84	1.453	1.09
Pennsylvania.....	2.06	1.415	.892
Pitts., Ft. W. and C.....	1.90	1.414	.928
Average of all.....	1.96	1.490	.968

These roads, not only on grain, and not only on through freight, but on all freight business done, have reduced their average charges per ton per mile more than fifty per cent since 1860, and more than one half of that reduction has been made within the past four years. On most of the other important roads the reduction has been fully as great. From 1860 to 1873, though expenses had increased from a specie to an inflated basis, and average prices from \$100 to \$132,

and though wholesale spoliation in mines and mills had raised the cost of coal from \$3.50 to \$7.45, and the cost of ore from \$7.45 to \$14.87, and the cost of rails from \$48 to \$85 per ton, and though the wages of firemen had been raised from \$1.12 to \$2.36 per day on the Erie, and the wages of brakemen from \$1 to \$2 per day, nevertheless the railroads reduced the average cost of transportation from \$1.96 in gold to \$1.49 in currency, per ton 100 miles. That service Communism repaid with long strikes in the mines, and with Granger laws and bankruptcy of many railroads at the West. And when the strongest roads had thus been seriously embarrassed, and unexampled competition by water had forced down the average receipts for freight by rail from \$1.96 in gold to less than 97 cents in currency, per ton 100 miles, then the firemen and brakemen seized the opportunity to repay the railroads and the country for raising their wages 100 per cent. The first effort to make them bear some small share of the economy which Granger laws, Trades Unionism in mines and mills, and water competition had forced upon the railroads, and which prolonged hard times had forced upon the whole country, was met by banded lawlessness, stoppage of business, and terrible destruction of property and life.

With the railroads, reduction of wages had become a matter of absolute necessity. The defaults prove it; the rates already quoted prove it; and of the roads chiefly affected by the strike four were bankrupt, the Erie, New Jersey Central, Ohio and Mississippi, and Marietta and Cincinnati; five have ceased paying dividends, the two Pennsylvania companies, the Lake Shore, Philadelphia and Reading, and Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western; and only two pay dividends, the New York Central and Baltimore and Ohio, and these have largely increased their debts. Operating 10,590 miles of road, these roads receive one third of the earnings of all roads in the country, but their condition since 1872 has changed thus:

	Gross Earnings.	Net Earnings.	Debts and Guarantees.	Interest and Rents.
Dividend-paying, 1872-3.....	\$44,820,049	\$17,036,440	\$48,414,564	\$2,305,626
" 1876-7... ..	43,077,824	17,343,796	74,555,711	6,004,346
Non-paying, 1872-3.....	119,055,671	38,428,584	263,243,774	22,241,751
" 1876-7.....	97,256,633	34,640,944	302,915,572	28,338,071
Eleven Roads, 1872-3.....	198,650,905	68,076,389	328,158,218	30,678,895
" " 1876-7.....	168,189,175	59,981,957	496,767,748	43,824,395

Every company in the list has lost in earnings, and increased its debts, and its yearly interest and rentals. In view of a loss of 4,400,000 bushels in shipments of grain before navigation began, and 13,000,000 bushels since that time, there was no prospect that the roads would do as well as they did in the Centennial year, and it certainly can not be said that the reduction of expenses was attempted too soon, or without strong reason. But, whether the reasons were good or not, the railways had the same right with respect to labor that every buyer has in a free market. If Jones has wheat or land to sell, has he any excuse for shooting persons who do not want it at his price?

The plea of the employés is, that they can not live upon the wages offered. It will presently be discovered that they are living, and that very few, if any, will voluntarily leave their places to obtain better wages elsewhere. There is to-day no other place on earth in which labor, requiring so little of training or intelligence, can earn as high wages as in the positions of fireman and brakeman on American railways. Communists have a favorite theory that "the world owes every man a living." To this pretext for indiscriminate pillage, there is always mentally added an unwritten clause—that the living which the world owes any man is that which suits his habits and tastes. Said a rioter, with a cigar in his mouth costing more than two loaves of bread, "We can not live on the wages offered, and may as well be shot as starve." If he preferred to hear his children cry for bread, while spending his money in other ways, did the world owe him something more for their food? Said another, "We have to run to Martinsburg, and get one meal there which costs us twenty-five cents, and leaves not enough from our daily wages to keep the family at home." But day after day, all over this broad land, when men quite as industrious and worthy go gayly to their work, thousands of little tin pails glisten in the morning sunlight. The children at home have bread, for the little pails are filled at something less than Martinsburg rates of cost. Our fathers did not starve, twenty years ago; though very many earned not more than a dollar a day, they yet contrived to save the nest-egg which has since made them independent. Our habits of living have changed very much more than the cost of living. The workman of to-day thinks that he "must have," if not his cigar, his beer, or a warm dinner at an eating-house, a great many other things which did not enter into the cost of living twenty years ago. We have a right to rejoice that there has been a change for the better

in the condition of laborers, but we have no right to rob the rich, or to make war upon society, because we can not get all our accustomed comforts in times of general distress. Perhaps no other class of workmen so greatly changed in habits of life as the railway employés during the eight years of their marvelous prosperity. Those who did not save, those who never looked for a stoppage of railway building, a shrinkage of railway profits, and an era of hard times for themselves, must pay the penalty precisely as capitalists who continued to stake their millions yearly in new roads, new mills, and new mines, are paying the penalty for their excess of hope.

It is true that retail prices and charges for board have not in all localities declined as much as the wholesale prices already quoted. In the main, this is because consumers are not yet willing to give up habits formed in extravagant times. Men who have not been forced by reduction of wages to curtail expenses do not in turn force retailers to reduce their charges. The force of gravitation as to retail prices is always upward. They never come down until they are forced down. Those who make a market by their custom, and those only, can force down retail prices by greater care in purchase, economy in living, or curtailment in wants. If they insist upon receiving high wages and paying high prices, long and costly strife may result. But the railways are not the better able to pay liberal wages, after the losses of July. In the end, necessities of employers must force wages downward, and then necessities of consumers will force down retail prices. A few thousand little tin pails, habitually used, would soon bring railroad eating-houses to a realizing sense of the situation.

The men who "can not live on the wages offered" must remember one fact: Other men can. The proof is, the strikers resorted to force. They did not say, "Find other men at those wages if you can;" they resolved: "We will not let other men take our places." That other men were ready and willing, if not prevented by force or fear, they knew. The confession is made whenever a shot is fired or a torch raised. It comes out, a damning confession of desire to rob other labor as well as employers, when the first threat is muttered, or the first hand lifted to pull a new man from his work. From the very beginning, the recent strike confessed that it was a crime against free labor. Thousands of men were idle, and anxious to work; the very object of the great insurrection was to rob them of the chance—to compel a submission before men out of work could get places. Had the strikers wives and children? So had the

men who wanted work. But the striker declared that he could not or would not live on the wages offered, and the other men could and would. It was the business of the striker to go elsewhere. He claimed to be fit for better wages, and to need better, and had no business to trample down men who did not need better. "There is always room at the top;" he who *can* earn better pay is the man whose duty it is to go and find it. But such is ever the spirit of the Communistic Trades Union. It begins, in all lands, by resolving, "We can not get up; therefore others shall not get up." It is not only a crime against others, but a crime against self—an abdication of the just ambition of every decent workman to better himself, either by gathering property, and lifting himself out of the ranks of the mere wage-earners, or at least by improving his position and gaining better wages or a more steady employment than others through industry and intelligence. Each member consents that the necessities of the poorest workmen, or the wants of the least thrifty, shall fix his own destiny. Each surrenders the hope and even the desire of winning a place by merit, and chooses to extort a place by force, and by force to keep down others. Crime against self, crime against free labor, crime against society, crime against property—such is the Communistic Trades Union. By its fruits we know it at last.

This has been the work of the Communistic associations with respect to railway transportation. Like all conspiracies to defeat natural laws, these associations prove mutually destructive and self-destructive. The miner wanted a large demand for coal and iron, and helped to destroy that demand, and to make transportation more costly for the farmer and wages lower for the fireman. The Granger wanted more roads and cheaper transportation, and helped to arrest the building of roads, bringing harm to himself, the miner, and the fireman. The fireman wanted more railroads, and larger shipments by rail at rates permitting full wages for himself. He has helped to push many railroads into the gulf of bankruptcy, and compelled others to economize the more to make good property destroyed, and thus has prevented the vigorous competition for the grain traffic which was about to be renewed. The results will be fewer trains and lower wages for firemen, smaller consumption of coal and iron for miners, and more costly transportation for farmers. Nature does not wait for tardy human laws to punish those who try to cut each other's throats.

The right of any workman, or body of workmen, to cease work

whenever their wages do not suit them is not questioned. Nor can the right of the employer be questioned to cease the payment of wages which do not suit him. Either has a right to appeal to a free labor-market for the settlement of a dispute. If the one can get higher wages or the other cheaper labor, he has the right, and it is robbery to prevent him by intimidation or force. But it is the very nature of Trades Unions, and their chief object, to destroy, if they can, the freedom of the market. They intimidate workmen, intimidate employers, threaten rights of property, excite ignorant men, and lift that flag of insurrection against society around which the brutal, lawless, and desperate always rally. The first step is an attempt to rob an employer of that free market to which he has a right, and of the money which such a market would enable him to save. The next is always an assault upon laborers who offer to do the work desired—a robbery of their rights, and of the money which they wish to earn for families in want. Hot words usually end in hot deeds. The consciousness of wrong-doing prompts the doing of greater wrong to escape defeat and loss. The first act of violence is apt to be resented by justly-indignant employers and free workmen. Thus by sure steps the conspiracy against rights of property and the freedom of labor ends in an appeal to the bludgeon, the torch, or the assassin's bullet. The unions are not guiltless when those who burn and kill are not members. Every attempt to deprive employers or other laborers of their rights is an act of war against civilized society, and it summons all desperate and abandoned creatures to join those who defy the laws. The firemen who resolved, "We intend no violence, but shall not let other men take our places," virtually invited every law-breaker to assist them in a riot, and made themselves responsible for every torch that was brandished, and every shot that was fired.

What shall be done? That local governments, as now constituted, are utterly incompetent to deal with the spirit of Communism has been proved by shameful events. Our free institutions will be destroyed by that spirit, if unchecked, but not less surely by a centralization of power to prevent Communistic laws, and suppress Communistic societies. It is a significant and startling event that a prominent statesman, and the dominant party in one of the largest States, formally propose as a remedy the virtual control of railways by the Federal Government. Does any man seriously believe that four thousand millions of property, with revenues of five hundred millions yearly, in the hands of men who already

make and unmake Senators and Representatives in many States, can be controlled by a free government? It would be simpler to elect Colonel Scott perpetual President of the United States with powers of dictator. If ever the United States makes it necessary for railway property and railway managers either to control the Government or be controlled by it, the end is sure. The necessity of self-protection against the Communistic spirit in Congress will band together instantly all railway owners and managers, not to resist but to "run" the Government. Four thousand millions will never be owned by two hundred men who think back-pay and mileage "an object," and vote themselves tooth-picks and the franking privilege. We shall surely escape Communism, in that case, because we shall surely take Despotism as better. That another alternative than this may be found, and one not pregnant with destruction of free institutions in either event, must be the hope of patriotic citizens.

TO CHARLES TENNYSON TURNER.

I.

*ON THE NEW CHURCH SPIRE AT GRASBY, IN CONNECTION WITH THE POETRY OF
CHARLES TENNYSON TURNER.*

GRACEFUL it rises on the green hill-side,
That fair white spire, and points men to the sky,
A silent preacher to the casual eye
O'er field and wold and woodland far and wide.
Though but of yesterday, it will abide
While centuries, like the summer clouds, flit by:
A landmark, it will lift its head on high,
From age to age the hamlet's crown and pride.
Meanwhile another structure not of stone,
A life-work built of pure and lofty rhyme,
Beneath the shadow of that spire has grown
To lend its beauty to the aftertime;
When Grasby shall assert its kindred claim
With cherished Grasmere to poetic fame.

II.

TO MRS. CHARLES TENNYSON TURNER.

O "LADY," art thou not "elect"—to stand
And daily minister to one so dear,
Who, with his sweet-toned Muse, has won the ear
Of many a loving listener through the land:
Whose Sonnet-lyre, touched with a cunning hand,
Has wakened dulcet echoes, soft and clear,
Destined to wander on from year to year,
Nor ever fail "fit audience" to command.
Well may it all thy pious care engage
Our fragile Songster to defend from harm,
And keep him prisoner in his mortal cage:
That still with measured music he may charm
The cultured sense, till seasonable age
Lays his tired head on an Almighty arm!

THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS.

THE subject of this article has been the theme of more discussion in this and other countries than any other similar topic for upwards of a hundred years. This has been owing partly to the merits of the productions, and partly to the uncertainty of the identity of the author. It is now more than a century since a series of communications, published in the London *Public Advertiser*, over the signature of Junius, produced an unexampled sensation upon the popular mind in England. They brought upon Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall, the editor of the journal in which they appeared, severe punishment for their publication. The power and effect of the letters, however, were not lessened by this result, nor by other equally strong efforts of a corrupt administration to arrest the hand by which the principles and doctrines inculcated by them were penned. The work of the Unknown writer went on. The magic power of the unseen hand aroused the masses to a due appreciation of the perils which threatened their liberties from insidious departures from the principles of *Magna Charta*. The public sentiment of the kingdom was stirred to its lowest depth. The ministry were compelled to change their internal policy in many of its most obnoxious features, and it is not deemed as venturing too far to affirm that to Junius more than to any other man of his day is Great Britain indebted for the rescue of her Constitution from the attempts then made for its overthrow by undermining the foundation principles upon which it rested. Principles, precepts, and doctrines which accomplished so much for the benefit of mankind in the eighteenth century may well be kept alive by the sentinels and devotees of liberty for all ages to come. The fashion of late years, and more especially of British writers north of the Tweed, has clearly indicated a disposition to underrate the full merits of the writings of Junius, and to ignore, to a great extent, the full measure of their accomplishment. This is partly done by attempting to establish their authorship upon some inferior person, in order that the old inference may follow, that nothing good can come out of Nazareth.

It is also partly done by representing the chief merit of the letters to consist in their pointed style of invective, and characterizing some of them not only as unjustly abusive, but personally scurrilous. This was certainly the object of Lords Brougham and Macaulay in what they wrote upon the subject; and in their attempts to fix the authorship upon one who, at the time, filled the chief clerkship in the War Department, but who afterwards, by knighthood, was known as Sir Philip Francis. It is the object of this article not only to arraign for condemnation the most wayward fashion referred to, but to vindicate the character of these celebrated letters from any such aspersions, and their authorship from any such hypothesis. The great truths proclaimed by Junius, whoever he may have been, as well as the style and earnestness with which they were enforced, constitute lessons which statesmen in all ages, climes, and countries may profit by studying. In them are to be found not only the best model of the purest English and the most elegant forms of expression, but the embodiment of the soundest political doctrines and loftiest patriotism, inspired by the most dauntless spirit, to be met with anywhere in English history. It is not too extravagant to affirm that neither Chatham, in his grandest bursts of oratory, nor Burke, with all the power and grace of his pen, has left any thing superior to the writings of Junius, in force of thought, eloquence of expression, or devotion to country. Apart from the general official corruption of the day, the questions which mainly aroused Junius in 1769 and kept him on the public arena until 1772 were those gross abuses of power by the British ministry which attended their studied attacks upon the liberty of the Press—upon the rights of juries to judge of the law as well as the facts in all criminal prosecutions—and upon the equally glaring violation of public right in fixing an unconstitutional disability to hold a seat in the House of Commons upon a member duly returned thereto by the proper electors. It was upon these three questions chiefly that Junius's powers were exhibited; and upon them his achievements were certainly sufficient to fill to the brim any man's fame, however high may have been the aspirations of his ambition. Within three years the Ministry were compelled to let go their usurpatory grasp of power in all these particulars. The liberty of the Press was vindicated and re-established. In the matter of the right of juries to judge of the law as well as the facts in criminal prosecutions, Mansfield, with shame, was brought to retract his former doctrines and reverse a former judgment, under the power

of truth, wielded by the pen of Junius. The House of Commons was driven from its usurpation of the rights of electors. Even Wilkes, who had been repeatedly denied his seat in that body because of the disability so flagitiously attempted to be fixed upon him, was finally admitted without contest; and the unconstitutional disability was ultimately expunged from the journals of the House. Such were the triumphs of popular rights in those days under this great Unknown leader. Reference in this article is of course made to those letters only which Junius himself avowed, compiled, and published in book form in 1772, with a dedication to the English nation. This restriction justice to the author requires to be made, because in those days there were doubtless many spurious Juniuses, as there were, at another period, many false Christs; and because many anonymous letters appeared in the same and other journals, about the same time and subsequently, which have been attributed to Junius without proper authority, and from which most unjustifiable attempts have been made to detract from the merits of those which alone should be considered genuine. One object of the author in collecting, publishing, and dedicating his own letters as he did was, doubtless, to exclude those spurious ones which had been erroneously attributed to him. The real Junius, to be judged fairly, should be held responsible for style or matter in those letters only which appear in the volume published by his authority. In reference to the criticism that several of the acknowledged genuine letters are scurrilous in their personal attacks, a few words here will suffice. That several of these do contain expressions which were scathing, scorching, and of a character to cause the subjects of them to writhe under their burning influence, is readily admitted. But does this justly subject them to the condemnation of the outpourings of a malevolent heart? Is it evidence of malevolence to characterize crime by its true name? Truth is, indeed, a terrible probe, which often has to be used by the most humane as well as sympathetic surgeon, if he would save his patient, however much the patient may suffer and writhe under the needful operation. Men high in authority in England at that time, not excepting the king, needed such a probe and such a political surgeon. Malice or personal ill-will by no means necessarily attends the strongest or most indignant condemnation of public acts or measures. What stronger or harsher words were ever used than those uttered by the Purifier of the Temple of Religion in his denunciations against its defilers, when he hesitated not to characterize them as "hypocrites" and

“robbers of widows’ houses,” and likened them to “whited sepulchres, filled with dead men’s bones,” and who proclaimed that for such and other iniquities they should “receive the greater damnation;” and who also declared that these deceivers of the people, “after compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, made him two-fold more the child of hell than themselves”? Do these words, in themselves, in their due connection, and with their proper reference, imply either personal ill-will or general malevolence? Can any one suppose that the Great Melchisedek, with all the infirmities of human nature upon him, save sin, was influenced in these utterances by malice or hate? Was it not rather from the consciousness that the salvation of a world depended upon the announcement of truths, however condemnatory they might be of the conduct of men in authority, however high their places? May it not, with all due reverence, be asked if there is a single sentence in Junius harsher in its denunciations, or one, taken in its proper connection, which breathes a spirit of more malevolence than those referred to in the sacred text? In all such matters the spirit which prompts the invective or denunciation is not to be judged of alone by the language used, but by the surroundings, and the facts upon which it rests its justification. Could the Redeemer of Mankind have been moved by any thing akin to malevolence, or hate, or factious spite against the Scribes and Pharisees of his day? Was he not rather moved by the profoundest feelings of compassion for them, mingled with the most earnest desire to save them by these strongest utterances of truth? In Junius’s letters to the Dukes of Grafton and Bedford, which have been most complained of in this respect, there is nothing which is inconsistent with a like spirit. The same may be said of his letters to Lord Mansfield, and even the one to the King, for the publication of which Woodfall was made to suffer so severely. In the last-mentioned—the one to the King—from the beginning to the end there is nothing more conspicuous than an earnest desire of a true Briton to arouse in the breast of the occupant of the Throne a sense of his high duty to call about him such counselors as would aid him in preserving, instead of destroying, the liberties of his country. The whole of this, as well as of all his Letters, bears the indisputable marks of emanations from the head and heart of one elevated high above the sphere of those who join in factious struggle for bare place and power or the emoluments of office—one thoroughly devoted to the principles of the British Constitution and the preservation of the

liberties of his country under it. So much, at this time, upon the merits and achievements, as well as the style of Junius.

Who this great Unknown writer was, that wielded so potent a pen, with a power which so electrified the entire masses of the kingdom, was the greatest and most bewildering mystery of that day. Every effort was made to discover him, but without the slightest success. It was not until nearly half a century after the accomplishment of his work and the dedication of his writings, with his published declaration that he was "the sole depository of his own secret," and that it should "perish with him," that the first attempt was regularly made, with collected *data* and assumed pretensions of having raised the mask and exposed the personal identity of the people's idol. This was by a Mr. Taylor, who published a book in London, in 1816, entitled "Junius Identified." His object was to show that Sir Philip Francis, then living, was the author. On the question of identity it is not the purpose of this article to show who Junius was, but to show who he could not have been. Upon this line some considerations must never be lost sight of. These embrace certain essential requisites of character which must have been possessed by any one whose claims to the authorship are set up and urged from any quarter whatsoever. The true Junius, when discovered, must fit the outlines of that individuality and position which are unmistakably stamped upon his writings. The real author of these productions, for instance, must have been a man of wealth, or with pecuniary resources placing him far above all dependence on subordinate official service for means of support, as clearly appears from his private correspondence with Woodfall, who was imprisoned for publishing the Letters, and from his surrender to him of his entire copy-right interest in the subsequent publication of them in book form in 1772. His vast learning and extensive general information very unmistakably appear throughout his productions. He must have been a man of leisure as well as of fortune and culture. He was a Briton to the core, and unsurpassed in his devotion to the liberties of his country as secured in *Magna Charta*. Intellectually, he certainly had no superior at the time in England. This is clear from the manner in which he disposed of Blackstone in the case of the Middlesex election, and of Mansfield on the rights of juries in all criminal cases whatsoever to be the sole judges of the law as well as the facts. All these conditions, qualities, and essential requisites to fit the true character (to say nothing of others) should be ever borne in mind when the ques-

tion of the identity of Junius is raised. The first of his feats which thoroughly attracted the attention of the leading minds of the country, and started an anxious inquiry in the circles of the most intellectual as to who he could be, was the one in which he so completely floored Blackstone on a question of parliamentary law. This most learned commentator on the general laws of England, as well as the laws governing both Houses of Parliament, was then a member of the Commons, and, siding with the Ministry, justified the action of the House in the exclusion of Wilkes because of his alleged disability, and the seating of Luttrell, the minority candidate, who was put up by the minions of the Ministry. The comments of Junius upon this learned Judge's position called forth from him a reply, in pamphlet form, to his anonymous assailant, which cost him some time, as well as labor, to prepare, in which he cited the celebrated case of Walpole as a precedent in point. Only a few days passed before his harassing and unknown assailant was again upon him, through the columns of the *Advertiser*, utterly demolishing the shelter under which the learned commentator had sought refuge, and showing, with unanswerable clearness, that the precedent cited, so far from sustaining the position for which it had been brought forth, most clearly left it without the slightest ground to stand upon.

Walpole had been declared to be ineligible to the same House from which he had been expelled for high crimes and misdemeanors, but his minority competitor had not been voted in on the ground that the votes cast for him were null and void because of his ineligibility. The great right of suffrage had not been so outraged. The election had been referred back to the people. Sir William Blackstone, in quoting only a part of this record in this precedent cited by him had doubtless misled many of the ablest lawyers in the kingdom. He seemed really to be misled by it himself, for he asserted with confidence that he would meet Junius on his own ground with a case directly in point. But when Junius came back so quickly with his extinguisher of the learned commentator and his precedent directly in point, all England was aroused in wonder and amazement as to who this man could be, who had thus, with two thrusts, thoroughly harpooned the acknowledged whale of the British law, and sent him spouting cascades of his own blood instead of those of the briny element of his usual sport.

This reply of Junius to Blackstone must have taken even Camden and Chatham by surprise. Neither of them could have been

aware of the historic facts brought out by Junius. Chatham had discussed the question in the House of Lords with great vehemence and eloquence. He had said, in speaking of the action of the Commons in voting out Wilkes and voting in Luttrell, as they had done, that "a breach has been made in the Constitution; the battlements are dismantled; the citadel is open to the first invader; the walls totter. What remains, then, but for us to stand foremost in the breach, to repair or perish in it?" But he had not exposed the precedent by which the defenders of the Ministry attempted to justify the monstrous deed! It was after this was done by the hand of the great Unknown correspondent of the *Public Advertiser*, that Burke, in the House, exclaimed, "How comes this Junius to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrolled, unpunished, through the land? The myrmidons of the Court have been long, and are still, pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or you, or you! No, they disdain such vermin when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broken through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one than he lays another dead at his feet. For my part, when I saw his attack upon the King, I own my blood ran cold. . . . Kings, Lords, and Commons are but the sport of his fury. Were he a member of this House, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigor. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises nor threats induce him to conceal any thing from the public."

Now, on the point of personal identity, may not the question in this connection be most pertinently put—Is it probable that any one filling a clerkship in any of the departments of government could have been possessed of such extraordinary powers as Burke here recognized in Junius, and such as he exhibited throughout his whole career? Could Philip Francis, clerk, have overmatched Mansfield and Blackstone on questions of law? Isn't the supposition utterly untenable upon rational principles? Is it not even preposterous? It is true the greatest intellects often rise and develop from the humblest walks and most subordinate positions. As eaglets, however, they not only burst the shell, but quit the nest when they are fitted for that higher sphere in which they were made to move. Genius never fails to occupy its proper place in due time. It

is upon record, notwithstanding, that both Lord Brougham and Lord Macaulay have expressed very decided opinions in favor of such an hypothesis, and have declared their belief that those celebrated letters were written by Philip Francis, who, at the time, was chief clerk in the war office, and who was afterwards sent out with Hastings to India, and who, after his return, was knighted as Sir Philip. Macaulay's reasons for this opinion deserve to be particularly noticed, especially as they have controlled the opinions of so many thousands in Great Britain and, perhaps, in this and other countries. They are as follows—presented in full, as they appear in his article on Hastings:

“The ablest of the new Councillors was, beyond all doubt, Philip Francis. His acknowledged compositions proved that he possessed considerable eloquence and information. Several years passed in the public offices had formed him to habits of business. His enemies had never denied that he had a fearless and manly spirit, and his friends, we are afraid, must acknowledge that his estimate of himself was extravagantly high, that his temper was irritable, that his deportment was often rude and petulant, and that his hatred was of intense bitterness and long duration. It is scarcely possible to mention this eminent man without adverting, for a moment, to the question which his name at once suggests to every mind. Was he the author of the Letters of Junius? Our own firm belief is, that he was. The external evidence is, we think, such as would support a verdict in a civil, nay, in a criminal proceeding. The handwriting of Junius is the very peculiar handwriting of Francis, slightly disguised. As to the position, pursuits, and connections of Junius, the following are the most important facts which can be considered as clearly proved: First, that he was acquainted with the technical forms of the Secretary of State's office; secondly, that he was intimately acquainted with the business of the war office; thirdly, that he, during the year 1770, attended debates in the House of Lords, and took notes of speeches, particularly of the speeches of Lord Chatham; fourthly, that he bitterly resented the appointment of Mr. Chamier to the place of Deputy Secretary of War; fifthly, that he was bound by some strong tie to the first Lord Holland. Now, Francis passed some years in the Secretary of State's office. He was subsequently chief clerk of the war office. He repeatedly mentioned that he had himself, in 1770, heard Lord Chatham, and some of those speeches were actually printed from his notes. He resigned his clerkship at the war office from resentment at the appointment of Mr. Chamier. It was by Lord Holland that he was first introduced into the public service. Now here are five marks, all of which ought to be found in Junius. They are all five found in Francis. We do not believe that more than two of them can be found in any other person whatever. If this argument does not settle the question, there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence.”

Did ever a *non sequitur* more aptly apply to any claimed logical conclusion from circumstantial evidence? The argument is: Because circumstances fit a certain hypothesis in five points, and fit no other suggested hypothesis in more than two, therefore the

question is settled by a majority of the points of the agreement as an election is determined by a majority of votes polled; and this conclusion is to follow, notwithstanding facts are known to exist clearly showing a total want of fitness on many other points. Who ever heard of such a rule of reasoning on circumstantial evidence? This kind of evidence is, indeed, of the highest order and strongest character, and most inexorable in its logical exactions when the fitness on all points that can be suggested is perfect, but no rational conclusion can be drawn from it if the fitness fails on any one essential point, however numerous may be those on which the agreement is established, whether they be five or five hundred, or any other number. The chain, to be binding, must be wanting in not a single link. No conclusion can be logically drawn in such cases where the established facts do not fit the hypothesis in every conceivable point. If Francis's position in the war office did enable him to bring important information to light from that quarter, how did this enable him to be equally familiar with every other department of the government, foreign as well as domestic, and to deal with the general political lore of his country with a correctness and an ability unsurpassed by Coke, Sidney, or Locke?

The remark of Lord Macaulay that, if the argument presented by him in this case does not settle the question of the identity of Junius, "there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence," is saved from contempt only by the source from which it comes. The same may be said of his remarks on what he calls the internal evidences which are derived from a comparison of the spirit and tone of the letters of Junius with those of Sir Philip Francis. These remarks it is unnecessary to quote at large, for they are founded entirely upon his assumption that Junius was influenced by hate and private revenge, which caused him to indulge in a "savage brutality" in his assaults upon personal character. In this he assumes there is a fitness on one of the five points in his hypothesis. This point has been already commented on, as far as concerns Junius. Nothing need be added to what has already been said upon it. Lord Macaulay, as well as Lord Brougham, had particular reasons, which need not be stated, for a strong personal disrelish of some of the sentiments of Junius. This, of itself, may account for their readiness to weaken the force of his doctrines by attributing them to an inferior personage, who may have been known to be of irritable temper, resentful and spiteful, though possessed of considerable talent. Now in reference to

Lord Macaulay's hypothesis and five points, showing that Sir Philip Francis was the author of Junius, a few remarks only may be submitted.

The first is, that no historic facts are better settled than that Sir Philip was still living when Taylor's publication was first made, pointing him out as "Junius Identified," and lived for upwards of twenty years afterwards—many years after Brougham's announcement of his belief that he was the author; and yet he who had now become knighted, and who was unquestionably a man of marked ability for one of his rank, and whose character for courage, honor, and truth was unsullied, not only denied to the day of his death the authorship of these letters, but on several occasions evinced a feeling of indignation at the imputation that he was. Secondly, if Sir Philip Francis did write the letters of Junius, then he must be regarded as one among the basest and meanest of mankind; for at the time he must have been writing them, he was being fed by the very ministry against whom his thunders were hurled. He was then chief clerk at the war office. How does this point fit the hypothesis? Nay, more, he first got a situation in that office through the influence of Mr. Ellis, then at the head of it—not Lord Holland—and yet, this Mr. Ellis, his great patron, is the same man upon whose conduct on the presentation of the petition of the suffragans of London in the case of the Middlesex election, Junius so scathingly comments in one of his ablest letters. How does this point fit the hypothesis? What is meaner or baser than insidiously to strike the hand of one from whom daily sustenance, with honorable position, is received and enjoyed? Can any man suppose that Philip Francis would have acted such a part? What motive could he have had in doing it? Some spirits may be low and mean enough, under the pressure of want, to exhibit such acts of ingratitude when bread is their object. This could not have been his, for he was then furnished means of subsistence through the kindness of the very parties he was assailing, and their displacement from power would have defeated the ends aimed at by his debasement. Moreover, after Sir Philip came back from India, and was returned as a member of the House of Commons, in 1783, he took occasion to express his profound acknowledgments of gratitude to Mr. Ellis as one of his earliest patrons and benefactors, for whom he had ever cherished sentiments of the highest personal esteem and regard as well as equal admiration for his public character. These facts, without mentioning numerous others that might be stated,

are quite sufficient to outweigh all of Macaulay's five points in settling the question as to Sir Philip Francis being the author of Junius. Junius could not have been a *base* man. Neither can it be supposed, without proof, that Sir Philip Francis was one. Another remark in passing may be here made, which is, that no one of the numerous writers who have attempted to identify Francis with Junius, from Taylor to Brougham, from Brougham to Macaulay; and from Macaulay to Twisleton (with his expert in handwriting), were friendly to the doctrines and sentiments of Junius. Hence all their arguments should be the more closely scanned, and their deductions the more closely watched. The same remark is applicable to a most notable article published in the *London Quarterly Review* in December, 1851, fixing, as the writer attempted, the authorship upon Thomas Lyttleton, son of Lord George Lyttleton, who was in the House of Peers at the time Junius figured. This reviewer, like the other parties named, was no friend to the principles inculcated by Junius, and entertained a very different estimate of his character as a political writer and teacher from that to which he was certainly entitled; yet he most unquestionably makes out a much stronger case for the junior Lyttleton hypothesis than has ever been made out for Francis or any body else. Two facts only in support of the Lyttleton hypothesis will here be mentioned. First, the fact that the younger Lyttleton was returned to Parliament as a member from Breedley in 1768, and on his seat being contested, was ousted early in 1769. This simple fact, barely related as an incident in the biographical sketch of Thomas Lyttleton, furnishes one of the strongest reasons to a logical mind why he might have been the author of Junius; much stronger than any of those insisted upon by the writer referred to, especially in connection with the power of debate exhibited by Lyttleton during the short period he was a member of the House, according to the Reviewer, together with his universally admitted distinction in scholarship, learning, and general attainments. This fact, of itself, fully accounts for how Junius might have been so ready for his rencontre with Blackstone in the Middlesex case, and how it could be that there was in England a man as yet unknown to fame who knew more of the laws of Parliament, with the precedents governing the qualifications and returns of members of the House, than even Sir William Blackstone himself. This subject, as a matter of course, the junior Lyttleton had made a special study. He was personally deeply interested in it. His highest aspirations had de-

pended upon the correct administration of these laws, rules, and precedents in his own case. He had doubtless mastered the subject, and rendered himself familiar with every precedent, running back on the journals to the earliest record. Thus it appears how he at least might have possessed a special knowledge in this department of parliamentary law which rendered him an overmatch for Blackstone, and which caused Burke to style him "the great boar of the forest." Secondly, a remarkable coincidence which may be here noted: Junius's correspondence with Woodfall began almost simultaneously with the loss by Lyttleton of his seat in the House of Commons, which he attributed to the corrupt influence of the ministry. He was voted out early in January, 1769. The first of Junius's acknowledged and avowed letters to Woodfall bears date 21st of January, 1769; a few days after the loss by Lyttleton of his seat by a party vote. These two facts greatly outweigh, in behalf of the Lyttleton advocates, all of the five points of Macaulay in support of his Sir Philip Francis theory.

But the object of this article, as stated before, is not to show who was the author of these letters, but to vindicate the character of the doctrines and principles inculcated by them; as well as to show that the claim set up for their authorship in behalf of Sir Philip Francis can not be maintained upon any rational hypothesis. The world's literary enigma, therefore, for the last century, remains still unsolved. The mystery of Junius's identity is as great to-day as it was in 1769. The real person of this great author is still "*stat nominis umbra*;" and the probability is, that no part of his work was better done than that in which he undertook to be the "sole depository of his own secret." If so, it certainly perished with him. His principles and teachings, however, still live and will live forever. They are as dear to Englishmen now as they were when first proclaimed. What profounder political lessons were ever uttered by any statesman or sage than those to be found in the volume referred to? The dedicatory address itself is among the richest legacies ever bequeathed to mankind. In it he says to his countrymen:

"Let me exhort you, conjure you, never to suffer an invasion of your political Constitution, however minute the instance may appear, to pass by without a determined, persevering resistance. One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine. Examples are supposed to justify the most dangerous measures, and where they

do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy. Be assured that the laws which protect us in our civil rights grow out of the Constitution, and they must fall or flourish with it. This is not the cause of faction, or of party, or of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain. . . .

“Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the Press is the palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman; and that the rights of juries to return a general verdict in all [criminal] cases whatsoever is an essential part of our Constitution not to be controlled or limited by the Judges, nor in any shape questionable by the Legislature. The power of King, Lords, and Commons is not an arbitrary power. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee-simple is in us. They can not alienate, they can not waste. . . . The power of the Legislature is limited, not only by the general rules of natural justice, and the welfare of the community; but by the forms and principles of our particular Constitution. If this doctrine be not true, we must admit that the Kings, Lords, and Commons have no rule to direct their resolutions, but merely their own will and pleasure. They might unite the Legislature and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the Constitution by an Act of Parliament. But I am persuaded you will not leave it to the choice of seven hundred persons, notoriously corrupted by the Crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves.”

These are grand as well as imperishable truths, springing from the brain and heart of one who, in the productions referred to has given no evidence of his being influenced in their utterance by any such low and mean motives as spring from sordidness, selfishness, personal hate or malignancy, or even aspirations of ambition. They bear the marks of the pure and lofty sentiments of an incorruptible patriot, and should be cherished by every friend of constitutional liberty in every country, age, and clime.

MODERN ARMIES AND MODES OF WARFARE AS BEARING ON PEACE.

AS though in anticipation of the present war between Russia and Turkey, and since the date of the war between France and Germany, the constitution and organization of the armies of all the leading European states have, of late, undergone a decisive change. The modes of warfare, especially as dependent on scientific inventions and economical applications, have been submitted to innovating alterations, which are closely parallel with each stride in the march of industrial progress. Even the laws of war are being subjected to a novel process of systematic revision, and are being taught to conform to the demands of a better calculated utility, if not of an advancing morality. It could not have been expected that facts so sudden and so universal would elude general attention, and, as a matter of fact, they have not. Military writers, politicians, economists, and social philosophers have based all sorts of auguries for the future on the character and magnitude of the new European armies, and, no doubt, many of these speculations are sound, and will have a fruitful bearing on practice. But there is one aspect of these changes which has either wholly escaped attention, or has met with far less attention than it has deserved—that is, the bearing of all these changes on the reduction of the frequency of wars, or on the total abolition of war.

It is impossible to conceive that changes so vast, so widely ramified, and so vital, as those now affecting the preparations for war, and the actual conduct of wars, can be without any influence in generally predisposing nations for war or for peace; and even if there are those who regard all hopes for a time of permanent peace as utopian, it is not denied in any quarter that there are general causes which produce both peace and war, and that these causes can, to some extent, be controlled so as to foster the one and not the other. With a view, then, partly, to prognosticate the increasing tendencies in Europe towards peace or war, and, partly, to direct sympathy and guide practical action in some directions rather than

in others, it is worth while accurately to estimate the real nature of the extensive military changes which have been accomplished, and to trace their probable influence on the reduction of the frequency of wars. The changes in the constitution and organization of armies are still going forward, and in some countries, as England, have only just commenced. It is, however, well recognized in constitutional countries that the modes of filling and of controlling the army belong as much to the field of general public discussion as to that of military experience, and that even distinct and immediate military advantages must not be sought at too heavy a price to public liberty or to the permanent interests of peace. In solving the problems of new organization which may yet be presented, it may thus be a highly relevant consideration to reflect how far the changes which have recently been brought about have increased or diminished the chance of recurrent wars. There are, probably, few persons nowadays who would have the hardihood to deny that, other things being equal, that course is to be preferred which, on the whole, is likely to promote and not to endanger general peace. It may, too, prove a matter of consolation, that even those institutions and practices which are most disastrous in the present, and ought least to be maintained or copied, do, nevertheless, in some respects operate in a way which must finally bring about their own annihilation. Thus, even some of the most alarming phases of modern national life may, when strictly scrutinized, be found rife with hopefulness for a not very distant future. Where the prospect is, for the present, the most gloomy, and the only lesson to be learnt from looking around is what to avoid, there may, on a closer view, be presented the vision of a stable and pacific future, of which the longest interval of peace in past history is only a flickering image.

It will be convenient to distribute the subject under the following four heads: (1) Modes of recruiting for the army; (2) the size of armies in peace and in war; (3) the organization and internal constitution of armies; (4) modes and instruments of warfare.

(1.) *Modes of Recruiting for the Army.*—There are three generic modes which are possible for replenishing the ranks of the army, though each mode admits of numerous variations. There is, first, the mode of depending on the ordinary laws of supply and demand, and of trusting to the competition of the army with other branches of remunerative industry. This mode is still pursued in England, though much fault has been found with its operation, and proposals

of one kind and another have been made to alter it. It has been said that the class of soldiers supplied belongs to the dregs of the population; that the number of deserters is enormous; and that, depending as the supply does on the general conditions of trade, voluntary enlistment is too precarious for a nation to rely upon at all times. Proposals have been made in the House of Commons, especially by Mr. John Holms, M.P. for Hackney, to meet the objections to voluntary recruiting by shortening the terms of service, raising the soldier's pay, facilitating marriage in the army, and generally ameliorating the conditions of the service. Though Mr. Holms's comprehensive scheme has not been yet carried out, it marks the directions in which improvements are already being spontaneously made by the authorities. Shorter terms of service have been introduced, deferred pay has been granted; and the pay of non-commissioned officers increased. The result during the past year (1876) seems to have been satisfactory. According to the Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting for 1876, all the requisite recruits have been obtained with such facility, that the standard of requirements, which had in some points been lowered, is to be raised again. The number of recruits for the year is 29,370 as against 18,494 in 1875.

The second mode of recruiting is that of determining how many men are required for the army either each year, or at a special crisis, and then forcibly levying them throughout the country by a process of balloting. This was the practice which the first Napoleon's wars rendered so familiar to Europe, and which still has a peculiar connection with his name.

The third mode is that which has only within the last few years been put in practice by all the chief European states, and may be described as that of universal service modified by the ballot. Every male citizen within certain limits, and when not within classes specially exempted, is not only liable to active service for a certain number of years, but, owing to the way in which the magnitude of the army is, in practice, adjusted to the population, is pretty sure to be actually compelled to serve. The ballot is used to determine either who shall compose the narrow margin between the numbers of recruits needed, and the number of citizens available for the draft, or (as in France) who shall serve for five years, and who for six months or a year. In Germany the ballot, in some districts, is never resorted to at all, and the authorities generally discountenance its use, as letting in an element of chance which is not conducive to

the good of the service. Thus in 1862 the number of male citizens coming of age was 227,000, of which 69,000 were found available for service. Sixty-three thousand was the required contingent, and thus only 6000 would be saved from active service by the ballot. In 1867 262,000 male citizens came of age, of which 110,000 passed as fit for service. One hundred thousand of these were taken. About a margin of 10 per cent on the available population is allowed to remain outside the demands of the army for active service of three years' duration.

In France, the contingent needed each year is divided into two classes, of which the first is to serve for a full period of five years, and the second for six months or (in certain cases) for one year. Somewhere about 300,000 male citizens annually come of age, of whom 150,000 are found to be exempted. Of the remainder, 75,000 fall into the first class, and 75,000 into the second. This would give about 450,000 men in the standing active army. The *Almanach de Gotha*, however, estimates as the result of the reorganization now proceeding, that the active army will consist of 704,714 men.

In Austria, the ballot divides the annual contingent into three classes, of which the first, consisting of 95,000, serve at once for three years in the line, the second forms a reserve for recruiting the standing army, and the third pass into the *landwehr* or reserve force, which can only be called into active service in certain emergencies. It will be conjectured that the size of the second and third classes must be very small compared with that of the first, for which so large a portion of the available population is already drawn.

In Italy, the ballot similarly distributes the available citizens into two classes, with liabilities of service like those in France.

In all the countries mentioned, as well as in Russia, military service is by an express law made "obligatory on all citizens." Substitutions and exemptions by payment are expressly forbidden, though it is said that in Russia a purchase of exemption is permitted in practice for the sum of 800 roubles, or £120. Certain grounds of exemption are allowed in all countries, which may be either permanent or temporary, total or partial, absolute or conditional. These grounds are much alike everywhere, but they are specially numerous and precise in France. The following are exempted from service in France: 1. Eldest of orphans (having neither father nor mother alive); 2. Only son, or eldest son or grandson, or eldest grandson of widow or of wife separated from her husband, or of a father upwards of seventy; 3. Eldest of two brothers liable for service

at the same time ; 4. Younger of two brothers whose elder brother is serving in the active army ; 5. Younger son of a family whose elder brother had died in the service or been discharged for wounds or illness contracted in the field. Moreover, certain pupils, teachers, professors, artists, members of religious associations and ecclesiastics are exempted, and partial or additional exemptions can be granted by municipal councils and local authorities to young men contributing to support their families, or engaged in studies or avocations that would suffer from interruption ; but these latter exemptions are subject to revision at the hands of military councils. It is also the general practice to afford opportunities to young men of education to complete their term of active service in a year, on passing certain examinations.

Before commenting on the bearings of this system of enlistment, it is necessary to refer to another main characteristic of the new method of replenishing armies—that is, the distribution of the army into those engaged on active service with the colors (“*bei den Fahnen*,” “*sous les drapeaux*”), and those who (as the German *landwehr*), though undergoing periodical discipline, are only liable to be called upon to engage in active service in case of urgent need, as in that of actual or threatened invasion. A further subdivision is also made between those who are serving in the regular army throughout the year, and those who form the reserve of the regular army, and, though actually under arms for a few weeks only in the year, are always ready to fill up the ranks of the active army as occasion demands. Yet another class again has been created in most countries, as, for instance, in Germany and Russia (*Landsturm* and *Reichswehr*), including all persons between certain ages not included in any other part of the army, and otherwise exempted. This class can only be called out for service in extreme emergencies. Thus all those available for active service who are saved by the fortune of the lot from having instantly to serve in the active army, are placed either in the reserve of that army or in the *landwehr*, or second reserve ; while all men, whether available for active service or not, and between certain wide limits of age, are included in the ultimate reserve.

The system of recruiting here explained is practically identical for the countries of France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia. The differences are only in matters of detail, such as in the number of years of active service, varying from the customary number of three years to the number of six years (as in Russia) ; in the limits

of age (usually from the age of twenty to that of thirty or forty) for active service ; in the length of the periods spent in the successive reserve forces ; and in the machinery by which the ballot ascertains whether a recruit enters on active service, or only into one or other class of the reserve forces.

The above system was originated in Prussia on the proved failure of the Prussian organization in 1859, when Prussia mobilized her army on the Rhenish frontier at the time of the successful campaign of the French in Italy, which terminated in the battle of Solferino. In the following year the executive government, supported by the aristocracy, and in the teeth of persistent popular opposition in the Chamber of Deputies, introduced the first elements of the modern German system. Between 1860 and 1866 the yearly supply of recruits was raised from 40,000 to 63,000. The fruits of the reconstruction were reaped by the victory over Austria in 1866. In 1868 Austria adopted the Prussian system, and the war-footing of the land army and the marine was fixed for ten years at 800,000 men. In the same year the French system of recruiting was recast by a law of the 1st of February, which was the basis of the existing practice, as provided for by laws passed in 1872, 1873, and 1875. The existing German practice rests on a series of laws passed in 1874 and 1875 ; the Italian, on laws passed in 1873 ; and the Russian, on a law of 1874.

It appears, then, that the comprehensive recruiting system above described may be treated as one and the same for five of the most powerful and populous states of Europe ; that in almost all of them it is of such very recent growth that its full effects could not be yet seen, nor scarcely conjectured ; and that the introduction of the system in each country synchronizes with political changes, if not convulsions, unprecedented for their breadth, depth, and social significance.

It is not necessary, for the present purpose, to dwell upon the obvious evils which are incident to this system of universal compulsory service. It is not denied in any quarter that to withdraw nearly all the best young men of a country, as soon as they come of age, for a period of three years at the least, from every sort of industrial, professional, and intellectual occupation, and to apprentice them to idleness and inanity, if not to worse, is, in itself, neither good for the men themselves, nor for the country to which they belong. Nor is it denied that both in peace and in war incidental evils follow of no ordinary magnitude. The effects on family life,

on marriage, on industrial education, even on individual happiness, are such as need no statistics to establish, and of an amount which no prudent statesman can leave out of account. The only counterbalancing argument which can be alleged is, that a choice must be made between two evils, and that the new system of universal service is the only alternative to national extinction.

The position of affairs, then, is this: There are five states, each one of which is submitting its population to a calamity of the first magnitude, owing to a necessity which is imposed upon it by some or all of the rest. Were all these states independent human beings, it is obvious that, in a very short time, they would find it to be the interest of all to provide in such a way for the security of each that all the losses, risks, and miseries incurred by individual efforts (often unsuccessful) at self-protection might be forever escaped. But the states in question can not do this; but only for reasons which are transient and accidental in their character. These reasons are of the following kind:

In the first place, the internal constitution of four of these states is, to a great extent, weak and fragile, and the product either of recent revolutions or of tentative combinations of imperfectly cohesive elements. The Russian constitution alone is the product of traditional despotism, official routine, and modern popular aspirations. Thus the government of each state depends, though in different degrees, for its existence and stability far more on the actual exertion of executive authority—that is, on the possession for the time being of pre-eminent physical force—than on an unbroken custom of loyalty on the part of the governed. The result is two-fold: first, a certain diffidence as to its situation and its capacities, which hampers it in its relations with other states; and, secondly, an habitual reliance on military force, and an indisposition to part with an undisputed manipulation of it in its most concentrated forms.

In the second place, the existing territorial, political, and diplomatic relations of these several states to one another are the product of so many past wars and accidents, that no single state can be persuaded to treat those relations as final. Thus, each state is tempted to feel it has more to lose than to gain by a lasting peace. The original conditions of any mutual accord for the purpose of merely protecting each against the violence of the rest are wholly wanting. Each state has a hidden consciousness that itself may be the one concerned in exerting violence against one of the rest.

This, then, explains the generation of an unparalleled system of universal enlistment, and of the tribute of honor which is paid to it on so many sides. It is the direct offspring of internal unsettlement and external mistrust.

But there are influences steadily at work which must counteract this system of converting a nation into an army, and must finally destroy it. In Italy, Germany, Austria, and France, the new military institutions are closely connected in their history with critical paroxysms in the national history, with vast revolutionary movements, with new political combinations, and with powerful executive governments. In Russia, the new army is the outcome of an age of slumbering revolutions and aspirations. But in all these countries the tyrannical strength of the government is only the cloak, and perhaps the support, of internal social movements which are ceaseless and unmistakable. These movements are in the direction of individual liberty, local self-government, effective parliamentary institutions, a free press, a free right of public meeting, and a popular control of the acts of the executive, and of public expenditure. As these movements progress, the voices opposed to the current military institutions will be multiplied and become louder. The conscripts themselves, those liable to service, and all connected with them, will not be silent. The employers of labor who suffer from the raising of wages, the farmer, and the manufacturer, who are exposed to an incessant change of hands, will clearly know their own minds and make others know them. The general tax-payers will resent an expenditure for war in successive years of profound peace. An organized public opinion must find clearer and ever clearer utterance to the effect that the existing military institutions are evils scarcely second to those of internal revolution and external defeat. When once this opinion is boldly formulated, it needs but the new range of liberal institutions to convert it into a determinate policy. The state has been acquiring stability and cohesion, and the executive government has been slowly becoming the effective instrument of an ascertained popular will. The jealousies of diplomacy have become softened or removed by assiduous international contact and concert. A common sense of evil and a common desire of good runs like a lightning flash from nation to nation, and by a common policy, industry, commerce, knowledge, humanity, and all that is meant by peace, reassert their sway.

(2.) *The Size of Armies in Peace and in War.*—The consideration

of the size of modern armies is of course involved, to some extent, in that of the modern system of recruiting, but the former has some further aspects in reference to the prospects of peace which will be more conveniently treated by themselves.

In estimating the actual size of the armies of what may be called the leading military states—that is, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, and Russia—a distinction has to be drawn between the footing of the several national armies in time of peace and in time of war. It is the policy of the new method of organization in time of peace to keep as small an army as possible in active service; to have a successive series of reserve forces ready in time of war to supply the breaches and increase the strength of that army, while provision is made for the whole male population being ready to take the field in certain extreme emergencies. Thus, in estimating the size of one of these national armies, for some purposes it would be proper only to count the forces actually under arms; for other purposes besides these, all the reserve forces ready to be called out at the moment of war breaking out or being apprehended; for other purposes, the whole male population, say between twenty and sixty years of age, not totally invalidated. But the number of soldiers constituting the active army even in times of peace is for all the above-mentioned states far larger than at any previous epoch, and in most of them is rapidly increasing from year to year. Indeed, it has already been seen that usually the limits of the active army are only assigned by the rate of progress of the population, only about ten per cent of the available population being excepted from the annual draft for active service. In Germany, the number of the forces and the yearly sum appropriated for its support were fixed by legal enactment in 1874 for a period of seven years, though the duration of any one Parliament is limited to three years. The number of the standing army in time of peace was fixed at 438,831 men. The war footing of the army, which from the nature of the case must be a variable quantity, including all classes of reserves, seems to approach somewhere about 1,700,000 men.

In France, the reorganization which is still proceeding seems to promise even still more striking results. The estimate of the Minister of War for 1874 for the active army was 540,000 men. The *Almanach de Gotha* calculates that the present changes will produce for the active army 704,714 men; for the reserve of this army, 510,294 men; for the "Territorial" army, 582,523 men; for the

reserve of the Territorial army, 625,633 ; making the whole forces available in the utmost emergency up to 2,423,164 men.

In Russia, by the time the present changes are accomplished, the field army will consist of 955,000 men, and her whole forces, first and second reserves, and 180,000 Cossacks, will amount to 1,945,000 men.

In Italy, the peace footing is nearly 200,000 men, and the war footing 450,000. In Austria, the peace footing is about 480,000, and the war footing 840,000.

It will be instructive to add together in a tabular form the results here given :

	Peace Footing.	War Footing.
Germany.....	438,831	1,700,000
France ("Active" Army).....	704,714	2,423,164
Russia.....	755,000	1,945,000
Austria.....	480,000	840,000
Italy.....	200,000	450,000
Total.....	2,578,545	7,358,164

Thus, excluding the cases of England and the smaller or neutralized states, it appears that five great states of Europe at present retain, even during a time of profound peace, 2,500,000 men constantly under arms, and that over and above these they train in habits of warfare and submit to some degree of military discipline, in view of possible service at some time or other, between seven and eight millions of men. These patent facts give rise to several reflections, having a direct bearing on the present subject.

The inordinate size of European armies under the new system aggravates enormously the obvious evils of war, especially in times of peace ; makes these evils of universal concern to all nations, even to those which are the most habitually pacific ; and projects the tableau of these evils in such striking colors and glaring relief that they must sooner or later invoke a radical remedy.

The expense which the maintenance in one of the great military states of an enormous army in time of peace involves must be measured first by the actual cost of feeding, clothing, equipping, and managing some half million of men, and secondly by the loss entailed in a variety of ways by withdrawing for some years from the fields of directly productive industry the best men in the nation at the most precious period of their lives. This cost and

loss is not encountered by the nation alone which raises and maintains the army, but, in the present circumstances of free-trade and growing international intercourse, by every other civilized nation; and the aggregate cost and loss which is entailed on any single nation through this cause is the sum of the expenses of the army in every other nation with which it has commercial or social relations. Thus, as things now are, no nation by ever so pacific a policy and considerate and just a treatment of other nations can avoid paying a considerable part of the price of the military institutions of other nations. This is a fact to which peaceably disposed nations can not but become increasingly awake, and as the number of such nations grows, a public opinion must gradually be formed throughout Europe wholly adverse to enormous military preparations in times of peace, and the advent of liberal political institutions in States now overawed by an omnipotent executive authority must favor the conversion of this opinion into practical action.

Another notable consequence of the enormous size of European armies is the breadth of the operations in times of war, the increased expensiveness of war, and the vastly aggravated loss and suffering occasioned by war. This expensiveness of loss and suffering is not compensated, as has been sometimes supposed, by any necessary shortening of the duration of a war. This happened, indeed, at first, when the vast scale of modern armies was yet an untried experiment, to which Prussia, Austria, and France were committing themselves for the first time. The wholly incalculable effect of a new and imperfect organization and other special circumstances conspired to render the campaigns of Solferino and Sadowa marvellously brief, considering the magnitude of the results. But in the Franco-German war it was not the size of the armies which shortened the war, but the wholly unexpected collapse of the French organization. At many periods during the war there seemed every prospect of it being indefinitely prolonged; and had the French been able to draw (as they will be able in the next war, and as the Germans did) on successive series of wholly unused reserves, the war would have been incessantly recommenced at different points. Thus there is no compensation whatever for the evils following in the wake of the exaggerated size of modern armies. It only means more war, worse war, and longer wars.

But there are other consequences which follow from the size of modern armies to which attention must yet be drawn. In the first

place, it is obviously the present policy of some at least of the leading military states to urge their military preparations, even in time of peace, to the utmost limits fixed by the population and by the national resources. But these preparations always and rapidly become an inveterate institution, ever growing and never lessening, and from time to time drawing renewed life and energy from popular panic or passion, or from a fresh influx of administrative zeal. But all the true and natural elements of national well-being, as marked by the growth or steady maintenance of the population, and by the general resources, must be ever fluctuating to and fro. The pressure of the army is, however constant, always on the verge of being overwhelming, and at recurrent intervals actually so. Quite independently of the mere influence of public opinion, no nation can long stand this incessant strain. Either the state must be sacrificed to the army, as in the middle period of Imperial Rome, or the army must be curtailed in accordance with the exigencies of the state. The present magnitude of army preparations and expenditure can then be only regarded as marking a transient phase of European history. It is predestined either to undergo conspicuous transformations, or to fail in the attainment of its chief and worthiest objects.

In the second place, the fact that the magnitude of military preparations seems in some states to have no other limits than the calculable resources of the nation for the time being, has at least this advantage, that war and its results must increasingly bear a ponderable relation to all the statistical elements by which national progress is ascertained. Thus the events of war must, to a growing extent, cease to be speculative and become matter of exact prevision. The more this is the case, the less likely is it that actual war will be resorted to. The relative strength of nations will be generally acknowledged, and will express itself in ways less costly and disastrous to the strong as well as to the weak. The long suspension of actual war must be accompanied by an expansion of international trade, a freedom of general intercourse, and a development of credit which will make the recurrence of war widely unpopular among all classes of society to an extent scarcely imagined at present. The burdens of war will be less and less patiently endured in times of peace; and here, again, by help of the diffusion of liberal parliamentary institutions, the very copiousness of modern military institutions will work their destruction.

(3.) *The Organization and Internal Constitution of Modern Armies.*—Besides the changes in the military institutions of modern states which have been already adverted to, there are some others deserving note here which are either direct consequences of the other changes, or are a further embodiment of the policy which led to them.

There are two competing principles in modern army organization which are each admitted to be independently important, and which it is the object of reformers, as far as possible, to reconcile without an undue compromise of the claims of either. One is that of what is called "localization," the other "mobilization." According to modern ideas, the merits of a military system would be mainly tested by the success with which the burden and maintenance of every part of the national forces could be evenly distributed throughout the national territory in time of peace, and be none the less instantly available in the most centralized form for convergent action anywhere in time of war.

The present German organization is the most complete exhibition of the modern method, and is no doubt the type which other states are, so far as peculiar national conditions permit, keeping in view. The whole infantry of the German Empire, in active service, consists of 4 army corps, making 74 brigades and 148 regiments. To every one of these regiments of the line is attached a *Landwehr* regiment, bearing the same number as the regiment of the line, and having with it a common provincial name. Each *Landwehr* regiment consists of two battalions, and each of these battalions is complete and independent in all its parts, is wholly raised in a particular geographical district, and is permanently connected with this district. The recruiting for the line regiment to which the *Landwehr* regiment is attached, proceeds, as was above described, simultaneously for both; the arrangements for men on leave, for invalids, and for putting the forces in motion, are managed for both regiments by one and the same machinery. Thus there is, from first to last, and at every stage of their fortunes, the intimate relation maintained between the line and *Landwehr* regiment on the one hand, and a definite geographical district on the other.¹

In France, the whole forces are divided into the active and

¹ See "Organisation und Dienst der Kriegsmacht des deutschen Reichs." Achte Auflage. Von Baron v. Wolff, neu bearbeitet durch Alfred Baron v. Eberstein. Berlin, 1876.

the territorial army, each of which has its own reserve. In Italy, the forces were, by a law of September 3d, 1873, distributed under the two heads, the permanent army and the movable militia. But the conditions of the Italian territory are peculiar, the character of the population in north and south being of a very different type. For this reason the whole country is divided into five zones, and each regiment is composed of men drawn from all of these zones. In this way the territorial principle is recognized so far as it is believed to be compatible with military efficiency. The military meaning and purpose of this novel method of organization will be understood from the following extract from General Trochu's treatise on "The French Army in 1867:"

"In Prussia and in Russia, the active army, in time of peace as in time of war, is formed into several parts, each composed of divisions, brigades, regiments, staff, depots, with their own officers and their own *matériel*, all constantly and permanently acting together, with the proper reinforcements in reserve, so that from one day to another the whole body is ready for action. This species of military organization may have some inconveniences, as what has not? But it would be superfluous to enlarge on its incalculable advantages for purposes of war, when it has penetrated the habits of nations and of armies; the advantage of keeping alive the military spirit, by the ties thus formed in all ranks, between those who command and those who obey; the advantage of a condensation of moral force and of experimental knowledge of every detail of a complicated mechanism; the advantage of rapidity of concentration, and concert and energy in execution, when the hour of action is come; advantages of all kinds in the preparation of war, which can thus be carried on without putting a whole country and a whole army into agitation, by violent and multifarious movements, which have the serious evil of disclosing long beforehand the efforts made."¹

Even in England, where all the military conditions are well recognized as differing from those on the Continent, the territorial principle was deferred to in the Army Regulation Act carried by Lord Cardwell under Mr. Gladstone's government in 1871, and it seems that it will shortly be still further carried out. The full conception of Lord Cardwell's reconstructive measures included the linking of the line battalions into pairs, one of each pair being at home and the other upon foreign service; the closer connection of the line with the militia of each locality; and the formation of depots common both to the militia and the line of the locality, for the purpose of recruiting, training, and ultimate organization in the reserves. Lord Cardwell retired from office in 1874, and the

¹ See Lieutenant-Colonel Chesney's "Military Resources of Prussia and France." London: Longmans, 1870.

changes were not completely matured, though Parliament spent £3,500,000 in carrying them out. A committee, composed of most influential and authoritative persons, was appointed by the War Office to report on the operation of the changes so far as they had yet been carried out. This committee has only just reported. In answer to the question, "Are battalions of brigade to be looked upon as being merely united for administrative purposes, or are they to be viewed as constituent parts of one body?" the committee answer, "We have no hesitation in replying that they should be constituent parts of one body; and although we are not unaware of the very grave considerations which are involved, we are constrained to record our opinion that full advantage can not be obtained for the money spent by the country until the connection be more closely drawn than at present between the line battalions of each brigade, and between them and the militia battalions of the sub-district." They consider this is best to be effected by their being treated as one regiment, under eight territorial designations, the line battalions contributing the first and second, the depot being common to all, and contributing the last, and the militia battalions contributing the rest. The existing numerical designations, dear as they are to military memories, are to be obliterated.

The changes here recommended are radical enough, and are all in two directions—one, that of combining, in the most compact manner possible, all the parts of an army into easily manageable groups; and the other, that of permanently connecting each group with a definite territorial district. This is, in fact, identical, in spirit at least, with the German system of localization.

The direct and indirect influences of this new mode of organization are not hard to trace. The army can no longer, in any country, be a remote fact and institution only thought of in time of war, or at the most only brought to mind at the period of recruiting or at seasons of occasional debate in legislative assemblies. The new policy is to merge the military institutions with the civil and social life of the country, and the civil and social life with them. Of course those institutions are likely, for the moment, to draw energy and sustenance from the bracing association. But if these institutions are ever recognized as being excessive, and to a constantly growing extent needless, the popular insurrection against them will be decided, widespread, and irresistible just in proportion to their territorial distribution. No misunderstanding of the existence, the

nature, and the extent of the evil will hamper the agitation for its removal or restriction. The newly discovered forces of effective local self-government will fan and feed the flame. Every year of peace, every season of impoverished national resources, will accumulate arguments for reducing armies and promoting an international policy of peace. A common and exactly distributed pressure will be the best preparation possible for a united and universal reaction.

(4.) *Modes and Instruments of Warfare.*—It needs a very superficial glance backward at recent battle-fields, or around at the military preparations assiduously at work in all the leading countries of Europe, to note the decisive changes which are in course of accomplishment in the modes of warfare. Chemical, mechanical, electrical, aeronautical, and mathematical inventions and discoveries are pressed into the service of war. Civil education is forced to contribute, and whole nations are drilled in the school-room, if not in the nursery. The railroad, the steamship, the telegraph, each new industrial appliance and convenience, are eagerly laid hold of so as to render war more widely and infallibly disastrous. It were a gain, indeed, if war could be fought out by machinery and not by living men. But, unfortunately, it is not so. The elaborate mechanism only serves to prepare and clear the field for an exorbitantly enlarged number of living combatants—these, too, no longer unimpassioned, professional soldiers, but peaceful citizens, carrying back to their homes—if they reach them—the coarse and bitter memories and hostile passions of the battle-field.

So far as the purely military nature and products of these incessant and comprehensive changes go, they seem to be as follows: The exclusive possession of any single scientific advantage of a signal kind might hereafter decide the fortunes of a campaign; but then, in the present circumstances of international intercourse, and of unrelenting military competition proceeding even in times of peace, it is increasingly unlikely that any single state will succeed in maintaining any such exclusive advantage. The use of the new military implements and machinery will call for a better trained and educated soldiery, and the novel method of recruiting, as practiced on the Continent, harmonizes with this demand. The general result is likely to be favorable to the private soldier's condition, education, and general training, and his opinion and feelings must become a serious element of political consideration. Some of the new im-

provements are directed to multiplying the action of explosive shells, balls, and bullets, thereby occasioning suffering and not death; others have in view the "demoralizing" the enemy's front at a greater distance, so as to precipitate the "decision" and afford an earlier opportunity for an advance. Other improvements again are addressed to facilitating commissariat arrangements, as by employing in war ordinary trading companies for the purpose, or to rendering engineering operations more easily disposable and effective, or to determining the exact proportions and circumstances in which cavalry, heavy and light infantry, and artillery ought severally to be employed.

There can be no doubt that by the time a sufficient amount of intellectual energy, guided by adequate experimentation, has been devoted in different countries to the problem of how the new improvements can be turned to the best account, war will reproduce all the last achievements of civilization. But it will do this at an almost inconceivable cost for each country both in peace and in war, and there is no reason, except one grounded on economy or poverty, which need cause any one country to lag behind the rest. Thus the question of success in war must become increasingly one as to whether a nation can pay for it, or will prefer to pay for it in the place of paying for other things. When each nation is firmly assured of this, the speculative hilarity which now belongs to war will have vanished, and it can not be long before the nations under liberal and constitutional governments combine to adopt some scheme of mutual assurance less extravagant, calamitous, and inhuman than that of self-protection.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF AMERICAN CITIES.

WE desire in the very title of this article to draw attention to a distinction too frequently lost sight of, between government proper in its larger sense as applied to a State, even though that may be geographically limited to a city, and the administration of a city's affairs in regard to common interests of property, on behalf of the owners of its soil. The existence of this distinction established, the logical consequences which flow therefrom would seem to be inevitable.

The cities of antiquity were governments proper. Athens and the other cities of the Hellenic confederation, as also Rome at a later period, were cities which held large possessions not embraced within city limits ; but were in their essential features governments, each one in itself regulating all the relations of life, and the municipal administration of property formed but a minor part of its concerns. Some of the conspicuous cities of the Middle Ages, such as Florence, but more especially Venice and Genoa, were the seats of empire, and their city administration was a subordinate matter to government proper. The cities of the Hanseatic League were in many of their functions governments, and their administration throws but little light upon the proper management of modern cities. The modern city is but part and parcel—and that a subordinate part—of the general government of the state ; and however important from a sanitary and economical point of view the administration of a modern city may be, the government of its inhabitants is, as a general rule—indeed, almost universally—the state's concern.

The city's functions have shrunk to mere administration of property, even in the countries where decentralization is largely carried out. In such matters of administration of property it has of course extended and widened its field in strict proportion as the values embraced within a city of the present day, with its vast treasures of personal and landed wealth, are compared with the meagre values of a mediæval city. Thus, while its officials and its expendi-

tures have enormously increased as compared with a mediæval city, the character of the functions of the officials has entirely changed.

Hence it is, that with each succeeding generation we find the application of well-established principles of government to a city strangely at fault; and that persistence in the methods unwittingly adopted on the supposition that the administration of a city's affairs is a matter of government in the usual acceptation of the term, results in organized communism, confiscation, and threatened bankruptcy.

During the middle ages, when sturdy arms of members of train-bands, composed of the masters, journeymen, and apprentices in the various industrial avocations, were more than a match for the knights and villains of the period, sovereigns were willing to grant special privileges of government by way of charters to cities to secure the favors of the city guilds.

Not only do the cities of mediæval Europe throw little light upon the administration of cities proper, but the cities of modern Europe do not in their governmental machinery afford us much of a solution of the problem of municipal maladministration in this country, as here alone has universal suffrage been applied to municipal administration.

The English cities, which in their forms of government more closely resemble our own than do those of continental Europe, were, until the passage of the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, governed by the guilds or guild, which in process of time had become powerful enough to absorb the city administration into its hands, and were administered mainly as concerns of private property, the governing power being the successor of some trading company who, filling vacancies in their own body without any popular election, were close corporations, audited their own accounts, and derived large personal revenues from special franchises connected with the city's administration. These bodies, although not guilty of any serious malversations in relation to the government, nevertheless were without other restraint than that of the best social influences of the community, the burgesses generally being leading men of society, who could not without losing caste deviate too widely from the average standard of right conduct.

This condition of things was ended by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, which placed all the municipal governments of Great Britain under a uniform system of administration by the election, on the part of the householders and rate-payers, of a municipal

council, which in its turn elected the mayor, and which was composed of aldermen and councilmen, meeting in one body, elected by districts or wards, in accordance with a scheme by which the wealthier districts, irrespective of the number of their inhabitants, had the election of the larger number of such councilmen and aldermen. This scheme, with slight amendments, has worked admirably to the present day; and although we hear considerable complaint of both parsimony and waste in the administration of these bodies, actual frauds or malversations, jobbery and flagrant dishonesty, such as have become the rule with us in the administration of large cities, are quite unknown.

The city of London was exempted from the operation of the Municipal Reform Act because of the legislative difficulties that this overgrown metropolis presented, arising from its having in its growth absorbed thirty odd other parishes and corporations.

It was (and, to a considerable degree, still is) an incongruous mass of borough, parochial, and city governments, with vast interests dependent thereupon, which formed a knot so intricate in its character that not until 1855 was any parliament willing to venture upon its disentanglement or incur the risk of injuriously affecting the large number of vested interests with which any legislation upon the subject would necessarily come in conflict.

In 1855, the Metropolitan Board of Works was created, which, together with the local and parochial authorities and city government of London proper and Westminster, compose the administration of the metropolis.

The government of a city like that of London presents great difficulties, for the reason that it is at the same time the site of the Imperial Parliament, that the privileges of the livery companies, the survivors of the great guilds of the middle ages, are granted as it were in fee, and have continued from so remote a period of time that to interfere with or shake them down is like undermining one of the props of state; and the various vestry and parish authorities have been generally so regardful of their trusts that there seems to be no adequate reason for wiping them out. From such incongruities and difficulties we are free. The American city has no chartered privileges which any body is bound to respect. While we call the laws, which map out the framework of a city government, charters, we do so merely to distinguish them from other laws by reason of their remote resemblance to the sovereign acts which incorporated European cities. These modern laws, however, are not

in any sense charters. No personal rights to any of the inhabitants of the city accrue perpetually therefrom, and they are subject to change from year to year, as political exigency or personal interest may dictate.

The Supreme Court of the United States has but recently decided that a city government in America is a mere subordinate branch of the government of the State, and that it may within constitutional limitations be changed or altered as the legislature may see fit. While we are free, therefore, in this country from the prescriptive and chartered rights which in process of time have degenerated in a great many instances into monopolies and chartered privileges to do wrong, and which oppress the inhabitants of European cities, we are, on the other hand, in this country afflicted by two evils of extraordinary magnitude, and which, if left unchecked, threaten the safety of our institutions. First, by the adoption of universal suffrage in the administration of the property interests of cities, we have organized a communistic system which has been carried in its practical results to the actual confiscation of a large portion of the wealth accumulated in our cities. Second, the constant change to which city government is subjected by the legislatures, actuated mainly by political and personal motives, prevents stability in administration, or the carrying out of any reform which requires the continuous co-operation of a fixed body of men, or the introduction of any economy in methods of administration interfering with the political necessities for patronage of the party in power. But a little study and reflection must lead to the conclusion that however justifiable and even necessary is the principle of universal manhood suffrage and its application to the affairs of government—that is to say, the affairs of the government of the United States, or of the State—it has no application, or, at all events, only to a very limited degree, in the administration of a city; for the reason that a city is not a government, but a corporative administration of property interests in which property should have the leading voice.

The government of the United States by its war-making power has the right to take us from avocation, friends, and family, put us into an army, or impress us into a navy for the common welfare, to be killed or maimed. Of course all citizens, whether having property or not, being equally subject to this performance of personal duty as citizens, should have a voice in the election of the persons who wield so extraordinary a power. Likewise the State, by its civil and criminal jurispru-

dence, regulates our contracts, determines our rights with reference to all relations of life—as husband, as parent, as master, or as servant—imprisons us for wrongs committed against our neighbor, and also claims the right to deprive us of life itself for certain offenses. The State accompanies its inhabitants from the cradle to the grave, declares their duties, and punishes their non-performance. Therefore in all elections for State officers the possession of property ought not to make a material difference, because the state affects the action of all alike, whether they possess property or not. A very different question, however, is presented in the case of a city. Its administration has no such powers. By its ordinances having the force of law it may make certain hygienic and police regulations; but even here, it is limited in power to the imposition of a fine of a very small amount. Its main concerns are the laying out of streets, their paving, their lighting, their sewerage, and their cleanliness. It confines itself almost exclusively in its administration to the outsides of houses; deals with things *in re*, with property rights. The State and the general government deal with things *in persona*. It is true that every inhabitant of the city has an interest in its proper administration, but the thriftless do not feel this interest keenly enough to affect conduct; and admitting them to votes therein in relation to all its financial administration, jeopardizes the interest of others and sacrifices true and permanent hygienic interest to passing enjoyments.

Every citizen in New York has an interest in the financial stability of its banks, and certainly the depositors in the banks are most directly and immediately interested in their good management, at times to the extent of a great portion of their fortunes. Yet such an immediate interest, not to speak of the remote one which every inhabitant of a city has in the soundness of its great reservoirs of credit, does not justify a claim on the part of the depositors to take part in the election of the officers of the bank by reason of that interest. They must own stock in the bank before they are permitted to vote, and their votes will tell in proportion to the amount of stock which they have therein.

Every body would feel that to allow the conductors and brakemen of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company to vote at the election of its directors, on the plea of a personal interest, arising from the fact that their very lives may be endangered by bad management of the road, would allow the remote inter-

est—the incidental interest—to overcome and outweigh by numbers the direct and immediate proprietary interest of the road, and thus in a short period swamp this proprietary interest.

Inevitably the administration of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad would fall into the hands of these brakemen and conductors, its shares would become valueless, there would be no more money to renew its rolling stock, and while these conductors and brakemen might temporarily wear gold chains and diamond pins, the permanent way would fall into decay, and at the end of a generation the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad would cease to be a public highway. And yet the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad in its corporate management is a government of a certain kind ; but so largely is it a government which relates to property that nobody in his senses has or would ever recommend the introduction of such a scheme as that to which we have here alluded, because every body would at once feel that universal suffrage, or a suffrage admitting each person affected by such a corporation to a like vote in the selection of its officers, irrespective of how large a property share or how small a one it may be that he owns, or how direct, or how remote his interest may be, would be completely destructive of the property interests therein invested. The administration of a city is much more closely analogous to the administration of a corporation, such as that of a railway or bank, than it is to a government proper ; and just to the degree that it resembles the property interests of private corporations, are the rules which govern the latter applicable to a municipal administration ; and just to the degree that it is a government in its proper sense of the term, are the principles which relate to the suffrage in reference to government applicable to it.

Universal suffrage presents a problem which has not as yet been satisfactorily solved, and which, in the discussions which preceded its establishment in this country, had not been brought sufficiently into prominence. It presents itself now and then in very formidable aspects, demands a solution in some form, if the institutions of our country are to be permanent and continue to extend, as they have a tendency to do, throughout the civilized world. The ballot has most persistently been looked upon as an element of protection ; without that share of the government which the ballot gives him, the citizen can not properly protect his interests from the aggressive influences of class or personal privileges. If its practical application could be confined to this element of the ballot, not

only would its present exercise prove beneficial, but no valid argument could be adduced against its extension to all. But—and there is a very formidable *but*—it is to quite as large a degree an element of aggression as it is of protection. It is not merely the question whether political freedom is to be extended, but civil government shared by all. It, in other words, involves the whole power of the government which may and should be used to protect all its citizens from aggression, but which is constantly used as a means of aggression. Therefore, when the suggestion is ever presented for the extension of the suffrage to a new class, the question to be taken into consideration is not only, Is this class entitled to the protection of the law, and to some security against having their faces ground by the richer or more powerful? but, Where will the centre of political gravity be placed and whose faces are to be ground hereafter?

If, in the city of New York, the government were in the hands of the property-owners at this time, and some political philosopher were to suggest the application of the principle of universal suffrage in that city, before the men of property therein would be justified in entertaining this proposition, would it not on their part be a pertinent inquiry to ascertain how many paupers and criminals that step would admit to the suffrage, and what proportion they bear to the men having property in the community; and whether under the new condition of things they would not place the political power in the hands of such paupers and criminals, instead of having it in their own; and further, whether under a majority system of representation they would not exclude themselves entirely from even a *pro rata* share of administrative power? The suffrage is not merely a means of protection to the emigrants who seek our shores and to every member of our community, but it is also a weapon of aggression; it secures to the possessor the hold of the two ends of the purse-strings, which he can open at will, thus helping himself to the contents of the general fund; and paupers and criminals can and do thus help themselves.

If, in passing at midnight through Madison Square, some marauder stops a citizen and demands the possession of whatever little personal property he may be carrying about with him, he would feel justified in resisting to the very death. He would lose his self-respect if, without resistance, he complied with such a demand, and he would feel it to be due to the community of which he is a member to make such demands dangerous. But the ruffian has a more complex but a safer method, under universal suffrage as applied to

city administration, to get at our purses, and at a very much larger proportion of our worldly possessions than is obtainable from trousers or waistcoat pockets. He combines with other ruffians, and together they elect an alderman, and under the guise of a street contract they divide between themselves annually an amount of money which represents the combined purses of thousands of people. They give us a dollar in actual value in return and take six from us. They rob, but do so under the guise of law and in orderly form. Our resistance is paralyzed, because our moral perceptions are confounded. We know it to be wrong to resist the law, and the thief personates the law; and thus we deliver in this indirect way a hundred fold the amount which, if attempted to be extorted directly, would be resisted unto death. But clearly there is something radically wrong in a system which admits of such results, and it arises from the fact that we have applied the doctrine of universal suffrage, a principle of government, to the mere administration of property, with which it has no concern, simply because a city's administration does in outward form look as though it were a government. Hence the absolute necessity for the adoption of some such plan as that recommended by the Commission to devise a plan for the government of the cities of New York State. The plan of this Commission, while in all such matters as may still be considered questions of government proper it leaves universal suffrage unrestricted, trusting to time as the corrective of the evils incident to the mal-administration which we are called upon to suffer, yet in all matters relating to the government of property, to the expenditure of city funds, to the authorizing of the creation of a loan which shall have the effect of a permanent mortgage on the real estate of its inhabitants, reinstates the rights of property. Not vigorously—not as is done in the cities of Australia, giving a voter from one to three votes in proportion to his property interests; but the election for members of that Board called by the Commission the Board of Finance, which has exclusive control of these matters, is left to those who pay a tax for two years successively, in the larger cities on property amounting to \$500, or who during a like period pay a rental for any shop or dwelling to the amount of \$250, excluding from participation in the election of such officers all those who neither own property to tax nor have a habitation over their heads either for the purpose of dwelling or business which costs them five dollars per week. In smaller cities the Commission's plan contents itself with insisting upon a payment of a tax of some kind for two years successively.

There is no better evidence of mal-administration on the part of a city government than the accumulation of debt. It must not be forgotten that cities, unlike nations, are not compelled to levy war—the one fruitful source and excuse of national indebtedness—but that when cities run largely in debt, they do so in consequence of extravagant methods of administration, actual malversation, and enormous distributions of property under the pretense of making useful improvements.

New York, fifty years ago, had a population of 100,000, and taxable property assessed at \$82,000,000, from which were annually raised \$344,000—considerably less than one half of one per cent.

In twenty years, the population had increased to 270,000 souls, and the taxable property to \$309,000,000. The amount then raised was \$1,085,000—about $\frac{3.5}{100}$ of one per cent.

In 1850, with a population of 500,000, we had a tax levy of \$3,000,000, and a rate of taxation of about $1\frac{12}{100}$ per cent. The debt by that time had risen to about \$12,000,000, and we had our streets to the Central Park laid out. From 1850 to 1860, the population increased to 814,000, and the tax levy rose to almost \$10,000,000—an increase of three hundred per cent above that of 1850, upon a valuation about double that of 1850; and in 1860 the percentage levied was about $1\frac{60}{100}$ per cent, the debt amounting in 1860 to about \$18,000,000.

It must not be forgotten that in 1860 its streets were seweraged, paved, the Croton water aqueduct had been long completed, the Central Park had been acquired and laid out, and its largest expenditures to make a great city of New York had been incurred; and normally there should have been a decreasing ratio of taxation with an increasing population and an increasing accumulation of property. But, on the contrary, then began the organization by the politicians of systematized plunder, so that in 1871 the debt rose to \$100,000,000. Now, sinking fund deducted, it is about \$115,000,000, and the rate of taxation almost three per cent upon a valuation of a little above \$900,000,000 of taxable property, and all this vast debt does not represent the expense of laying out, grading, guttering, and paving streets, etc. In round numbers, we take now, by taxation, \$30,000,000 from a million of people, as against \$3,000,000 from half a million of people in 1850.

The following table will show that this is not a mere local evil, arising from the peculiar nature of New York's population, but that it is common to all the larger cities of this country.

Population, Valuation, Taxation, and Indebtedness of Fifteen of the Largest Cities of the United States in the years 1860 and 1875, respectively.

CITIES.	POPULATION.		VALUATION.			TAXATION.*			INDEBTEDNESS.†		
	1860. No.	1875. No.	1860.	1875.	INC. P. CT.	1860.	1875.	INC. P. CT.	1860.	1875.	INC. P. CT.
Baltimore.....	212,418	347,560‡	\$ 137,314,922	\$ 231,242,513	68.4	\$ 1,385,057	\$ 2,913,656	110.4	\$ 17,903,855	\$ 32,943,426	83.9
Boston.....	247,496	341,919	319,245,109	793,961,895	148.6	3,050,367	10,408,231	241.2	11,314,028	45,134,261	298.9
Brooklyn.....	266,661	484,616	105,174,507	225,176,755	114.1	1,969,794	8,141,635	313.4	7,905,246	36,115,000	356.9
Chicago.....	109,260	395,408	37,139,845	303,795,140	720.7	373,315	5,770,491	1445.6	3,422,500	20,098,096	487.3
Cincinnati.....	161,044	275,408‡	93,032,706	181,950,074	95.6	1,098,100	5,243,801	377.5	4,101,820	16,542,000	300.8
Detroit.....	45,619	101,255	11,219,703	27,774,630	147.5	224,594	1,088,765	384.8	951,091	2,282,900	139.8
Louisville.....	68,039	124,934‡	30,107,902	78,972,314	162.8	471,308	1,974,307	318.9	5,592,600	10,417,959	86.3
Milwaukee.....	45,246	100,975	12,366,749	51,334,883	315.1	367,015	1,565,717	326.6	1,069,033	2,421,428	127.1
Newark.....	71,941	118,716	30,045,289	105,623,710	251.5	317,417	2,091,339	558.8	316,000	8,716,000	2658.2
New York.....	813,669	1,046,037	576,631,707	1,154,029,176	100.2	6,085,448	32,312,812	430.9	23,239,671	140,379,103	504.1
Philadelphia.....	565,529	738,724‡	154,835,316	575,283,968	207.2	2,517,209	10,518,462	317.8	24,029,755	60,622,132	152.3
Providence.....	50,666	100,675	61,118,300	122,024,100	99.8	325,538	1,768,343	443.3	1,400,000	8,818,046	529.8
St. Louis.....	160,773	456,192‡	59,817,666	164,394,010	174.8	1,002,719	4,028,453	301.9	4,839,000	17,297,000	257.4
San Francisco.....	56,802	271,250	37,219,702	264,229,444	609.9	600,301	3,831,329	538.2	3,724,800	5,431,000	45.8
Total § (14 cities).	2,875,157	4,903,669	1,665,269,423	4,279,792,612	156.9	19,788,182	91,657,341	363.2	109,808,419	407,218,351	270.9
New Orleans.....	168,675	205,241‡	.....	119,298,504	.....	2,119,712	4,712,271	122.3	10,419,710	28,288,900	171.5

* "Taxation" includes State, County, etc., taxes levied on the cities.

† "Indebtedness" states the gross debt, irrespective of sinking funds, and property available or set apart for the payment of debt and interest.

‡ "Population," 1875, indicates that the amount is estimated on the basis of the increase from 1860 to 1870. Otherwise the population is according to census.

§ "Total" omits amounts for New Orleans.

|| "New Orleans," figures not obtained; but probably they were larger in 1860 than in 1875, as they would include slave property.

Increase in Population.....	70.5 per cent	Increase in Taxable Valuation, <i>per head</i>	50.68 per cent
Increase in Taxable Valuation.....	156.9 per cent	Increase in Debt, <i>per head</i>	117.46 per cent
Increase in Debt.....	270.9 per cent	Increase in Taxation, <i>per head</i>	171.65 per cent
Increase in Taxation.....	363.2 per cent		

These figures teach their own moral. When we take into consideration that the most careful analysis of the amount of annual accretions of capital by the economy of a great community in prosperous times is somewhat less than three per cent of its gross products, it is quite obvious that the inhabitants of American cities are rapidly approaching the point when they will sacrifice to their city administration and State government, the whole annual increase of their combined labor; that, when to these impositions there is added the burden of national taxation, even now, if these were ordinarily prosperous times, the residents of cities are consuming their capital; and that within a short period of time such a course will lead them to bankruptcy. And the fact of this enormous expenditure for public purposes, consuming as it does the whole annual increase of the capital of the nation, is a sufficient explanation why it is so difficult for our merchants to overcome the existing financial and industrial depression as compared with the power that they exhibited in past generations of rapid recuperation after a financial ebb. Our industrial community can not any longer recover its feet, when once prostrated, because of the enormous burden of national, State, and more especially of municipal debt.

When we take into consideration the fact that more than half of our population is urban, and that the evil system that exists in New York pervades the whole community and extends to the Rio Grande, the concession is wrung from us that, however valuable a system of institutions we may have in our national and State governments, the canker of city maladministration is sufficient to ruin us.

Another difficulty which has beset us in relation to the administration of cities, is, that while we have no charter privileges, and are therefore free from the evils that beset the English cities and towns down to 1835, we have brought upon ourselves an evil that is peculiarly American. Laws in relation to the city administration are constantly changed for the purpose of putting A out to make place for B, because A is a Democrat or a Republican (as the case may be), and B has claims upon the party in power; there is legislation shifting the functions of government from one department to another with a view to patronage and political influence—legislation to paralyze an efficient officer and to strengthen party hacks—all enacted under the form of changing the framework of the city government, but, in reality, intended to oust one person and his followers for

the purpose of putting in others, so that party workers may be rewarded at the expense of the community.

The instability of the laws and the facility with which changes are effected by the legislature from year to year for the purpose of accomplishing results in the way of patronage in the city of New York, are such that no permanent improvement with reference to our city administration is possible under a continuance of this condition of affairs. Indeed, so manifest and crying has that evil become that the Chief Judge of New York has within the past year declared, in an opinion, that it is almost impossible for the judiciary to determine what the laws really are upon certain points in relation to the city of New York or Brooklyn. The success of any municipal reform is therefore predicated upon imbedding in the constitution of the various States, the plans to improve city administration, so that whatever germ of good may be contained therein may be permitted undisturbedly to ripen into fruit without the mischievous intermeddling of the legislature. Hence the soundness of the recommendation by the Commission to make its plan part of the constitution.

Towards the conclusion of the report made by this Commission, they recommend a change in the first section of the second article of the Constitution, so as to allow the Legislature to provide that elections of the members of city boards shall be so regulated as to give minorities of voters a proportionate share of representation therein.

This constitutional change, though timidly suggested by the Commission, seems to us not the least important of their recommendations. Should their main scheme fail of adoption, or, if adopted, fail to produce the expected beneficial results, a scheme may then be inaugurated of electing common councils in American cities by a plan of minority representation, which may produce practically, in some particulars, the same beneficial effects as the limitation of the suffrage, without creating the prejudice which any scheme of limitation by property qualification will awaken, and work out some results not to be hoped for from the mere limitation of the suffrage.

If there are to be fifty members of a single Board of Aldermen, then, in that event, the community of (say) New York City, instead of dividing itself into geographical divisions, could separate into intellectual strata, thus allowing of a segregation in electoral bodies of one fiftieth part of the whole community, having intellectual affinities, instead of mere geographical propinquity. A representation

of the respectable minorities could thus be secured in both parties, and a share given to them of political power strictly proportionate to their numerical strength. At the present time, the minority in every particular voting district are as completely overborne and as thoroughly disfranchised as though they were not permitted to go to the polls.

The seeming utter hopelessness of accomplishing any beneficial results by the better class of voters under the existing majority system, paralyzes public activity, and prevents intelligent and busy men who have better things to do than toiling up-hill but to go down again, from taking any part in the political affairs of the administration of their city.

Let us enter into detail. If the city is to have fifty members in its Board of Aldermen, and the existing division in party lines were to continue, the Democrats would, of these representatives elected by a minority system, secure about thirty-two, and the Republicans about eighteen. This would probably be the first result; but soon a secondary result would make itself felt when the absolute certainty will be made manifest that a quota of one thirty-second of all the Democrats in the city would secure to such Democrats who would combine to make up such a one thirty-second, a one fiftieth of the power in the Aldermanic chamber. The opportunity offered to the better elements of a political party to be represented by one or more of their own number would necessarily act as a dissolvent of both political parties in relation to the administration of the city.

Quite a number of plans have been brought forward, from which we select one known as the "list system," by which a descending ratio of value is given to each vote, according to its position upon the ticket. For instance, a party puts up a ticket of thirty men; each vote cast for the first man on the ticket has the value of one; each for the second, a half; third, a third; fourth, a fourth; fifth, a fifth; and so on down, and the fifty candidates having the highest number of full votes, after fractions are reduced to whole numbers, are declared elected. Thus, on each ticket according to position in proportion to the number of full votes, after fractions are reduced to whole numbers, that have been cast for the same, each party or part of a party elects its proportionate share of candidates, and as each individual is at liberty to change the names or their relative position on the ticket, any quota of a fiftieth part of the community can elect its representative.

The great direct advantage to which we have already alluded, that it would emancipate the respectable members of a political party from allegiance to party in municipal matters, is of sufficient importance to draw attention to this reform, but it is not the sole advantage. It will prove an incentive to political activity on the part of people who now absolutely refuse to go to the polls, and absolutely refuse to take part in political life, and are compelled so to do from natural and artificial difficulties that beset any attempt faithfully to perform political duties.

No political organization of things which is not in harmony with the social organization can be in the long run successful. The whole tendency of modern civilization is to differentiation, to divisions of employments, to intensity of application to one occupation, and not only to a single occupation, but to a sub-division of an occupation.

When for a nation of farmers, planters, and a few shop-keepers our institutions were devised, it was supposed that our citizens would have sufficient leisure to devote themselves to political duties, so that politics never would become the occupation of a class, but that it would be each man's business, and indeed at first it was so. The people's wants were few, the governmental operations simple, and our farmers and planters had months of leisure in each year. When the harvest was gathered, they could meet their fellows, discuss political questions, attend to political duties, organize clubs, and become for a month or two politicians without neglecting their duties to their families, and with positive advantage to their intellectual culture.

In the early days of our institutions, even our merchants were men of leisure for months at a time. A packet would come in and discharge its cargo; then for a week or two, our then merchant-princes were busy placing the contents of their bales, which were brought from abroad, upon their shelves; and then an interval again came, of a fortnight or a month, within which they could hear and receive nothing from Europe; and during this period at least they were to a degree men of leisure. But now a telegraphic instrument in their very offices conveys to them the prices of produce the world over, involves sending by telegraph instantaneous determinations upon transferring cargoes of cotton not yet picked, for teas not yet grown, involves the taking of great risks from hour to hour, and watching the money markets of the world with a view to the making of advantageous exchanges. Hence the intensity of occupation

is such that any deviation, even to a pleasurable diversion—much more so, devoting himself to an occupation like politics—which interferes with the successful thinking out of this modern merchant's business, is necessarily destructive to his success in the main business of his life.

Our political party press berates, therefore, in vain this merchant, week after week and day after day, that he is lax in the performance of his political duties: the social organization is against him, the political organization demands of him a devotion of time utterly incompatible with his business success. If he gives it, he is ruined. He prefers, therefore, to be plundered. He purchases his peace by the sacrifice of a fourth of his fortune, rather than, for the purpose of bettering things, give up a larger part, because he must give his whole time, or so large a proportion of it that it will materially interfere with his business, if he desires to make headway against men who can afford to give their whole time for the profits obtainable through political success. Therefore, spasmodic political efforts, made under the pressure of extraordinary emergencies by our better class citizens, fail so completely to crystallize into permanent reforms, or to overcome the 'permanent social conditions of our community.

It is the great law of the division of employments, and not willful neglect of duty, which has reduced politics to a trade—a trade from which we have, by our mistaken system of representation, excluded the best intellects of the community from even any proportionate share of beneficial influence, thus making that trade a sort of infirmary for the broken-down, the morally lame, and the morally blind—vast numbers of people unfitted for those avocations in which large profits can be reaped solely by talents, coupled with industry and probity.

It may be regarded as an axiom of political philosophy that political governments will be found in every country in the possession of its leisure class. By that, of course, we do not mean men who do nothing, but men who are emancipated from toil by the rendering in former years, by themselves or their ancestors, of valuable services to their community, by virtue of which they have in their possession so large a proportion of property that its income frees them from the bread and butter occupations of the community.

In every large city of Europe, there is an extensive class of such men, who, from desire to amuse themselves, or from patriotism, take charge of the conduct of its political administration. In our

American cities, while we have individual instances of wealthy men, there is no such leisure class. Our leisure class is composed of men not emancipated from toil by reason of anterior self-denial, either on the part of themselves or their ancestors, in the accumulation of property, but composed of such as are too low in organization for successful competition in the ordinary avocations of life, and unfitted for success therein. And to this band of unprincipled insolvents and adventurers is committed, in both political parties, the high and responsible trust to nominate and elect by machinery our governors, make our judges for us, call into being legislators to frame our laws, administrators to expend our money, to levy our taxes, and impose upon us burdens in the way of perpetual mortgages in the form of national, State, and municipal indebtedness.

There is no way out from this wretched condition so long as the representative system in our country remains what it is—out of harmony with that great law of progress, the division of employments. If we desire our better class of citizens to take part in politics, we must offer them an opportunity, by a fair system of representation, to achieve a certain degree of success—a success commensurate with their efforts, and in proportion to their numerical strength—a success constant in its recurrence and obvious in its results.

We have not even attempted to answer in detail the questions how the administrative powers of a city government should be distributed, what the several departments should do, and what would or would not prove an harmonious adjustment of administrative functions. If the suggestions hitherto made are based on fact, we are as yet indeed far from being called upon to make any minor reforms of the character these questions suggest. The fundamental difficulties to which attention has been drawn, are comparatively of such higher importance that it seems waste of time to speak of functional disturbances or functional ameliorations, when there are grave organic diseases to be first cured.

The evils from which American city governments suffer are attributed to such deep-rooted causes that it is the merest charlatanism to hold out any expectation of very important results from changing mere methods of administration, *personnel*, or departments.

THOMAS DE QUINCEY.¹

NO more fitting introduction to a biographical survey of De Quincey's career can be found than these words of the man himself, uttered in response to a publisher's request that he would furnish a few memoranda of his own life :

" Nothing makes such dreary and monotonous reading as the old hackneyed roll-call, chronologically arrayed, of inevitable facts in a man's life. One is so certain of the man's having been born, and also of his having died, that it is dismal to be under the necessity of reading it. That the man began by being a boy—that he went to school—and that by intense application to his studies, ' which he took to be his portion in this life,' he rose to distinction as a robber of orchards, seems so probable, upon the whole, that I am willing to accept it as a postulate. That he married—that, in fullness of time, he was hanged, or (being a humble, unambitious man) that he was content with deserving it—these little circumstances are so naturally to be looked for as sown broadcast up and down the great fields of biography, that any one life becomes, in this respect, but the echo of thousands. Chronologic successions of events and dates, such as these, which, belonging to the race, illustrate nothing in the individual, are as wearisome as they are useless."

The paradoxical pertness of these sentences far more than their substratum of truth, will not fail to attract those who wish their thinking done for them by proxy. What, however, may be fallacious in these funambulatory figures of speech, when applied to the *doers*, is not so wide of the mark when referred to the *thinkers*, such as the "Opium-Eater" himself. The man of action leaves a trail of incident behind, that the biographical pathfinder has little difficulty in tracing out ; but, as a rule, the scholar's career affords few *data* of historic interest, and only so much of personal character as may be gathered from his own works. Of those authors who have, acknowledgedly or otherwise, provided an inquisitive public with autobiographic information, none has given more highly finished fragments of self-portraiture than De Quincey; and to weld these fractional parts into one homogeneous whole has been the loving labor of Mr. Page. Dr. Johnson said that next to the Newgate calendar

¹Thomas De Quincey. By H. A. Page. In two volumes. London: John Hogg & Co.

the Biography of Authors was the most sickening chapter in the history of Man, and, as far as existing evidence extends, with justice; but the *genus irritabile*, as they not inaptly style themselves, are the only people who preserve records of their sufferings; it is, therefore, impossible to demonstrate that the human unit of any other profession might not be enabled to advance a like proposition on behalf of his class did it keep similar registers. In these circumstances, accepting the great lexicographer's words as a *theorem*, De Quincey may be regarded as typical of his order.

Thomas De Quincey was born in Greenhays, near Manchester, on the 15th August, 1785, and may be said to have been nursed beneath the "condor wings" of Death itself. The earliest recordable incidents that left "stings in his memory" were shadows, or foreshadowings of mortality. Soon after the boy's birth, his father had to forsake home in a vain search for health, and in a little while returned to die. Almost before his mental faculties, his precocity notwithstanding, had time to develop into thought, a circumstance occurred to profoundly impress him, even at that premature stage of existence, with a sense of the evil and violence of humanity. A little sister died, but he was so young that little beyond temporary perplexity at her disappearance would have stirred the current of his childish thoughts had not a rumor passed through the household that her death, if not hastened, had been preceded by the brutality of her nurse. This produced an indefinable but ineffaceable feeling of horror upon the imaginative boy. Pathetically does he himself record how, with three innocent little sisters for playmates, and shut off from all knowledge of poverty, or oppression, or outrage, hitherto he had not suspected the true complexion of the world in which he and his sisters were living. From this moment a change came over the character of his thoughts. His constitutional predisposition to abstraction and unboyish sports was further increased by an ague which attacked him at this time and clung to him for about two years. Then the event which was more than all else to affect his imaginative temperament was the death of another sister, the beloved playmate in his childish games. The account which De Quincey gives of his feelings at the loss of this dear relative, and the influences which swayed his childish mind when he stole secretly into the chamber of death, and, kneeling by the remains of her he had loved so truly, snatched from her cold lips a last farewell kiss, are recorded in the impassioned if not imperishable language of *Suspiria de Profundis*, and call not for reiteration here.

Scarcely had the grave closed over his sister's form than it reopened for his father's coffin, and again had the child to stand in infantile bewilderment and behold his nearest and dearest borne from him, and, wherefore he could not comprehend, consigned to the cold and darksome earth.

From these cruel, repeated blows the boy, naturally, in a great measure recovered, but, as he remarks, they "left stings in his memory." Happily for him and his, the elder De Quincey, although a mercantile man yet a man of intellect, left the family decently provided for, his sons receiving an annual allowance of about \$750, and his daughters \$500 each. The lad's earliest trials after his father's death were caused by the tyranny of an elder brother, William, who, having undergone some of the ordeal of public school life, was only too delighted to have a victim upon whom to avenge his own past sufferings. In the sensitive and delicate child, William found an unresisting martyr to all his persecution; he taunted him for his effeminacy and punished him for his weakness. "Physically and intellectually," records De Quincey, "he looked upon me as below notice; but, *morally*, he assured me that he would give me a written character of the very best description, whenever I chose to apply for it." The two boys had to make a daily journey of a mile to the house of one of their guardians, under whom they studied classics; the elder brother, apparently of a pugilistic disposition, contrived to start a feud with some factory boys, and forced the younger to aid him in his contests. Thomas's reminiscences of the unwilling part he filled in the campaign are highly amusing, especially where he records his capture by the enemy and transference to the custody of some young women and girls, and of their executing *capital* punishment upon him. William, who appears to have saved his younger brother from sinking into a premature old age, was a boy of singular character: he is said, among other peculiarities, to have tried to invent a machine for walking upon the ceiling like a fly, to have acted tragedies, and drawn pictures so replete with horror that he terrified his sisters and the servants. One idea which his famous brother imputes to him is remarkable: a speculation as to the possibility of a confederation of all the ghosts against all the living men, and as to the prospects of their victory. Like the young Brontës, the two De Quinceys invented imaginary kingdoms and peopled them with the creations of their fancy; the elder brother, having got hold of Lord Monboddo's book, in which the caudal appendages of our ancestors are alluded to, gravely asserted

that the inhabitants of his junior's kingdom, the Grombroonias, "had not emerged from this early condition of apedom." To relieve me, says Thomas, from the ignominy this discovery caused, he suggested that I should "compel the whole nation to sit down for six hours a day, for the purpose of approximating them to human form by a process of natural attrition."

His progress, especially in Latin, having been remarkable, it was arranged that Thomas, now in his eleventh year, should be placed at the Bath Grammar School. To this school, then under the supervision of an accomplished Etonian, the lad was accompanied by a brother four years younger than himself, and whose great beauty and romantic adventures he subsequently celebrated in one of the most interesting of his essays. Some of the letters which the lad wrote to his mother and sister are still preserved, and are now published in this memoir; they are amusing and precocious, but contain nothing needing remark. A circumstance recorded by his biographer as relating to this epoch is interesting as a foreshadowing of his future improvidence. "His passion for books," says Mr. Page, "had even at this early stage brought a shadowy sorrow into De Quincey's boy-life. He exceeded his liberal allowance of pocket-money, and ran in debt to the extent of some three guineas; and as he was ashamed to tell any of his friends or ask their help, his trouble of conscience and his grief became excessive." At Bath he developed a taste for Greek, and, if we may accept his own statement for fact, he rapidly acquired a mastery over it. He relates that one day one of the masters pointed him out to a stranger with the remark, "That boy could harangue an Athenian mob better than you or I could address an English one." "He who honored me with this eulogy," he adds, "was a scholar, 'and a ripe and good one;'" but many, doubtless, who are acquainted with De Quincey's consummate egotism will accept this anecdote, as they will so many others derived from the same source, *cum grano salis*. Our doubts, indeed, on this very subject are somewhat supported by a passage in a letter to his mother written after he had left the grammar school, in which he remarks, "I have two Greek books here, so that I am advancing in it, and by teaching Lord Westport every day to make verses, I keep up my Latin." It is a grave question which we should here pause to consider, whether, forsooth, much of the autobiographic matter which De Quincey gave so freely to the public must not be regarded with considerable suspicion as to its being genuine history, and not similar in invention to his "Flight of the

Tartars." Mr. Page, who is in a better position, certainly, than other people to judge this matter, believes in the entire veracity of De Quincey, but we still think something may yet be adduced on the other side; the man had such an intense belief that all he said or thought interested the world, and at the same time was so imaginative, that some exaggeration at least may be looked for. De Quincey was so disregardful of the feelings of some of his greatest contemporaries that he could scarcely blame us, were he still with us, for reiterating certain long mooted questions about his own conduct.

After leaving the Bath school, De Quincey studied for a short time under his mother's care at home, and Mr. Page gives an amusing anecdote of what their French tutor had to suffer from him and his brothers. He was soon, however, sent to another school at Winkfield, and was placed there, says an old school-fellow, "because he had received a blow on the head from the usher of the Bath grammar school, from the effects of which it was fancied that he still suffered. . . . *I think the injury was purely imaginary*, and that his pains arose from irritation in his too active and susceptible brain." The italics are ours, and are given to draw attention to the belief of an unbiased friend that he could even in those days draw largely upon his imagination. After a year's sojourn at Winkfield, De Quincey left it to go on an Irish tour with Lord Westport. Some portions of the preserved letters relating to this journey are more than usually interesting, and display a far wider range of thought than could have been expected from a boy of fifteen. The way in which he endeavors to excuse his going to the theatre, an utter abomination in the eyes of his evangelical mother—is ludicrous, and his description of the drive from Dunleavy to Dublin in a *jingle*, which he defines to be a "rotten sociable drawn by one skeleton," is sufficiently humorous, while his account of an installation of six knights of St. Patrick is valuable as an eye-witness's record of an historical event. One lengthy letter from Ireland, which Mr. Page prints, is an earnest appeal to his mother not to let him be again placed at a private school.

"The thing which makes me most unhappy at a private school," he writes, "is there being no emulation, no ambition, nothing to contend for—no honors to excite one. This was exactly the case at Mr. Spencer's. I was at the head of the school the whole time I was there. . . . I had no one to contend with, nor any thing higher to aspire to. The consequence was, that my powers entirely flagged, my mind became quite dormant. In short, it *was*, and always *will* be, as impossible for me to exert myself as much at a private as in a public school, as it would be for a

person running for his own amusement to go as quick as if he were running a race or flying from his pursuers."

After his return from Ireland, De Quincey spent a short time with a Lady Carbery, a friend of his mother's, and then, much against his inclination, was placed at the Manchester Grammar School. His wish was to go to Oxford; but his guardians, from matters of pecuniary prudence, wished him to study three years longer before entering the University; he was now only sixteen, and, notwithstanding his declaration that his previous tutors deemed him ripe for Oxford, certainly not likely to be injured by a little longer experience of school life. His whole income was but \$750, which was not sufficient for his maintenance at Oxford, but was more than enough for his expenditure at Manchester, and would, indeed, have permitted the accumulation of seven or eight hundred dollars towards his university outlay. We enter into this matter fully, because De Quincey, in his "Confessions," puts the whole case in a false light, and virtually endeavors to palliate his boyish and most unjustifiable act of insubordination. Instances of tyrannical abuse of authority are but too frequent, but in this circumstance there is no such plea possible; his master, he confesses, had been kind to him, and, as subsequent events conclusively proved, his guardians acted from the best and most prudential motives. Those who attempt to justify his flight from school either act from mistaken views or in defiance of all constituted power.

One July morning, when nearly seventeen, and with the apparently inexhaustible sum of \$45 in his pocket, he ran away from school, and without any definite plan found himself launched upon the wide world. The history of his adventures, as told by himself, is known wherever English literature has penetrated. How much of the tale is fact, and how much fiction, can never now be decided; only the intense power of the writer over human sympathies can be adjudicated upon. The episode of his sufferings in London, and of the strange companions his misfortunes made him acquainted with, is not only one of the most realistic pieces of writing in the language, but, whether invention or the recital of experience, is intensely valuable from a psychological point of view. The sympathetic bonds which, however weakened by art, do really unite all human beings, are seen in this narrative strung up to their highest tension: the proud, conceited, headstrong, highly-educated lad is found grateful for the society of a poor outcast child, and owes his life to the tender mercies of a forlorn "street-walker." In a higher and better style

than is but too frequently adopted for such incidents, De Quincey declares, when referring to the class to which his unfortunate pre-server belonged :

“ At no time of my life have I been a person to hold myself polluted by the touch or approach of any creature that wore a human shape ; on the contrary, from my very earliest youth it has been my pride to converse, familiarly, *more Socratico*, with all human beings, man, woman, and child, that chance might fling in my way ; a practice which is friendly to the knowledge of human nature, to good feelings, and to that frankness of address which becomes a man who would be thought a philosopher. For a philosopher should . . . look upon himself as a catholic creature, and as standing in an equal relation to high and low—to educated and uneducated, to the guilty and the innocent.”

It is strange, and, indeed, did one not fully recognize the justness of the adage that “ truth is stranger than fiction,” would appear incomprehensible, that De Quincey in after years was never enabled to trace out the poor child who was his “ partner in wretchedness” in the dismal old house in the Soho. That he never again encountered “ poor Ann” is not so singular ; the words with which his narrative bids her farewell are as full of true pathos as any thing he ever indited : “ but now I should fear to see her ; and her cough, which grieved me when I parted from her, is now my consolation. I now wish to see her no longer ; but think of her more gladly as one long since laid in the grave of a Magdalen ; taken away before injuries and cruelty had blotted out and transfigured her ingenuous nature, or the brutalities of ruffians had completed the ruin they had begun.”

Eventually De Quincey came to terms with his relatives, and, upon the inadequate allowance of about \$500 per annum, entered at Worcester College, Oxford. His university career was short and unsatisfactory ; “ he came,” remarks his biographer, “ burdened with experiences, luckily not common to undergraduates ; and natural tendency combined with outward circumstances to repress the ‘ genial currents,’ which it is as much the prerogative of Oxford to awaken and to direct, as it is to instill or to confirm love for liberal studies in themselves.” To escape from the restraints of school-boydom he longed for the university, and, when he had attained that desire, other pressing necessities rendered him any thing but an affectionate child of *alma mater*. Although he appears to have been quiet and studious (of a certain class of literature), he left Oxford without taking his degree, offended, it is said, at something said or done by the examiners. His second year at college was,

however, a memorable one for him; for in that year it was that he first tasted opium. Whilst spending a vacation in London, he suffered from a neuralgic attack, and, at the suggestion of a college friend, took opium for its alleviation. This is his own account, and we see no reason to doubt it, although, after his gross attack upon Coleridge for similar indulgence, he has laid himself open for any charge the uncharitable may choose to make. "I believe it to be notorious," said De Quincey of Coleridge, in a paper which can not be forgotten, "that he first began the use of opium, not as a relief from any bodily pains or nervous irritation (since his constitution was strong and excellent), but as a source of luxurious sensation." As a contrast, painful in the circumstance, read what he says of himself: "It was not for the purpose of creating pleasure, but of mitigating pain in the severest degree, that I first began to use opium as an article of daily diet." Opposing the charge (but one of so many equally wanton) to his own excuse, and without quoting the tritely true proverb, and without deeming that there is any justification in the plea urged by Baudelaire, that he also cruelly reviled himself, we have his own words to prove that, whatsoever induced him to first resort to the drug, pleasure eventually *was* the motive that caused him to recur to its fascinations. Self-indulgence, indeed, it is no harsh judgment to pass, was his ruling incentive through life. "I confess it," he avowed, "that I am too much of an Eudæmonist; I hanker too much after a state of happiness, both for myself and others; I can not face misery, whether my own or not, with an eye of sufficient firmness; and am little capable of encountering present pain for the sake of any reversionary benefit." This hankering after pleasure, doubtless it was, that prompted him to succor Coleridge and others; and, although it be painful to too closely analyze the benefits conferred, we can not avoid arriving at the conclusion that no immediate self-denial would have been risked by this Eudæmonist; martyrdom was the last thing De Quincey would have wished for. Indulgence in opium saved him, there is little reason to doubt, from the more terrible curse of alcoholic indulgences: in his "Confessions" he asserts: "On all occasions when I had an opportunity, I never failed to drink wine—which I worshiped then as I have since worshiped opium."

In 1803 began his correspondence with Wordsworth, although it was not until about two years later that De Quincey and the poet became personally acquainted. In his first letter the poet takes occasion to point out "how many things there are in a man's

character of which his writings, however miscellaneous or voluminous, will give no idea! how many thousand things which go to making up the value of a practical moral man, concerning not one of which any conclusion can be drawn from what he says of himself in the world's ear." In 1807 he met Coleridge, and, in his reminiscences of the poet, furnishes us with a vivacious description of their first meeting. Subsequently, through Cottle, the publisher, he was enabled to be of pecuniary assistance to the author of "*The Ancient Mariner*," but, at a future date, was so indelicate as to publish the fact to the world. The letter in which Coleridge agreed to accept the proffered aid is so honorable to him that, in justice to his memory, it should always be quoted from when the incident is alluded to:

"I will now express my sentiments on the important subject communicated to you. I need not say it has been the cause of serious meditation. Undoubtedly calamities have so thickened on me for the last two years that the pecuniary pressures of the moment are the only serious obstacles at present to my completion of those works which, if completed, would make me easy. Besides these, I have reason for belief that a Tragedy of mine will be brought on the stage this season, the result of which is, of course, only one of the possibilities of life, on which I am not fool enough to calculate.

"Finally, therefore, if you know that my unknown benefactor is in such circumstances that, in doing what he offers to do, he transgresses no duty of morals or of prudence, and does not do that from feelings which after-reflection might perhaps discountenance, I shall gratefully accept it as an unconditional loan, which I trust I shall be able to restore at the close of two years. This, however, I shall be able to know at the expiration of one year, and shall then beg to know the name of my benefactor." . . .

Eventually De Quincey made up his mind to reside in the Lake district, so that he might cultivate more closely the acquaintance of the leading representatives of the so-called "Lake School." He acquired the lease of a cottage which had been in the occupation of Wordsworth, at Grasmere, and retained it for seven and twenty years. In his highly poetic "*Early Memorials of Grasmere*," he describes in the most felicitous manner the beauties of the neighborhood, and the then simplicity of the aborigines. Two episodes which he introduces are recounted in his best style; that of the "Green tragedy" is grandiloquently described; but the incident of the meditative young student who perished self-slain, up amid "the cloudy wildernesses within Blencathara," with his head pillowed upon the works of his favorite *Æschylus*, is sublimely pathetic. The story itself, in its naked truth, is intensely affecting, but De Quincey

has contrived to envelope its simple details with the charm of genius. Returning to more personal details, we do not find that any very sympathetic friendship sprung up between the Opium-Eater and his neighbor Wordsworth: the poet does not appear to have been of a very lovable disposition, nor De Quincey enabled to inspire much affection. Length of years, instead of drawing the two students closer together, would seem to have separated them more and more, although they maintained to the last a sort of semi-friendship. De Quincey, who professed an intense love of children, appeared to suffer greatly, however, at the loss of Kate, one of Wordsworth's little daughters, although certainly the parents did not deem it any assuagement of *their* sorrow to see a lengthy account of their friend's feelings, on this occasion, paraded in print. The curious manner, indeed, in which the Opium-Eater unbosomed his secret thoughts and private conversations to the world, utterly regardless of the sacred rights of friendship, or any thing else, is one of his most unpleasing *traits*, and nothing he or his defenders can urge in mitigation of the offense will stifle the feelings of disgust aroused by his conduct.

The earliest record Mr. Page gives of De Quincey's literary labors is in connection with Wordsworth, whose pamphlet on "The Convention of Cintra" he assisted through the press, revising it and adding an appendix which the poet declared was "done in a most masterly manner." In the latter part of 1814, at the invitation of his friend Wilson—"Christopher North"—the embryo author visited Edinburgh, where he found himself in congenial society. Mr. Page says:

"They did not at first know well what to make of this man, with the boyish figure and the gentle voice, who, with quiet, unassuming deliverance, speedily asserted a kind of right to say the final word, and who soon became a referee in knotty points of philosophy or scholarship—even Hamilton (Sir William) assenting. He was—at any rate, for a time—a puzzle, a paradox, a source of bewilderment, and they could not have done talking about him. He became a kind of literary lion, and was persecuted with invitations to dine out here, there, everywhere. All felt that a new influence was at work in their midst, and they enjoyed it. This new-comer, who could cap Hamilton's most recondite quotations from Plato and Plotinus, from Kant or Richter, or rectify on the spur of the moment the least lapse in a line cited from Euripides or Pindar, was worthy of study and of deference."

And here it is but just to note that, although possessed of a wonderful memory, and the reader of a prodigious amount of literature of various kinds, De Quincey was not invariably correct in his ascrip-

tions of authorship. Several quotations we could point out as credited by him to unlawful owners.

Towards the close of 1816, De Quincey married the daughter of a neighboring Westmoreland farmer. Previous to his marriage he made desperate efforts to overcome his infatuation for opium. According to the "Confessions," his daily dose of laudanum had increased to the terrible quantity of 340 grains, or 8000 drops! Gradually he reduced this amount to 40 grains, the result of which was an immediate return to health and dispersion of the fearful melancholia which had of late overpowered him. Whether his wife was acquainted with the habits of the man she accepted for a husband, we know not; but speedily after the marriage all her wifely affection was put to the sternest test by the relapse of De Quincey into inordinate indulgences in opium. Though he speaks prior to 1813, says Mr. Page, "of years 'set as it were, and insulated in the gloom and cloudy melancholy of opium,' he can still regard himself as having been on the whole a happy man till the middle of the year 1817. That and the succeeding year 1818 find him overmastered by the enemy, shut as into a cave of Trophonius." In the beginning of 1819, the perusal of David Ricardo's work on "Political Economy" struck some sparks of fire from him, but he speedily relapsed into his state of visionary helplessness. Horrors innumerable peopled his dreams, phantoms of unutterable terrors passed in awesome pageantry before his opium-wrought slumber, and, but for the devoted affection of his wife, suicide or the madhouse would doubtless have been his doom. Referring to his condition at this epoch of his existence, he exclaims:

"But the years came—for I have lived too long, reader, in relation to many things; and the report of me would have been better, or more uniform at least, had I died some twenty years ago—the years came in which circumstances made me an opium-eater: years through which a shadow as of sad eclipse sate and rested upon my faculties; years through which I was careless of all but those who lived within *my* inner circle, within 'my heart of hearts;' years—ah heavenly years!—through which I lived, beloved, *with* thee, *to* thee, *for* thee, *by* thee! Ah happy, happy years! in which I was a mere foot-ball of reproach, but in which every wind and sounding hurricane of wrath or contempt flew by, like chasing enemies past some defying gate of adamant, and left me too blessed in thy smiles—angel of life!—to heed the curses or the mocking, which sometimes I heard raving outside of our impregnable Eden. What any man said of me in those days, what he thought, did I ask? did I care?"

It has been customary to compare De Quincey's style with the prose of Edgar A. Poe, and when we light upon such passages as

this, it is easy to comprehend how the comparison was originated. Baudelaire, who seemed to understand the intellectual nature of Poe better than any of his own countrymen, in *Les Paradis Artificiels* cites as examples of the knowledge possessed by "*ce poète incomparable*" of the effects of opium, the monologue of Egæus, in "Berenice," and the experiences of Bedloe in the "Tale of the Ragged Mountains." These stories, written by Poe at an interval of ten years, depict, with as much reality as De Quincey's sketches, the accredited results of opium-eating; but, although in the last two years of his life, the poet certainly did seek a nepenthe for his cares in the *paradis artificiel* proffered by laudanum, there is no reason for believing that he submitted to its heavy yoke in his earlier life. Whence then his knowledge? De Quincey's "Confessions" had become almost classic before Poe published a single tale, and may, therefore, have afforded hints which the author of "Berenice" well knew how to avail himself of. But, if one could so deftly have portrayed the idiosyncrasies of the opium-eater without having indulged in the pernicious extract personally, could not the other also have charmed us with more of fiction than of fact? Even Mr. Page, who holds so fast on to the trustworthiness of De Quincey, remarks at this point in the story: "It needs to be borne in mind, however, that though these recollections are in no way necessarily or consciously falsified, they are colored by the fancy and impression through which they are viewed; and it only needs to be said, that in reality he was not for any lengthened period thus exiled from companionship or contact with the outer world." Though the styles of Poe and De Quincey occasionally thus remind us one of another, it is only at intervals. Poe, despite the artificiality of his composition, is always concentrated, lucid, and with every word brings us palpably closer to the *dénouement*; he makes his reader feel that not a single sentence may be omitted: De Quincey is nearly always diffuse, often turgid, and frequently furnishes whole pages that may be profitably skipped. Other notable points of difference—more, far more than those of agreement—divide the two authors. In humor Poe invariably failed, whilst occasionally De Quincey succeeded—not, however, in such overpraised and overwrought burlesque as "Murder, considered as one of the Fine Arts," an article which no second-rate magazine would have accepted from an unknown writer, but only when he depicts little episodes of real life. Poe could paint the *outré* and the *bizarre* with a power unsurpassed, and perhaps unequaled, by any author in the

English language, but he was quite unable to do what De Quincey often did with complete success—touch the human heart by that most potent of all weapons, Pathos.

In the summer of 1819 De Quincey became editor of *The Westmoreland Gazette*, and surprised his friends by the energy he expended in the undertaking. "For the greater part of a year," says Mr. Page, "he remained editor, and resigned only under the necessity of turning his pen to more profitable account." At this time he was also contributing to the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood*, and indeed was now forced to labor in order to eke out an income grievously attenuated by reckless benefactions. His excessive liberality had brought down upon his shoulders the terrible incubus of debt, and in the spring of 1821 he was forced to visit the metropolis in search of literary engagements. In London he made many new acquaintances, including Charles Lamb, who introduced him to the publishers of the *London Magazine*, in the October and November numbers of which periodical appeared the first and second parts of his now world-famed "Confessions of an English Opium-Eater." The immense success of these articles caused their republication in book form in 1822, whilst as a sequel "Suspiria de Profundis" was contributed to *Blackwood* for March, 1845. De Quincey subsequently published many other original and translated papers in the *London Magazine*, that storehouse for so much of the best contemporary literature; but Edinburgh publications appear to have absorbed the greater portion of his writings. Despite all his exertions, he was unable to extricate himself from debt, and for some long time he was forced to hide from his creditors, and forbear visiting his wife and children. In February, 1825, he is found writing to his friend Wilson, "The wretched business of hack-author, with all its horrible degradations, is more than I am able to bear. At this moment I have not a place to hide my head in. Something I meditate—I know not what. '*Itaque e conspectu omnium abiit.*' With a good publisher, and liberty to premeditate what I write, I might yet liberate myself: after which, having paid every body, I would slink into some dark corner—educate my children—and show my face in the world no more." Wilson did what he could to assist his old friend, and offered him such a sum for a series of articles for *Blackwood*, as materially relieved his temporary trouble. In 1828, De Quincey removed to Edinburgh, where he found himself in congenial society again, and with prospects somewhat brighter. Amongst others who made his acquaintance was

Thomas Carlyle, and from a characteristic letter which he addressed to the Opium-Eater in December of this year, we are tempted to make the following extract :

"I am to say, therefore, that your presence at this fireside will diffuse no ordinary gladness over all members of the household; that our warmest welcome, and such solacement as even the desert does not refuse, are at any time and at all times in store for one we love so well. . . . Such a treat it would be to hear the sound of philosophy and literature in the hitherto quite savage wolds, where since the creation of the world no such music, scarcely even articulate speech, had been uttered or dreamed of! Come, therefore, come and see us; for we often long after you. Nay, I can promise, too, that we are almost a unique sight in the British Empire; such a quantity of German periodicals and mystic speculation embosomed in plain Scottish *Peat-moor* being nowhere else, that I know of, to be met with. In idle hours we sometimes project founding a sort of a colony here, to be called the 'Misanthropic Society,' the settlers all to be men of a certain philosophic depth, and intensely sensible of the present state of literature; each to have his own cottage, encircled with roses or thistles, as he might prefer; a library and pantry within, and huge stack of turf-fuel without; fenced off from his neighbors by fir woods, and, when he pleased, by cast metal railing, so that each might feel himself strictly an individual, and free as a son of the wilderness; but the whole settlement to meet weekly over coffee, and then unite in their *Miserere*, or what were better, hurl forth their defiance, pity, expostulation, over the whole universe, civil, literary, and religious. I reckon this place a much fitter site for such an establishment than your Lake Country, a region abounding in natural beauty, but blown on by coach-horns, betrotten by picturesque tourists, and otherwise exceedingly desecrated by too frequent resort; whereas here, though still in communication with the manufacturing world, we have a solitude altogether Druidical—grim hills tenanted chiefly by the wild grouse, tarns and brooks that have soaked and slumbered since the Deluge of Noah, and nothing to disturb you with speech, except Arcturus and Orion, and the Spirit of Nature, in the heaven and in the earth, as it manifests itself in anger or love, and utters its inexplicable tidings, unheard by the mortal ear. But the misery is the almost total want of colonists! would *you* come hither and be king over us; *then* indeed we had made a fair beginning, and the 'Bog School' might snap its fingers at the 'Lake School' itself, and hope to be one day recognized of all men. . . . True, we have no society, but who has, in the strict sense of that word! I have never had any worth speaking much about since I came into this world: in the next, it may be, they will order matters better. . . .

T. CARLYLE."

De Quincey eventually settled in Edinburgh, and in 1830 was joined by his wife and children. His reputation continued to increase, and editors were found ready to pay him good prices for his work, which, however, was neither to be depended upon for equality of tone nor certainty of supply. In all probability his patrimonial estate was somewhat added to at this time, but, if his career was improved financially, it was again overclouded by repeat-

ed domestic bereavements. In 1833, his youngest son, Julius, a child four years old, was carried off by fever; in 1835, his favorite son, William, a brilliant and handsome lad of eighteen, whose scholarship had given rise to the most sanguine hopes, died from a painful and obscure disease of the brain; and in 1837 his wife also died, and left him to struggle on alone. In 1840, he went with his daughters to reside at Lasswade, a few miles from Edinburgh, in a neat little cottage which he took on lease for a few years. The fits of depression to which he had been more subject than ever since his wife's death, not only led him into deep relapses into opium, but also appeared to incite him to occasional changes of residence. It is recorded of this period of his life that not only had he his permanent residence at Lasswade, but also six separate sets of lodgings, all being paid for simultaneously, in Edinburgh.

From the date of taking the Lasswade cottage, the character of De Quincey appears in a somewhat more amiable light than of yore. Mr. Page has been successful in obtaining the use of a very large number of most interesting letters of the Opium-Eater, relating to this period of his life: they are chiefly addressed to members of his family, and are replete with genial humor. As a specimen of the pleasant chatty manner of his correspondence, we may quote a paragraph from a letter to one of his daughters:

"By the way, speaking of gluttony as a foible of our interesting human race, I am reminded of another little foible which they have, rather distressingly, viz., a fancy for being horribly dirty. If I had happened to forget this fact, it would lately have been recalled to my remembrance by Mrs. Butler, formerly Fanny Kemble (but I dare say you know her in neither form—neither as chrysalis nor butterfly). She, in her book on Italy, etc. (not too good, I fear), makes this '*observe*,' in which I heartily agree—namely, that this sublunary world has the misfortune to be very dirty, with the exception of some people in England, but with no exception at all for any other island or continent. Allowing for the 'some' in England, all the rest of the clean people, you perceive clearly, must be out at sea. . . . Professor Wilson tells on this subject a story of a Frenchman which pleases me by its *naïveté*—that is, you know, by its *unconscious* ingenuousness. He was illustrating the inconsistencies of man, and he went on thus, 'Our faces, for instance, our hands—why, bless me! we wash them every day: our feet, on the other hand—*never*.' And echo answered '*never*.'"

Did space permit, we should like to have quoted some richly humorous notes about De Quincey's inability to meet an American namesake of his—Mr. Josiah Quincey, who made some ineffectual attempts to interview the Opium-Eater. De Quincey entertained a great liking for Americans, especially after Messrs. Ticknor & Fields

published the eight-volume collection of his works, notwithstanding his regret that he had had no actual editorial supervision over it, and several references are made in his correspondence anent New Englanders. Mr. Fields subsequently visited the old man at Lasswade, and on his departure left a pleasant souvenir of his visit in the hands of Miss De Quincey, in the shape of a check for the profits accruing to her father from the sale of his works in America.

"It can not be said," Mr. Page remarks, "that the end came to De Quincey quite unexpectedly; though he himself was reluctant to admit that it was so near. He had outlived the allotted three score and ten; . . but he cherished his plans and prospects with a kind of childlike faith, and was, in his own way, industrious and hopeful to the last." Of his last days Dr. Warburton Begbie, his medical attendant, furnishes us with a most valuable account, and what is missing from his statement is supplemented by Miss De Quincey. It was in December, 1859, that he passed away: says Dr. Begbie, "It was only too evident on Wednesday (7th) morning that his hours on earth were numbered. He recognized in the forenoon his eldest daughter, who arrived in time to receive the blessing of her dying father; and with the single expression of 'Thank you!' to those around him, which was uttered with touching sweetness and radiant expression, he passed into a drowsy state, by degrees became insensible, and thus on the forenoon of Thursday died, his death being ascribable rather to exhaustion of the system than to specific disease."

It has not come within the scope of our present purpose to enter into a wide discussion upon De Quincey's proper position in English literature: whilst, however, granting him much that his biographer claims for him as an author, as a man we are frequently compelled to differ from the estimate put upon his actions by Mr. Page, to whom, however, we willingly proffer our gratitude for this highly interesting work. Nearly a quarter of a century had elapsed without any one attempting to connect De Quincey's autobiographic sketches into a consecutive narrative; but the time has not been lost, for in these volumes De Quincey's idiosyncrasies are found analyzed in a masterly manner, and his story told with the double charm of belief in his hero and regard for truth.

JUDICIAL PARTISANSHIP.

I.

QUEEN CAROLINE'S CASE.

THE question of the employment of judges for the determination of political issues is of so much present interest, that I may be pardoned for calling attention to some of the more remarkable instances in which judges have been so employed. And a review of the facts thus developed will lead us, I think, to conclude—

1. That so far as concerns routine political issues of constant recurrence, and involving no great stakes, judicial impartiality may be relied on. No suspicions, for instance, have been cast on the impartiality of the English judges who, by a late Act of Parliament, have been engaged in the determination, with the aid of juries, of contested elections to the House of Commons.

2. That so far as concerns cases not of routine jurisdiction (in which a rule adopted one day favoring a particular political party may to-morrow prejudice the same party), but of exceptional character and of rare occurrence, involving great political stakes, judges are largely influenced by their political sympathies.

I do not advance these propositions for the purpose of taking part in the criticism in the action of the late Electoral Commission. My object is the supply of materials to aid in the discussion of future measures for the establishment of tribunals by which great political issues are to be determined. Nor do I, when speaking of the political partisanship of judges, intimate that this partisanship is conscious. On the contrary, one of the chief difficulties we have in encountering it is that it is accepted unconsciously; that it is so subtle and unrecognized in its approach as to make the mind incapable of weighing the force of opposing reasoning, and that it is yielded not only without corrupt purpose, but often against the personal interests of the judge who succumbs to its force.

As the first illustration of the proposition I state I may mention

Queen Caroline's case. This remarkable princess, it will be recollected, was brought up without much restraint in a court whose loose etiquette was in marked contrast with the primness which ruled the court of George III. When Caroline reached England, as the bride of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., she found herself exposed to the criticism of a mother-in-law who thought home was to be controlled by the coldest ceremonial, and of a husband who thought home could be polluted by the foulest lasciviousness. She was maddened by these provocations. Although for many years nothing but imprudence was laid to her charge, yet she was guilty of imprudence enough to excuse her husband in separating from her, had he been without blame. At last she took up her residence in Germany, and afterwards in Italy, where, after her daughter's death, she became so reckless in her mode of life as to cause her to be shunned by English visitors of high social standing, and finally to exclude her from the courts of the sovereigns in whose states she successively resided.

The question of her culpability was first investigated in 1806, during the short-lived Whig ministry, which was accepted by George III., after the death of Mr. Pitt. The Prince of Wales was then politically attached to the Whigs; and he took advantage of their accession to power to lay before the king the charges against the princess over which he had been so long brooding. The charges were referred by the cabinet, with the king's assent, to Lord Chancellor Erskine, Earl Spencer, and Lord Grenville, as commissioners. The princess, as the commissioners belonged to the party whom the prince regarded as peculiarly attached to himself, naturally betook herself for advice to the Tories, who seized upon the opportunity to make political capital from the move. The prince was unpopular, his profligacy and selfishness being well known. The princess had naturally won much sympathy, being at least in the first view an insulted wife; and as yet the indecorums which ultimately exiled her, if they existed, were unpublished. Hence it was that Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor under the preceding and succeeding administrations, warmly espoused her side; and with him acted Mr. Perceval, an accomplished lawyer, afterwards prime minister.

The commissioners, in their report, held that the charge made against the princess of having given birth to a child in 1802, after her separation from her husband, was unfounded; but they reported "that evidence had been laid before them of other particulars

respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as must, considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavorable interpretations."

Although the report, of which Lord Erskine was the principal author, was dated July 14th, 1806, he did not deliver a copy to the princess until August 11th; but this did not deter her from taking every means, in connection with Lord Eldon, to become acquainted with its contents, and to counteract their effects by private interviews with George III. Among the remarkable letters printed by Mr. Twiss, in his "Life of Lord Eldon," few are more remarkable than those emanating from the princess at this epoch. They show not only close intimacy between the princess and Lord Eldon; but exhibit that veteran lawyer and statesman as using all his political tact and legal experience as her champion. She entreated him, though an ex-minister, to obtain access to the royal closet in order to surreptitiously influence the king against the ministerial programme; and the visit was made by him with a privacy and effect which were afterwards gravely criticised. To Lord Eldon all her secrets were committed. He was virtually, in 1806, when a Tory ex-chancellor in opposition, her counsel and advocate, receiving from her full information as to the weak as well as to the strong points of her case, and guiding her by his advice. Of most of her blunders, at this critical period of her life, he was the author; of her most confidential counsels he was a participant.

In fourteen years, however, great changes had taken place. George III. was dead; and George IV., now relieved from the checks he had been subjected to during his father's life, was determined to use all his prerogatives to get rid of his wife. The short-lived Whig ministry had long since been disbanded, and the king was not only determined to show that he had survived his "predilections" for his early political associates, but was now finally wedded to the Tories. "I used to hate you beyond measure," so he substantially said to Lord Eldon, "and now you are not only my chancellor, but my most valued friend." One of the reasons of this change was that Lord Eldon, a few years before virtually counsel for the queen, was now the chief counsel in the measures about to be taken for her ruin. Singular gifts did he possess for this purpose, for not only had he peerless abilities as a political and forensic manager, but he was the confidential recipient of the secrets of the unhappy woman whose reputation he now undertook to destroy. And for this work he had a crowning facility. Not only was he to

direct the prosecution, as a cabinet officer, but, as chancellor, he was to preside in the court by which she was to be tried.

A crisis was precipitated in June, 1820, by the arrival of the queen in London, with the avowed purpose of taking part in the coronation, which was to be solemnized with unprecedented gorgeousness. A secret committee, at the instigation of the government, was appointed by the House of Lords, to investigate the charges then accumulated against the queen, and on the 4th of July the committee reported that there was a case made out by the prosecutors, which, as affecting the honor of the queen and the dignity of the crown, required further investigation. The next day Lord Dacre presented a petition from the queen asking to be heard by counsel on the report. The petition was sustained by Lord Grey, but resisted by Lord Eldon, who succeeded in preventing the queen's appearance at this stage before the lords.

The delay, however, was short. In a few days Lord Liverpool, then prime minister, introduced a bill to annul the marriage, on the ground that the queen had not only been guilty of various improprieties, but had carried on for some time an adulterous intercourse with Bergami, an Italian employed by her as courier. On the introduction of this bill, a series of legal questions arose, on which we find the law lords divided politically. Of these questions the following are selected, chiefly because they relate to matters of procedure so peculiarly dry and abstract that their uniform determination by party considerations forms the best illustration of the proposition before us, that in matters of high and exceptional political interest, judges act politically and not juridically.

1. Ought a party accused to be furnished with a list of the witnesses against him? To a greater or less extent, this has always been the practice at common law; and when a bill of indictment is found, the names of the witnesses examined are indorsed on the bill. Probably no court in Christendom would now refuse to give an accused party the names of the witnesses to be called against him, due cause being shown, if it should happen that a knowledge of the names of the witnesses is necessary to enable the accused to prepare for his defense. But on Lord Erskine's presenting an application from the queen, that she should receive a list of the witnesses to be called against her, the ground being that many of these witnesses were foreigners, whose characters it would take time to examine, the application was resisted by Lord Eldon, and refused.

2. Ought the accused to be furnished with a bill of particulars in all cases in which the indictment is general, and when specifications are necessary to enable the accused to prepare for his defense? Modern practice has settled this in the affirmative; and in trials for high treason, even in the most barbarous periods of English law, specifications were always exacted. But a petition for this purpose presented by Lord Erskine, in the queen's name, on July 24th, was opposed by Lord Eldon, and rejected by the lords.

3. Is the inference of guilt drawn from inculpatory incidents, in cases of adultery, one of fact or of law? Lord Erskine maintained, and correctly, that the presumption was one of fact. Lord Eldon stoutly insisted that the presumption was of law.

4. Can the party accused of adultery recriminate? That such is the rule, on ordinary trials, Lord Eldon did not attempt to dispute. But he was prepared to argue, as we learn from a letter to his brother (Twiss, *Life of Eldon*, II. 66), that in the queen's case this right was not to be allowed. And he grounded this extraordinary conclusion on the frivolous assumption that in ordinary procedures in the House of Lords for divorce, the bill is preceded by a formal petition from the party seeking the divorce, while in the queen's case the bill was introduced by the Prime Minister, without such petition.

5. Can a witness be cross-examined as to a document alleged to be written by him, without showing him the document? To refuse such cross-examination is to withhold from the cross-examining party one of the most effective means of testing the memory, as well as the veracity of a witness. But in the queen's case it would have been most inconvenient to the prosecuting officers if the witnesses whom they collected from abroad could be thus embarrassed. Some of these witnesses had been prolific in correspondence, and had written from time to time letters and memoranda in hopeless conflict with statements made by them in their examinations in chief. If Mr. Brougham, when cross-examining, should ask such a witness whether he had not written the opposite of what he had just been swearing to, then the witness might be reduced to a very unpleasant predicament. The right, therefore, so to test witnesses must be refused; but Lord Eldon was unwilling to take the responsibility of refusal on himself. The judges were summoned; and here, again, we find party lines triumphant. The Tory judges—and to Tory administrations nearly all the then sitting judges owed their appointment—voted to a man

that this mode of examination was not to be tolerated. It is sufficient now to say that this ruling was soon reversed in England by Act of Parliament. In this country, it has been accepted as authoritative, as an expression of the English common law. But statutes, in many of our States, have been passed correcting it, and in other States it has not been held binding even at common law.

In addition to these points may be mentioned Lord Eldon's forcing the defense to state, before opening, what was its intention as to calling witnesses. "The Chancellor," says Lord Denman in his autobiographical sketch of the trial (*Denman's Life*, I. 170), "had the hardihood to assert that his asking Brougham whether he intended to call witnesses, before he permitted him to begin his defense, was in conformity with the practice of the courts: this is directly contrary to the truth, and I thought Brougham ought to have refused to answer."

So far as concerns the merits of the controversy, I question whether any jury could be found, if the question be viewed detached from political or other prejudice, to convict of adultery on the evidence presented in Queen Caroline's case. She was undoubtedly a woman of little delicacy; badly educated; infamously treated by her husband, who had done his best to madden her, to put her in false positions, and to surround her with spies and minions who would lead her into equivocal situations, and then exaggerate her imprudences in the situations into which she was thus led. So far from deferring to the public sentiment which requires peculiar propriety in the conduct of women of royal blood, she delighted to brave this sentiment. People would stare at her, so she used to argue, and she would give them something to stare at. She took, also, inordinate fancies to dependents of all kinds; and this may be in part explained by the fact that through her husband's arbitrary and incessant interference, it was with dependents alone that she could associate. No English subjects of rank were seen in her company, after her settlement on the continent, unless they in some way compromised themselves. From continental courts and continental aristocracy she was at last shut out by an etiquette that was inexorable. That such a woman, in a society that was unchecked by etiquette, should have plunged about with a freedom open to much misconception, was but natural; and plunge about with much indecorum Queen Caroline certainly did. Yet even in this lawless atmosphere her indecorums, so far as they were established in evidence, were no greater than those in which Queen

Elizabeth indulged in the presence of one of the haughtiest courts in Christendom; and if we refuse to regard the evidence against Queen Elizabeth as establishing guilt so far as concerns the overt act, still more strongly does this conclusion apply to Queen Caroline. When we read the evidence in her case, we may say, "She was not only a very weak, coarse, and imprudent woman, but she was guilty of adultery with Bergami." Yet we feel the opinion is only conjectural on our part, and that our conclusion is not such as to justify us in finding a verdict of conviction. Even putting the case the strongest against her, there was sufficient reasonable doubt of her guilt to secure her acquittal, should the charge have been put against her in a penal shape.¹

But, however this may be, on the question of Queen Caroline's guilt the House of Lords was divided by party lines. To these lines, prelates, statesmen, and lawyers succumbed. The bishops, indeed, were put in a peculiar quandary, from which they were relieved by a fortunate conjunction. They were, with one or two exceptions, Tories and of Tory creation, and with these exceptions they were loyally convinced of the queen's guilt. But they were naturally startled by the divorce clause in the bill. A divorce for adultery they held to be in accordance with canon as well as with common law; but in proceedings for such a divorce recrimination should be permitted, but here recrimination was refused. They therefore stumbled at the divorce clause; and a motion, in order to secure their votes for the bill at its final passage, was made to strike it out. But the Whigs perceived the advantage which the retention of the clause gave them, and they voted in a body against the motion, combining with the ultra-Tories, who naturally held that it was not decent to retain an adulterous queen on the throne. The divorce clause being retained, several of the bishops, together with other lords who hesitated as to the divorce, voted in the negative on the third reading; and the bill at that stage having only a majority of nine, was abandoned by Lord Liverpool. We have, however, mainly to do with the judges who were concerned in these

¹ It should be noticed that Lord Brougham in his *Autobiography* (II. 291), speaking of himself and his associates, says, "I can most positively affirm, that if every one of us had been put on our oaths as jurymen, we should all have declared that there was not the least ground for the charges against her. The same was the clear and decided opinion of those most acquainted with her habits, from having been long on intimate terms with her, as Lord A. Hamilton; or having been her ladies, as Lady Charlotte Lindsay and Lady Glenbervie."

extraordinary proceedings, my object being to illustrate the position with which I started, that in a high political crisis a judge's juridical convictions are overborne by his political prejudices.

First, we may notice Sir John Leach, Vice-Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, better known as a quick and keen lawyer, and as a devoted personal adherent of George IV., than as a comprehensive and wise judge. Sir John Leach, regardless of the restraints imposed upon his judicial office, undertook, in 1817, the investigation of the evidence then collected against the queen, and advised "that proper researches should be made in the countries where the queen had resided, and through which she had traveled, for such further information as might exclude all doubt with respect to the character of her conduct." The commissioners appointed for this purpose were selected by Sir John Leach, who was credited with having subsequently managed the investigation so as best to propitiate his royal master. This charge was, of course, not lost sight of by the queen's counsel. Discussing the motion made in the House of Lords on June 26th, for a suspension of proceedings until the arrival of the witnesses, Mr. Denman went so far as to apply to the vice-chancellor a famous passage from Othello :

"Some busy and insinuating rogue,
Some cogging, cozening slave, to get some office,
Must have devised this slander."

The quotation was greatly relished by Lord Eldon, who believed that the investigation was promoted, and the king pandered to thereby, by Sir John Leach, in order to get Lord Eldon off the woolsack, and himself on.

Lord Eldon's part in the procedure has been already noticed. He was at one time the intimate friend and counselor of the queen; at the time of the trial he was her implacable adversary. All the influence of his high judicial character, and of his long experience of the House of Peers—the full power of those arts in the management of men of which no one was more largely possessed than himself—were used to obtain a verdict of guilty. Nowhere in his long history was more singularly illustrated his remarkable combination of apparent doubt with virtual rapidity and boldness of decision. In fact, his appearance of doubt, in deliberative bodies, seems to have been put on to make still more effective the rapidity and boldness of his blows. What is here to be noticed, however, is the fact that not only did he bring all his arguments and

arts to bear to insure a conviction, but that he fought in the cabinet to the last moment against the abandonment of the bill. That he should have his own conclusions as to the queen's guilt is not a matter of criticism, as even now this question is one as to which, so far as concerns the evidence, there is grave doubt. But the ground of complaint is, that he reached this conclusion by a series of rulings which can only be explained by the hypothesis of unscrupulous partisan bias.

Lord Redesdale's Tory sympathies placed him, on all party questions, by Lord Eldon's side; nor had he force of intellect sufficient to throw off the yoke of party, even on points of law on which legal analogies would, if unaffected by prejudice, have led him to an opposite conclusion. It is enough now to say that on all questions on which there was a division, he divided on the Tory side, even though the result was to establish positions now rejected as monstrous.

Lord Erskine's attitude merits a closer study. The most distinguished of English advocates, equally powerful with courts and with juries, he had achieved but little success in the House of Commons as a debater. As chancellor, his career had been too short to enable him to show how far his great abilities could be adapted to equity jurisprudence; and after his dismissal, at the close of Lord Grenville's administration, he found himself without occupation, without fortune sufficient to support a peerage, and without literary tastes which could amuse and utilize his leisure. He became a loiterer in society; a confirmed diner-out; celebrated undoubtedly for his uniform fascination of manner and for his occasional wit, but celebrated also for his imprudence and egotism. It is to his credit that when, by attaching himself to the court of George IV., with whom, during the latter's connection with the Whigs, he had been very intimate, he could have largely increased his income, if not his political importance, he repudiated the prince when the prince repudiated the Whigs, and took every occasion of vindicating the liberal principles of which in his forensic life he had been so splendid an advocate. With the queen, in the proceedings before the lords, his sympathies were naturally involved. He had, it is true, been one of a committee which, as we have seen, reported, during his short chancellorship, that her conduct when at Blackheath had been imprudent if not guilty. But against the prosecution in the Lords his whole nature was aroused. A bill of pains and penalties, so he believed, was an extreme and perilous

exertion of prerogative. George IV., the real prosecutor, was a profligate renegade; a libertine whose cruelty drove his wife into exile, and whose licentiousness took from him all right to complain, even had his wife been far more imprudent than the case against her implied. She had been beset by corrupt spies, ready to swear to any thing that would promote their employer's interests; and after having begun their vile work of espionage on the continent, they were brought over, loaded with the price of their infamy, to complete their still viler work of perjury in England. Of this Lord Erskine was convinced; and he valiantly devoted himself to beat back what he considered to be an infamous conspiracy. Whatever legal obstacles he could put in the way of this conspiracy he seized upon, and consequently many questions arose on which he divided the House of Lords against Lord Eldon. We may say, generally, that on most of these questions the view he took has been adopted, by the more liberal practice of our own times, as against that of Lord Eldon. But be this as it may, we find that in a series of questions as numerous and as technical as those before our late Electoral Commission, the law lords divided according to party—on the one side Lord Erskine, on the other, Lord Eldon and Lord Redesdale.

THE LATE WORLD'S FAIR.

PART III.—THE DISPLAY.

AFTER all, it is by food we live. Nature will assert itself against Art; and the Agricultural Building, with its wealth of food products, proved a formidable rival in the public affections to Memorial Hall. Few visitors probably anticipated that they should find in barricades of hams, pyramids of canned meats and fruits, stores of pickles, sauces, and jellies, assortments of coffees, teas, and tobaccos—all of which they might behold, but might not taste—a very considerable part of their pleasure at “the Centennial;” yet there were few who had not this experience.

The display of food products, animal and vegetable, at Philadelphia was enormous in quantity, and almost incomprehensible in variety, both in the material and in the forms of preparation. Nearly every country contributed bread and meats. The Northern countries, the United States, Canada, Russia, Sweden, and Norway, in especial, appeared as the principal exhibitors of canned meats, while the Southern European countries showed fish preparations in greatest perfection. Among the agricultural features of the display was to be noticed the wide cultivation of maize (Indian corn), and the almost universal acclimation of tobacco. Flour was exhibited from the Cape of Good Hope, Australia, Japan, Chili, the Argentine Republic, and Mexico. It was doubtless significant of the food habits of the several peoples, that from the United States and Canada cereals had an overwhelming predominance, peas and beans being almost the only legumes shown, while from Central and Southern Europe legumes were shown in great variety and amount. The American boy's problem, how to have apples the year round, seems in fair way to be solved, by the importation, *viâ* San Francisco, of fruit from Australia, which, lying south of the equator, has an apple season complementary to our own. The display of Australian apples was wonderfully good,

many of our own standard varieties being shown in great perfection.

As in personal, so in international courtesies, a "bottle of wine" would seem, if one might judge from the show at Philadelphia, to be the offering most easy to give and most generally acceptable. In many countries he would be thought a very poor man who could not offer a glass to a guest; and at an exhibition, that is a poor country indeed which can not send a few bottles of wine to the health of the nations.

In this department the display at Philadelphia was very great. Spain and Portugal took the lead in amount, their exhibitors being reckoned by many hundreds against fewer scores from France and Germany. The French and German wines, however, were well shown. Indeed, the United States have proved themselves such liberal patrons of foreign wines, that the commercial interest in the Exhibition here rose to a maximum, and the display lacked little of completeness. In the American section, a remarkable progress was manifested in the manufacture of ale and lager bier; the products of several breweries stoutly maintaining competition with those of the most renowned breweries of Northern Europe.

In the products and in the apparatus of the Fisheries, Philadelphia surpassed any general or special exhibition ever held. While little or nothing came from England, many of the nations of Europe contributed in great amount and variety.

The efforts of the administration to arouse a popular interest in the fish exhibition, through the introduction of aquaria, did not result very successfully. Through defects in the aerating and refrigerating apparatus, large numbers of the fish in both the fresh-water and the salt-water tanks died.

In the completeness and efficiency of its fishing apparatus, in the variety of its food fishes, and in skillfulness of preparation, the Norwegian exhibit was in every respect of the first class. The exhibit of France was of far less variety, but in the specialty of the preservation of fish in oil, this country was not surpassed or even approached by any country except Portugal, and, at a greater distance, by Italy. The South of Europe countries appear to find in the purity and cheapness of their native oils a decided advantage in the preservation of fish over countries which have to import the oil for the purpose.

The United States exhibit of fishing apparatus was highly commendable, showing great ingenuity and good workmanship on

sound and abundant material. The Smithsonian contribution of plaster casts of the food fishes of the United States was a novelty of the highest scientific value, and commanded universal attention. The exhibition of fish for food was suited to impress the observer with a sense rather of the enormous resources of the United States, than of the care and skill with which those resources had been made available for the food supply of the people. Only a few of the fish native to our waters, whether salt or fresh, appear to have been utilized ; and the methods of preparation were comparatively simple and limited. The contrast in this respect with Norway was very noticeable. Yet the United States display was a very impressive demonstration of our natural wealth. The deep-sea fisheries of New England, the oyster fisheries of Long Island Sound and the Chesapeake, and the salmon fisheries of the Columbia region, form a combination of resources equaled by no other country in the world.

The live-stock exhibition, being, from the nature of the case, almost exclusively American, does not demand any extended notice here. Canada and the United States were the principal, in many lines the sole exhibitors, "honors being easy" between the two. The cattle show was mediocre throughout. The horse show was chiefly devoted to heavy or draught horses, being in this respect unlike previous exhibitions on our soil, where the lighter animals have always predominated. The Canadian stock was unexpectedly good. These heavy breeds are now attracting particular attention with a view to their use on the prairies of the West, and the Philadelphia show in this line was not only the best ever held on the continent, but, from its timeliness, may have important results in our stock breeding. At the sheep show, the number of animals was very considerable, well divided between coarse-wooled and mutton sheep, and the fine-wooled. It is noticeable, however, that wool is not bred so fine as twenty years ago, the efforts of raisers being now directed rather to secure a moderately fine wool with a heavier fleece. This is due to the abandonment in great degree of broadcloths, and the greater use relatively of cassimeres.

In the manufacture of iron and steel and their products, the Exhibition at Philadelphia was irregular, yet, on the whole, both imposing and instructive. England, first of nations in this department, was not largely represented ; but the iron industry is emphatically one to which the proverb *ex pede Herculem* applies. Steel

plates, rifled cannon, railroad iron, do not come within the chapter of accidents. Drop-forgings are not to be cultivated as a fancy crop. In some departments a given amount of care and labor would enable articles of the highest excellence to be brought forward from countries which have no standing in the commercial production of such articles. But no nation not long and largely versed in the manufacture could say, "Come, let us send iron and steel to Philadelphia, and get much glory to ourselves." The plant, enormous, expensive, must be in existence; the skill and knowledge essential to the production of a single link of such chains as were shown at Philadelphia must have been accumulated through the experience of generations. Hence we may say that, while the exhibit of England was limited, it showed almost limitless capacity in this great industry.

From France the products of some of the first establishments were wanting—Le Creuzot, with its 15,000 workmen, and others only second to it in importance. Yet the French exhibit indicated notable power of production. The Russian display showed great facilities, and an unexpected progress in the manufacture. Our own country, second only to England in the commercial importance of its production of iron and steel, has not undertaken those giant tasks—twenty-four-inch plates and eighty-one-ton guns—which have tested the utmost capabilities of British science and skill; but, while the United States are happily free from the necessity of expending their energies in the production of such masterpieces of casting and forging as appeared in some of the European sections, the economic display of iron and steel by our manufacturers was surprisingly large and good. The first space allotted by the Bureau of Installation was filled by the splendid exhibit of the Cambria Iron Works, illustrative of each successive process and product, from the ore up to the highest forms of the manufacture.

The triumphs of this department, however, if we have reference merely to what was shown, were reserved for Germany, and pre-eminently for Sweden. In the former, the products, both warlike and industrial, of the Krupp Works at Essen formed one of the features of the Exhibition, while the display from the latter country was the very poetry of power. The writer confesses that he found nothing in the Main Building so fascinating as the Swedish iron and steel.

In the implements of war, the Exhibition at Philadelphia was

as little as possible representative, as between the principal military powers, while yet, owing to the magnificent display of Krupp, the complete exhibits made by Russia and the United States, the interesting contributions of Spain, Sweden, and Brazil, those who cared not to compare nation with nation, but wished to observe the highest results of modern science in this department, or those who were merely interested to see what was wonderful or curious in the enginery of destruction, had occasion to be amply satisfied.

For reasons which it is not difficult to conceive, the governments neither of France, Germany, nor Great Britain made any show of artillery. Herr Krupp, however, displayed with considerable fullness the products of his immense works at Essen, forming an exhibit absolutely unrivaled in any previous Exposition. The enormous resources of this establishment, the mechanical skill of its artisans, the scientific knowledge and zeal which direct its operations, illustrated as they are in the *matériel* of half the armies of the world, were admirably shown for the wholly peaceful purposes of the Exhibition of 1876.

The Russian military display was in all respects admirable, comprising artillery, small arms, swords, equipments, and carriages of native manufacture, of excellent workmanship, and often exhibiting great constructive skill and ingenuity of invention.

Spain made an excellent display in several branches of military equipment. The still unrivaled swords of Toledo showed that the hands of her workmen have not lost their cunning; the mountain artillery was of unique and effective construction and adjustment; a pontoon train in miniature and models of famous fortresses added much to the interest of this department.

Sweden also made a fine military display, especially noticeable for the perfection attained in the forging and welding of the metal.

Brazil, doubtless to the surprise of most military men, exhibited very creditably in artillery and small arms of her own manufacture.

For many of the deficiencies of the French section, the display made in models, maps, etc., of its Public Works might fairly be accepted as compensation. This exhibit was every way admirable, not only instructive to professional engineers and architects, but highly interesting to every intelligent visitor. The public works of Holland formed the companion exhibit to that of France, the two surpassing those of all other foreign countries in extent and fullness. The display made by the Engineer Bureau of the United States Army deserved and received high commendation.

The naval exhibition at Philadelphia was, from the nature of the case, of very little account. A small exhibit of cordage, a few novelties in steering and propelling apparatus, a few models of vessels, with or without a record, constituted pretty much all the display in this department. Three or four foreign men-of-war, lying in the Delaware, proved mighty interesting to the ladies of Philadelphia.

Of all the forms of machinery at Philadelphia, few, if any, were more worthy of attention, even if considered merely as embodiments of ingenuity and mechanical skill, than the leading printing-presses exhibited; while the popular interest in their use caused them to be inspected by the multitudes who visited Machinery Hall, with a degree of attention given perhaps to no other class of objects in that building. No equal display of fast and powerful presses was ever made. It was fitting that such an unexampled demonstration of the power of the human mind in fixing and preserving its own observations and reflections should be made before the greatest nation of readers in the world. Of the great web presses, for issuing daily newspapers in vast editions, the Bullock, the Hoe, and the Walter were shown in actual operation, of an astonishing power and precision.

Of presses for finer work, especially for illustrated publications, the display was good, but not, as to number or variety, equal to that of previous European exhibitions. In presses for job and country newspaper work, shown freely at Philadelphia, American ingenuity has achieved an even greater relative success than in the larger machines.

Much popular interest centered in the Carriage Building, where was found the choicest work of Paris and London, New York and New Haven. To the American mind, something of the glory of the "horse-trot" attaches to every thing in the shape of a wagon, be it little more than a pair of wheels with a suggestion of something for a driver's seat. In the line of pleasure and promenade carriages, the Exhibition at Philadelphia fell considerably below that of Paris or Vienna; but if the view be extended to include the multifarious adaptations offered to the necessities of business and to the comfort and convenience of all classes, it may safely be said that no equally meritorious display was ever made. The range of American manufacture in this department, wide as it was shown to be, did not excite more of surprise and admiration than the masterly workmanship. All things considered, the production of carriages probably

affords a higher test of mechanical skill and of the faculty of industrial organization, than any other branch of manufacture of equal importance. The extensive introduction of special machinery is, contrary to the popular idea, rather raising than lowering the standard of labor in this as in many other trades. Nor was the great defect of American industry, the lack of harmonious design and of pleasing proportions, as manifest in this as in other departments of manufacture. In carriage hardware, as in all other branches of hardware, American goods bore comparison most favorably with the best of other countries.

The long-established supremacy of this country in certain mechanical specialties was easily shown to the eye to be unimpaired. In Agricultural Machines the United States were just as distinctly ahead of all other nations as when, in 1851, Cyrus McCormick exhibited his reaper to the astonished gaze of Europe. But what progress has been made in the intervening quarter-century! The variety at Philadelphia of planters and drills, mowers and reapers, tedders and rakes, gins and threshers, guano-distributors and cultivators (with or without "attachments for eradicating potato-bugs"), was a wonder to behold. As compared with foreign machines, those of American make were generally characterized by lightness and simplicity, with ease and rapidity of motion. The abandonment of the long English mold-board in building American plows is significant of the absence of a true turf upon most of our lands.

In locks and in fire and burglar proof safes, the audacious challenge of Hobbs, in 1851, has been made good through all the advances which have been achieved in their manufacture, down to the last and greatest improvement, the Time Lock. The display at Philadelphia proved that locks, keys, and safes still remain peculiarly American products.

In sewing-machines the lapse of time has only served to confirm the supremacy of the American instruments over all competitors, or, as it would be more just to say, all imitators. Already, it is estimated, four and a half millions have been made in this country, and the welcome expiry of patents must have the effect greatly to widen the markets and rapidly to increase the production of these machines.

In scales, for commercial use, time and recent invention have not impaired the superiority of American goods. The great house which was founded at St. Johnsbury forty years ago, not only main-

tains the positive merit of its production, but ships its goods to every quarter of the globe.

In edge tools the supremacy of the United States is so complete, that, as is well known, foreign producers have been largely driven to imitate the general style of our goods, and even to copy trade-marks. "In the manufacture of steel," says Prof. Reuleaux,¹ "the United States takes unquestionably the first place at the Exhibition; in single branches of this manufacture their priority is even absolute. The axes, hatchets, files, the tools for forestry, plantations and gardening, and the like, are presented in such variety and beauty as compels us to stand and gaze with wonderment. The saws, both plain and circular, with all the fine, yea, refined singularities possible in this department, together with steel tools for the mason, the moulder, the statuary, and the machinist, are of the first order in merit. I will also add, that the larger sawing-machines, the cross-saws, the block-saws, and the like, have reached a height of development from which we are still far distant."

In the manufacture of military small arms by private establishments, on an economical basis, the United States still maintain the highest position. For efficiency, durability, and cheapness, no weapons made for the general market approach those of several United States makers who exhibited their goods at Philadelphia. Whether in material or in workmanship, the comparison was never unfavorable to our manufacturers. The thorough honesty which is becoming, in a pre-eminent degree, a characteristic of American goods, is of especial account in the commercial production of weapons of war and the chase; and the good behavior of our American guns and pistols, whenever tried, has fairly earned their remarkable success. In sporting arms of the highest class, for use as an article of luxury by gentlemen comparatively indifferent as to expense, the English makers still retain their traditional superiority.

The wholesale manufacture of boots and shoes for the masses is the one extensive department of mechanical industry in which the United States have achieved, altogether irrespective of customs duties, a success so complete as to have allowed no competition within our own territory during the last twenty years. The largest²

¹ Letters from Philadelphia. I follow Prof. Thompson's translation. Penn Monthly, April, 1877.

² This branch of manufacture, in 1870, employed 91,702 hands, 70,688 being males above sixteen years, disbursed \$42,504,000 in wages, and produced goods to the value of \$146,704,000. These figures are exclusive of establishments producing less than the value of \$5000 annually.

single manufacturing interest in the country, this has grown up wholly without protection, the duties upon imported articles of this class (we are speaking of cheap boots and shoes for the masses) being less than compensatory for the duties paid upon the materials of the manufacture, but for which tax on this industry for the support of others, there has not been a shadow of an economical reason during the past ten years, why thirty millions of people outside the United States should not have been supplied with boots and shoes by our workmen. The whole world, so far as it uses machinery at all, uses, or attempts to use, American machinery; the cost of the American labor employed, notwithstanding the high wages paid, forms a smaller part of the ultimate value of the product, in the United States, owing to the great efficiency of that labor,¹ than in any other country; while our factories stand more favorably related to their materials than do any others, except, perhaps, those of Canada. Yet, in the face of these great advantages, our commercial policy has completely cut off our export of this article. The exhibits of boots and shoes made by Canada, by Brazil, and the Argentine Republic, and even by Chili and Venezuela, remind us how much we have lost by hampering a branch of manufacture which would naturally have supplied our northern neighbors and both coasts of South America.

One peculiarity of American goods in general, which was freely commented upon by foreigners visiting the Exhibition, was the liberality with which stock was used in the manufacture. The American puts more silk into silk goods, more wool into woollen goods, and more cotton into cotton goods, of a given commercial character, than the manufacturer of any other country. The same was true of the paper exhibited at Philadelphia. In part, of course, this is due to the abundance and cheapness of materials with us, and the relatively higher value of time (interest) and labor. In perhaps equal part, it is due to the habit of the American mind, which is not economical in the limited sense of that word, *i. e.*, frugal. Our efforts to increase wealth have been mainly directed to the positive and not the negative side of production, more to creating

¹ A pamphlet has recently been put forth by the proprietor of an extensive shoe factory in Switzerland—the largest works, if I am rightly informed, in Europe—in which the writer, who visited the Exhibition at Philadelphia, and afterwards the factories of Massachusetts, states that he found that in a certain department of the manufacture, while the Massachusetts employer paid his workmen \$2 per day, the work cost BY THE PIECE only one half as much as his own in Schönenwerth.

than to saving. For saving time and labor we are famous; we shorten processes and apply power with a directness not elsewhere attained; but in economizing material, as in utilizing waste, we are very backward. I may, perhaps, quote the remark of one of the largest silk manufacturers of Europe, who said to me, "You Americans put too much silk into your goods; by and by you will make better silks with less silk."

It seems, at first glance, strange that the United States, which have so long occupied a defensive position (protective) in most branches of industry, should so easily have reached and so long maintained a control of the market, not only at home but throughout the world, in lines of production like those just enumerated, viz., agricultural implements, small-arms, sewing-machines, scales, locks and safes, etc. The reason, however, is not far to seek. Although Americans were the original inventors (at least in the practical sense) in nearly all these departments, in respect not only to the fundamental mechanism, but also to the numberless small additions, modifications and devices,¹ in which oftentimes is found the whole difference between success and failure, yet this is not the sole, or even, as I am disposed to esteem it, the chief reason for the superiority of these machines and implements as manufactured here, over those made in competition with them or in imitation of them abroad. It is not so much in making machines as in making machinery to make machines, that we surpass all other nations in a degree not easily to be expressed.

In the manufacture of machinery for working wood and metal (always excepting those for the manufacture of the heavy armor plates required in modern naval warfare, and for building up the giant guns at present in use), the United States are not even closely approached by England or Germany. It is not so much to inventions directly relating to the scale, the rifle, the sewing-machine, that we owe our superiority, as to the fact that we invent and build machines which produce the several parts of our scales, rifles, and sewing-machines, of absolute precision and entire interchangeability, with a far less expenditure of labor and waste of material than other nations encounter in producing the parts of their corresponding implements and machines comparatively rough and clumsy, and only in a low degree, if at all, fitted for mutual substitution in case of repair.

¹ Over two thousand patents have been issued by the U. S. Government for sewing-machines and sewing-machine attachments.

The world owes, if not the principle of interchangeability in machinery, at least its full realization, to the United States, where it was first applied on a large scale by Whitney to fire-arms. While other nations have slowly taken it up, the principle has been carried forward by our machine-builders and tool-makers into almost every department of production¹ with a degree of success truly astonishing.

The two exhibits at "the Centennial" which most strikingly illustrated the triumph of American industrial genius in this department were almost at the two extremes of production.

The exhibit of William Sellers & Co., of Philadelphia, may be taken as containing the highest achievements in metal-working machinery of great power, yet of the most minute precision. "This exhibit," writes Dr. John Anderson, of Woolwich, England, "when considered in regard to its extent and value, its extraordinary variety and general excellence, as also for the large amount of originality that is shown in the numerous new devices that are introduced, is probably without a parallel in the past history of International Exhibitions, and, taken as a whole, it is worthy of the highest honor that can be conferred." To this exhibit applied with peculiar aptness the language of the *London Times*:² "The nicety and exactness we discover in a toy—the product of the most careful hours of a single workman bent on producing the masterpiece of his craft—were there found displayed in large machines of many parts, that could not have been put together without the active concurrence of many minds."

Widely enough contrasted with these powerful machines was the exhibit of the American Watch Company of Waltham. The exquisite delicacy of this machinery almost surpasses belief, the workman in some departments requiring powerful lenses to enable him to follow the movements, and the nicest apparatus to enable him to take up the product. It is stated that some of the screws manufactured by the machinery of this company number 150,000 to the pound, the threads being more than two hundred to the inch.

The American public have been made for the first time aware,

¹ "Several firms, for instance, exhibit steam-engines of various sizes, whose parts, one and all, are *put together without the aid of a fitter*, and afterwards, like the parts of American sewing-machines, and of those of several German firms, can be replaced."—*Professor Reuleaux's Letters from Philadelphia*.

² March 2d, 1877, editorial page.

through the remarkable speech of Mr. Edward Favre Perret,¹ of the great superiority in exactitude of performance, in ease of repair, and in cheapness, of the ordinary machine-made watches over the corresponding hand-work of Switzerland.

The United States possess still another advantage in production, the scope and force of which are only beginning to be recognized. The Exhibition of 1876 emphasized the truth declared by Dr. Lyon Playfair immediately after the London Exhibition of 1851, that "industry must in future be supported, not by a competition of local advantages, but by a competition of intellect." Our artisans are men capable, not only to tend a machine, but to adjust and to repair it. In the words of Professor Reuleaux, perhaps the highest living authority in applied mechanics, "a piece of labor-saving machinery does not develop its full utility until the labor employed in its management has itself been educated to greater dexterity, and until the organization of labor has been carried to a high point." It is the possession of a body of educated and trained artisans which makes the use of such special machinery practicable in the manufacture of watches; and the same is true of the manufacture of scales, of safes, of small-arms, of edge tools, and other peculiarly American products. Without the skilled artisan the machine is worthless. "A steam-engine dropped from heaven in the middle of Africa might be adored, but could not be put to any use."

Our English visitors frankly recognized this reason for the growing superiority of American manufactures. "It is true," says the journal already quoted, "that every nation has an advantage in exhibitions held within its own area; but the products of the industry of the United States surpassed our own oftener than can be explained by this circumstance. It appeared as if there was a greater economy of labor habitually practiced in the States, and, in conjunction with this, there was evidence of the more constant presence of a presiding mind superintending every process of industry. The best machine in the world will fail to give satisfaction if there is not an intelligent human being at hand to watch it, *to detect the smallest failure in its working as soon as it is developed, and to suggest and supply the means of correcting any miscarriage in its functions.* . . . Much of the mechanical work shown at Philadelphia was executed with a fineness that could not have been exceeded if every man who had any share in its production had

¹ The Swiss judge of watches in the Exhibition at Philadelphia.

originally conceived it, and been solely interested in its success. There was evidence of personal care and personal anxiety; every stage must have been watched with intelligence and with zeal. In comparing the results with our own, we are painfully suspicious that they revealed the application of more brains than we always have at our command."

I will close this unduly protracted paper with the remark, that in one respect international exhibitions are doing a work in which good is not accomplished without a cost somewhat to be regretted. I refer to the leveling influence exercised by the close juxtaposition and comparison of the products of different countries. It is the very object of a World's Fair to secure through such juxtaposition and comparison the communication of advantages and the adoption by all of what is most admirable in each. "Through the universal language of labor," said Mr. Seward, "the artisans of all countries hold communication." But this does not necessarily, in idea at least, involve the suppression of individuality, under the supremacy of international fashions. Nations should learn, by international comparison and competition, how each may best encounter and overcome the obstacles which withstand its own development after its own proper type, and under the impulses of its own ambitions and ideals. Yet, in fact, there is too much reason to believe that exhibitions have been very influential in the introduction of international fashions, in a degree prejudicial to the best interests of art and industry.

While this is clearly a case of "leveling up," the loss of national characteristics in production is a proper subject of regret. Nor can the approximation of products to international standards be wholly explained by the acknowledged unifying power of machinery. The leveling tendency was scarcely more manifest at Philadelphia, in woolen and silk goods, where formerly so great variety prevailed, than in the art collections in Memorial Hall; while it could be clearly traced in the resemblance between the products of the potteries of Sweden and Denmark, and those of Spain and Portugal. Even in the ceramic department of Japan were visible evil effects from the access of European art, and the seductions of Occidental markets.

[The writer with pleasure acknowledges his indebtedness to his friend and colleague, Professor W. H. Brewer, for valued suggestions relating to several sections of the Exhibition.]

THE SOUTHERN POLICY OF THE PRESIDENT.¹

THE people of the United States are, for the most part, too intensely engaged in the pursuit of wealth—the politicians in the pursuit of office—to spend time upon a careful study of the genius of their political system, and the mode in which the powers of their government are constitutionally distributed. Hence it is, that injustice is often done, in times of excitement, to those in authority, and especially to the Executive, upon the presumption that they are legally in possession of powers which are, in fact, foreign to the jurisdiction of the authority in question.

Certain acts of the present Chief Executive, to be more distinctly indicated in the sequel, have been the occasion of some party dissatisfaction and some individual complaint, for neither of which, in the light of the supreme law of the land, does there appear to be any just occasion. An examination of some of the prominent legal aspects of the cases under which the dissatisfaction has arisen and the complaints have originated is proposed in this article.

During the Rebellion the (so-called) “war powers” of the government were brought into full exercise. This was simply necessity. The life of the nation was assailed, and all means, either directly allowed by the letter of the National Constitution, or justly derivable from the purposes for which the Constitution was adopted, were efficiently employed. The people thus became accustomed to see unusual powers exercised alike by Congress and the Federal Executive. The habit was formed first of acquiescence in large and prompt exercise of executive authority, and next of looking for such exercise of authority upon the occurrence of every new emergency. During the period of reconstruction, which followed that of active war, the same necessity in part continued, and was met by the same corresponding action on the part of the general government, and by a like habit of acquiescence on the part of the people.

But when peace had fully come, and all the States, and the people of the country generally, had been restored to their normal

¹ This article was announced for the preceding number of the REVIEW, but was withdrawn for further revision. It is now published as an exposition of the President's “Southern Policy.”

relations with the national government, both the occasion and the justification for any exercise of authority of doubtful or questionable character, by the national government, had passed away. The necessities of war may have stretched the exercise of the constitutional powers of the general government to their furthest tension. Clearly the duty of peace is to observe carefully and strictly the boundaries of legitimate authority, and to limit the action of each department of the government to its recognized and undisputed constitutional functions. But while each department should scrupulously seek to keep itself within the bounds set for it by the organic law, so each department is ordained and obliged to assume the full measure of its just responsibility, and fulfill its own proper functions.

Since the accession of the present Executive to the presidency of the republic, he has been called upon to decide whether to continue armed interference with respect to the local affairs of two States of the Union, in each of which the army of the United States had for some time previous been employed, with a view to aid in the proper administration of local affairs. Two claimants assumed each to be the governor in each State respectively. Two separate and rival assemblies claimed to be each the legal legislature in each State respectively. Of these claimants, one so-called governor and one so-called legislature in each State asked recognition and active armed support from the Federal Executive. In each State, a rival so-called governor and so-called legislature asked no such recognition or support, affirming that neither help nor hindrance from the Federal Executive was desired, and earnestly protesting against the participation of the army in the local government as an alleged mischievous and despotic interference with the rights of the citizens of such State. In each instance, the President decided that no case existed for federal intervention, according to the terms of the Constitution, and declined to continue further armed interference upon the part of the general government in these States. He withdrew the federal troops, and quiet followed. The troubles in South Carolina and Louisiana settled themselves.

During the discussions which attended these applications for the aid of the general government, the following letter, addressed to the President, was published in substance, in one of the leading Western papers, as a contribution to the literature of what is

known as the Southern Question. It is now, with some revision, republished :

To His Excellency Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States :

SIR : The question, what are the constitutional relations between the United States and those bodies politic of which the Union is composed, is one that demands the constant and deliberate consideration of all to whom official responsibilities appertaining to such relations have been committed. It ought to receive the thoughtful attention of every citizen, and it can not be otherwise than proper for all who have made the organic laws of their country a subject of study, whether or not in public employment, to do what lies within their power to aid in the solution of those problems of government upon which differences of opinion have arisen, and concerning which even well-instructed persons, looking at the subject in different lights, have arrived at different conclusions.

If it be true that the precepts of the Constitution do not change their meaning under the force of circumstances, it would seem to follow that the relations between the United States and the individual States are the same in all cases—the same in respect to any one particular State as to any other. In other words, there are in contemplation of the Constitution, and consequently in contemplation of the United States, no reprobate States—no States whose autonomy and right of self-regulation are, on account of any thing they may have done, legally subject to special federal restriction, interference, or supervision. In short, to employ an example, the position of Louisiana in the Union is in every respect identical with that of Massachusetts. This principle of constitutional law has been repeatedly adjudicated in the Supreme Court of the United States. See 7 Wallace, p. 700; 13 Wallace, p. 646.

The government of the United States is divided by the Federal Constitution into three separate and co-ordinate departments, each within its sphere, as defined by that instrument, independent of the others, exclusive and supreme. And it is to be particularly noted that the term, the United States, as employed in the Constitution, is employed to identify the powers, functions, and obligations of the several co-ordinate branches of the government, as self-determining instrumentalities, and *is applied alike to each*, and to all collectively. The federal legislature is “the United States of America in Congress assembled.” The process of the federal courts

runs in the name of the United States ; and in the language of an able jurist, "the Executive, like the judiciary, constitutes an independent department of the government, and his decision in the line of his duty is as conclusive upon others as are the judgments of courts."

And there are in the Constitution of the United States no equivocations, no places for doubt, with respect to which department of the government a particular duty or authority belongs. The boundary of each of the co-ordinate branches of the government is clearly defined. In that sphere of duty which is committed to the President as the official embodiment of the corporate physical force of the United States, Congress has no authority. It can neither enlarge nor diminish the constitutional power of the Chief Magistrate. Statutes, if any, which Congress may frame for such purposes are without binding validity. Within his appointed and exclusive domain, the President is the United States, its physical and moral presentment ; and the same remark is to be made with respect to the judicial and legislative branches of the government respectively.

With these general observations, we pass to the consideration of the relations between the United States as thus defined and the several separate and independent States of the Union, in regard to things to be done, and conditions to be observed by each respectively, as bodies politic. These relations, so far as they are here in question, are indicated in the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution, which is as follows: "*The United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion ; and on application of the Legislature (or of the executive, when the Legislature can not be convened) against domestic violence.*"

In the first clause of this section, the word guarantee fixes the character of the federal obligation. The United States makes itself the *guarantor* of local self-government. The obligation is a pledge, with respect to each particular State, in behalf of its republican form of government, not only against the successful interference of any disturbing power within its domain, but against interference (*including federal encroachments*) from without. So, with reference to the remaining requirements of the section, the protection which the United States is to extend to every State against invasion and against domestic violence, implies that the United States will neither permit invasion nor *itself invade* ;

that it will neither fail to respond effectively upon any proper call for aid against domestic violence nor *intrude itself* into the domestic affairs of any State to the diminution of the political liberty of its citizens, or the divestment of their civil free agency.

It is admitted that this is not the interpretation of the clause to which attention has been usually or chiefly directed. Overlooking the circumstance that the distinctive characteristic of republican rule, is, that it is created and operated as *the will of those who are its subjects*, attention has been mainly given to those features of the guaranty and of the requirements of protection which have reference to disturbing and mischievous *local* embarrassments and difficulties, rather than to those obstructions and hindrances to the proper civil free agency of the States, which coming from an entirely different source—*the general government itself*—give occasion for no less serious apprehension. But it was precisely this apprehension which haunted the minds of the framers of the Constitution. They had no fears that the people of the States would ever incline voluntarily to surrender their right of self-preservation. They *did* conceive the possibility of a central power willing to diminish the autonomy of the States, in order to extend the scope of its own authority. If the people of the formative period of the Constitution and the nation were fearful of any thing in the polity about to be established, and of whose future they could obtain but an imperfect idea, it was of whatever might jeopardize the integrity of their domestic institutions; and a contemporary interpretation looking to this end would have been effectual to prevent the ratification of the instrument by any one of the States.

These remarks upon the nature of the guaranty, and of the protection, on the part of the United States, contemplated by the Constitution with respect to the several States of the Union, apply alike to all departments of the government.

With reference to the specific duty of the *several departments* in the premises, it is the well-settled doctrine of the Supreme Court, that the question whether the government of any State is Republican in form is a political, not a judicial one in its character, and is one which Congress alone is empowered to decide. In the leading case of *Luther vs. Borden*, VII. Howard, P. I. (see pp. 42 and 43), the exclusive authority of Congress in the premises is emphasized, and held to be "binding upon every other department of the government."

The question, therefore, whether and under what circumstances

a case is presented for the discharge of the guaranty of a republican form of government by the United States, is one which the President is not authorized to determine, and with respect to which he is only empowered to act under the direction of Congress, or in the execution of congressional legislation pertinent to the case.

"So, too," say the Court, "as relates to the clause . . . providing for cases of domestic violence. It rested with Congress, too, to determine upon the means proper to be adopted to fulfill this guaranty. They might, if they had deemed it most advisable to do so, have placed it in the power of *a court* to decide when the contingency had happened which required the federal government to interfere, but Congress thought otherwise, and no doubt wisely." A reference follows, in the decision from which we quote, to the *Act of February 28th, 1795*, which defines the duty and regulates the action of the executive department in the case of "insurrection in any State against the government thereof." The further requirement of the Constitution—not commented upon by the Court, in this connection—that of the protection of the several States against invasion, necessarily demands the same construction and interpretation, and thus, in the opinion of the highest judicial tribunal of the government, the entire subject-matter of these all-important obligations is intrusted primarily to Congress, and only comes within the sphere of executive duty by virtue of federal legislation to this end and for such purpose. The large discretionary power in this way committed to Congress has naturally invited very liberal interpretation, and the advocates of "a strong central power" have not been slow to argue that these requirements of guaranty and protection were mainly designed to constitute the federal legislature a general protectorate, with a view to the preservation of the principle of popular government in the several States—invested for this purpose with authority to supervise, inspect, and analyze their local constitutions, and, not finding them in conformity with its ideas of Republicanism, to annul their authority and supersede them with institutions of its own contrivance, or framed under its direction. To this, it would seem to be a sufficient answer, that for Congress to establish popular rules with respect to local government in a State, is a thing morally impossible—a contradiction in terms. Republican government ceases to be such when, institutionally or administratively, it passes from the hands of those for whose use it was created. One

body politic may erect a government of force over the people of another, but it is beyond its power to erect a government of consent. This could not have been the intent of the framers of the Constitution; but whatever the latitude or restriction of interpretation that may be given to the power and authority of the federal legislature, in these particulars, the fact remains that while each department of the general government is invested with its appropriate duty and responsibility upon this subject as the occasion may require, it is to Congress, and not to the President of the United States, that each and all of the obligations defined and declared by the fourth section of article four of the Constitution are, in the first instance, addressed—the conduct of the Executive being controlled at every step by the necessity for federal legislation, with respect to the exigencies to be met, the means to be employed, the method of procedure, and therefore confined and limited solely to the execution of the laws pertaining to the subject.

In other words: here, as elsewhere, and under all circumstances, the duty of the President of the United States is simply to “take care that the laws are faithfully executed;” his only sanction for participation at all in the discharge of these constitutional obligations being found in the fact that Congress has enacted in advance the requisite legislation in furtherance of their faithful fulfillment—the Act of 1795, with such enlargement as its provisions have since received, being the warrant to-day for whatever of executive action the President may direct for this purpose. To him, therefore, with peculiar force, all proper comments and considerations apply, with respect to the circumspection and the careful avoidance of intrusive interference with which the guaranty of a republican form of government, and the requirements of protection to the domestic institutions of the several States, are to be discharged and obeyed, whenever by the action of Congress this guaranty and these requirements are brought within the sphere of executive duty. He is to “take care that the laws,” including the supreme municipal law, the Constitution itself, in which these obligations are so widely incorporated, “are faithfully executed.” In a sense, at once the largest and yet the strictest, he is the ultimate and true custodian of these provident and sacred obligations of the Constitution; and under and by virtue of them, charged as he is with the execution of the action of Congress in the premises, and intrusted with the command of the army of the United States to aid in this purpose,

he is the final resource and dependence of the States for the just, lawful, and wise performance of duties of the utmost importance which these responsibilities involve. Again, we repeat, that controlled as he is, in all his conduct in the premises, by the restriction that he is to follow the initiative of Congress, he is to observe, with scrupulous fidelity to the spirit of his great trust, the exact limits of his duty, and take no step beyond.

To conclude: the final clause of the section fixes *the terms under and the end for which* the United States may lawfully enter the territory of a State for the protection of the State against *domestic violence*. For *federal purposes*, there are no such restrictions as State boundaries. For such purposes, the United States is as free to occupy one portion of the common domain as another. When the end to be subserved, however, is local, the case is altogether different, and the circumstances under which alone it may enter are that it has been duly requested so to do by some duly commissioned agent or a representative body acting under State authority. It is a rule, without an exception, under the Constitution. True, the case of domestic violence *attended with a menace to the republican form of government of the State*—domestic violence amounting to domestic despotism in form as well as in reality—is perhaps conceivable; but such a case—scarcely within the range of conjecture—if it ever should exist, would demand, as an undertaking in which the interests of the entire Union are immediately and most intimately involved, the exercise at all hazards of the paramount guaranty of the Constitution against the success and permanence of the change in the form of government—not the requirement of protection merely and only against domestic violence. The rule is unimpaired that the United States can only enter a State as such when the sole purpose is the suppression of domestic violence, *upon rightful official invitation*.

It follows: 1. That the condition of civil society within the States of the Union is not in itself a matter of federal concern, save only, as remarked, the proper and lawful interest, primarily on the part of Congress, in behalf of a republican form of government in every State. In other words, the phraseology of the Constitution implies that the United States is endowed with no general supervisory authority in respect to the domestic affairs—the internal economy—of any State.

2. That the function of the United States, when, in pursuance of the proper application, it enters the territory of a State, is fixed by

the terms of the invitation. It is to serve as a conservator of the peace of society—that is, to protect the State against domestic violence. For this purpose alone the invitation is extended. For no other purpose can it be accepted.

Rightly interpreted, the provision here considered is one of great value and importance. Wrongly interpreted, it may become a source of extreme danger, not only to the independent autonomy of the States, but to the harmony of the Union. No injury nor disparagement can possibly accrue to any State from the presence within its territory of a federal force, even under arms, so long as such force confines itself within the sphere of duty fixed by the Constitution. Its entrance within the territorial jurisdiction of the State is not necessarily essential, or even significant, with respect to the independent authority of the State. And although present upon formal and legitimate invitation, if the application has been made without adequate cause, through mistaken apprehension, or through improper motives of any kind, on the part of those in authority for the time within the State, if there is no domestic violence, in fact or in imminence, the federal forces have no local duty to perform, and their presence, if their employment is lawfully and properly directed, will be alike with their absence, immaterial. It is under precisely such circumstances, however, that the continued presence of an armed federal force within the jurisdiction of any State, although originally brought across its borders for the best of purposes and upon a lawful call, may become a lasting injury, and work most grievous harm, by its exercise, its menace, or display, its assertion even, of paramount authority, and the inevitable control that actually follows, over the independent exercise of political and social rights and privileges, on the part of all the citizens of the State.

And here we reach the point of critical importance, with regard to executive duty, in these matters of constitutional requirement. As only at the command of the President, the federal forces ever enter upon the territory of any State, so with him the responsibility rests *for their immediate withdrawal* upon the instant of discovery that the occasion has passed or has had no real existence, if such should prove to be the fact, for their presence and employment.

The provision of the Constitution which impliedly inhibits the United States from assuming a general supervision of State affairs, and limits its authority to that of a guardianship of the peace under

special circumstances, is eminently wise. It is in conformity with natural law. Any attempt, on the part of the United States, either by legislation, by judicial determination—if this were possible—or by executive interference (of most immediate and dangerous peril) unwarrantably to exercise discretion as an umpire between contending factions or parties in any State, is not only inconsistent with the character of the national government, but it is wrong, from the fact that every artificial adjustment of such rival and antagonistic elements operates as a suspension of those inherent activities through which alone a normal condition of society is attained and preserved.

And whatever interpretation may be applied to the phrases of the Constitution, the truth will remain that the highest law of society is that which it unconsciously enacts, and whose record is the history of its own relations and conditions. This law it can not itself repeal, annul, or disobey with impunity; much less can it submit to its abrogation peaceably or forcibly, by any alien authority, and live.

The question, therefore, shall the United States by force establish and perpetuate a particular form of civil order in a State, is not merely one of this or that interpretation of a constitutional precept, nor one simply of right and wrong. Beyond all this, it is a question of possibility and impossibility. Viewed in this light, while there are therefore on the one side of this whole subject certain theories of experimental government proved to be impracticable, certain notions essentially controversial in their character, and probably erroneous, of party policy and interest, there are on the other the supreme law of the land explicit in its terms, and with it the law of nature itself, as shown abundantly, by obvious considerations; among them, and not of least importance, the testimony of actual participants in its disobedience—a long and dismal record in the school of experience.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE, ART, AND EVENTS.

RECENT AMERICAN BOOKS.

SIGURD THE VOLSUNG.¹—It may be that in this century of diplomacy and over-conscious civilization the writing of a truly national epos has become an impossibility ; but with this reservation it is safe to admit that Mr. Morris's Sigurd the Volsung possesses as much of the heroic quality as the unepic character of the age will allow. To call him a Gothic Homer would perhaps be a little hyperbolic, but we have little doubt that, had he lived a thousand years earlier, when the Odinic mythology was still a vital element in the life of the Gothic nations, he would have created a Gothic epos which would have occupied a position in the Germanic literature corresponding to that which the Iliad now occupies in the Greek. As it is, his poem impresses us rather as an achievement (and as such a great one), than as a strong and spontaneous outburst of primitive emotion. Its underlying, inspiring force is enthusiasm, which is a comparatively superficial quality, rather than faith, without which no epos is possible. Of course, it would be unreasonable to demand of a modern poet that he should have faith in a defunct pagan mythology, which is the same as to say that it would be unreasonable to expect of him that he could write an epic. For even Christianity is at the present day too much a matter of argument to furnish the inspiring force necessary for the creation of a Christian world-epos ; and since the age of the Crusades has passed by without producing any such poem, we fear the opportunity has been irrevocably lost. The Catholic Church, which is the only surviving monument of medievalism in religion, being the only church which has not stripped itself of its mythological encumbrances, possesses indeed as yet some of the more external conditions for such an achievement, but even if a great bard should arise within its pale, he would find himself too hopelessly out of sympathy with the spirit of the century to fathom the full meaning of its struggles, and doubts, and dim aspirations. The inevitable conclusion, then, is that the epic age, if it be not irrevocably past, can only reappear in a distant future, when all the tremendous moral and intellectual forces, which now bewilder us by their chaotic magnificence, shall have crystallized into a clearer and wider system, from which the lost faith may rise again in a nobler and more enduring form.

¹ "The Story of Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Niblungs." By William Morris, Author of "The Earthly Paradise." Boston : Roberts Brothers. 1877.

In the development of his plot Mr. Morris has not followed entirely either the Icelandic or the medieval German version of the Niblung legend, but has made a free and judicious use of both, according as his purpose required. In the two first books, relating the early history of the Volsungs, concerning which the Nibelungen Lied is silent, the saga tale is rendered with but slight modifications. The most wildly grotesque features are eliminated, and the characters of the heroes sufficiently humanized to reach the sympathies of modern men. And still the barbaric magnificence of that age, as the saga describes it, is in no way softened, while at the same time the joys and sorrows of King Volsung and his sons have a power to move us which in the Icelandic tale is utterly wanting. We might quote a dozen passages where Mr. Morris has evidently felt the pressure of his modern audience, and adapted his narrative to their refined ears; in the scene, for instance, where Sigimund slays the she-wolf who had eaten his nine brothers, he does not (as in the saga), anoint his mouth and face with honey and bite the wolf's tongue, pulling it out with his teeth, but he simply breaks his bonds and kills the beast with his fetters. Again, when his sister sends her and Siggeir's son to him in the forest, he sends the lad back to his mother instead of slaying him.

At the beginning of the third book, however, the spiritual atmosphere of the poem undergoes some subtle change, which is felt more easily than it is defined. The poet here begins to draw his material from the old German epic. The grim simplicity of Norse paganism which pervades the opening cantos is momentarily lost sight of, and the glitter and pomp of medieval chivalry with "horse and hawk and hound" take its place. In this there is to our minds an implied anachronism—an anachronism of sentiment rather than of fact. The whole description of the court of the Niblungs is redolent with medieval feeling, which is indeed not to be wondered at, as it is directly borrowed from the medieval Nibelungen Lied, without any strong effort to tune it into accord with the more Norse elements of the poem.

But criticisms like these are after all of minor importance when compared with the really great and enduring qualities which "Sigurd the Volsung" possesses in such an eminent degree. First, the genuinely Gothic spirit which breathes from every verse, and stirs the hidden Gothic fibres in our own nature. We know no other poet, modern or ancient, who has fathomed so fully and expressed so finely the old Germanic sentiment for the sword, the fateful magic of gold, and the other distinct elements of Gothic civilization.

We have hardly space to analyze in detail the many beauties of this singularly beautiful poem. From the very first the reader's ear is captivated by the simple stateliness and purity of the verse, which flows on with a calm, majestic movement, like that of a broad river reflecting the deeds of the successive generations that toil, struggle, and die on its shores. In the very vocabulary there is a Saxon muscularity and strength which accord well with the primitive grandeur of the theme. Even Homer is said occasionally to nod; but Mr. Morris never for a moment yields to drowsiness or fatigue. He

retains from beginning to end the same firm grip on his subject, and the manly directness with which he describes even situations to which squeamish ears might take exception, immediately wins the reader's heart and disarms the critic. Where all is so excellent, it is difficult to choose any passage especially adapted for quotation; we select, however, at random the scene where Sigurd, after having ridden through the wall of flame, awakes Brynhild, the sleeping valkyrie:

"Then he looked on his bare bright blade, and he said: 'Thou—what wilt thou do?'
 For indeed as I came by the war-garth thy voice of desire I knew.
 Bright burnt the pale blue edges, for the sunrise drew anear,
 And the ruins of the Shield-burg glittered, and the east was exceeding clear;
 So the eager edges he setteth to the Dwarf-wrought battle-coat,
 Where the hammered ring-knit collar constraineth the woman's throat;
 But the sharp Wrath biteth and rendeth, and before it fail the rings,
 And, lo, the gleam of linen and the light of golden things;
 Then he driveth the blue steel onward, and through the skirt and out,
 Till naught but the rippling linen is wrapping her about;
 Then he deems her breath comes quicker and her breast begins to heave,
 So he turns about the War-Flame and rends down either sleeve,
 Till her arms lie white in her raiment, and a river of sun-bright hair
 Flows free o'er bosom and shoulder and floods the desert bare.
 Then a flush cometh over her visage and a sigh upheaveth her breast,
 And her eyelids quiver and open, and she wakeneth into rest."

Outside of Tennyson's Idylls of the King, we know no poem in the whole range of English literature which illustrates so strikingly the strength and beauty of Saxon speech; and in single lines we venture to think (with all due admiration for the laureate's marvelous work) that Mr. Morris has surpassed him. What can, for instance, be finer than this?—

"Ah! my love shall fare as a banner in the hand of thy renown."

"And the spears in the hall were tossing as the rye in a windy plain."

"— and the wild hawks overhead

Soughed 'neath the naked heavens as at last he spake and said."

Again, as a substitute for the Homeric interludes, with their sonorous, polysyllabic splendor, it is hard to imagine any thing more felicitous than the plain vigorous Saxon of lines like the following:

"And the morn and the noon and the even built up another day."

In single, oft-recurring epithets like "the white-armed Gudrun," "the bright-eyed Brynhild," "the wise-heart Hagin," Mr. Morris naturally recalls the Homeric *λευχώλενος*, *γλαυχῶπις*, and *πολύμητις*, but the reminder is rather a pleasant one, and somehow seems to add to the epic strength and dignity of the poem.

In his characterization Mr. Morris never departs from the simple and direct methods of the sagas, leaving the action to speak for itself, and never disturbing the narrative by any attempt at analysis or personal reflections. He has indeed shown before now that he has studied the Old Norse litera-

ture to good purpose, but his former experiments with Icelandic themes always seemed to us unnecessarily fragmentary and incomplete, and hardly seemed to justify us in expecting any thing truly great from him in this direction. Viewed, however, in the light of preparatory studies, these early labors, no doubt, have their value, and we would no more think of quarreling with the poet for having published them than we would blame a Raphael or a Rubens for exhibiting the contents of his portfolio. Sigurd the Volsung will always remain the crowning achievement of Mr. Morris's life, and we are none the less willing to accord to him the praise which is his due, because he has taken us and all the world by surprise. He has produced a work whose grandeur and beauty will make it for all time to come monumental in the annals of English literature.

JOHN THE BAPTIST.¹—The first feeling with which the reader takes up this volume is one of surprise that any writer should find in a theme so concisely treated in the New Testament material for a volume of five hundred pages. We have really three episodes in the life of John the Baptist—the miracle attending the prophecy of his birth; his early ministry on the Jordan, including his baptism of Jesus; and his imprisonment and execution under Herod. The whole story could be told in ten pages of this volume. But the reader does not go far in it without correcting the first impression that we have here another volume of religious milk and water—a little milk of the Word, and a large proportion of water of fanciful description and pious comment. This is a kind of literature more popular in England than in America; but it is not a specimen of this kind that Dr. Reynolds has given us. His pages are compact; his book can not be read except with care. The reader rises from its perusal anew impressed with the suggestiveness of even the simplest portions of the Scripture narrative. His work is indeed a series of excursus suggested by points connected with the career and character of the Baptizer. After some preliminary considerations respecting the sources of information and the difficulties besetting a study of John, he describes him first as an exponent of the Old Testament dispensation, which leads to a consideration of the priest, the ascetic, and the prophet, which three characters were united in him; the author next discusses John's preaching in the wilderness, which includes some account of the "kingdom of heaven" and "the wrath to come" as those phrases would be understood by a pious Jew of the first century. The Baptism of John he regards as borrowed from a prior proselyte baptism, though not necessarily corresponding with it in form, which he apparently regards as of minor importance, and to the discussion of which he devotes no space, while the significance of baptism and the difference between Johannine and Christian baptism he discusses at some length. The later

¹ "John the Baptist. A Contribution to Christian Evidences." The Congregational Lecture for 1874. By Henry Robert Reynolds, D.D. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.

incidents in John's ministry are necessarily treated historically rather than doctrinally. Thus it will be seen that in the author's treatment the career and character of John open the way to the discussion of some important biblical topics, and it is in this discussion that he shows his peculiar strength. We have only to add that he is vigorous, catholic, and broad; that he is in thorough accord with the evangelical churches in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion; that his work shows careful historical research, and throws considerable light from other days on doubtful and difficult points; and that matters relating to the externals of religion he simply and quietly passes by, not as one who evades them, but as one who regards them as not of sufficient importance to deserve his time or that of his readers.

LEGAL RECREATIONS.¹—It is gratifying to find good law and good humor combined in the same book. The writer narrates his imaginary traveling experience in a very entertaining manner. The law is applied to the supposed cases, while constant reference is made to cases which have actually been decided in the courts. Mr. Rogers's book is both valuable and amusing to layman and lawyer. If the lay reader is not enabled to dispense with strictly professional advice after finishing this little volume, he will, at least, have learned a great deal of the rights of travelers, and the means of obtaining redress for their violation.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE BRAIN.²—In a work upon the functions of the brain we should, of course, expect an analysis of the powers of the human mind, and of the distribution of the mental conditions and faculties to their appropriate cerebral organs. But there is very little reference to the so-called science of phrenology in Dr. Ferrier's treatise; nevertheless the general functions of the different parts of the cerebro-spinal system are fully discussed in the light of recent investigations. Dr. Ferrier admits the uncertain condition of our knowledge of the brain, and says that "we are only on the threshold of the inquiry, and it may be questioned whether the time has even yet arrived for an attempt to explain the mechanism of the brain and its functions." But "it is useful to review and systematize the knowledge we have so far acquired, if for no other reason than to show how much still remains to be conquered." The volume is intensely interesting as showing what it is possible for experiment to do in the department of cerebral physiology. The principal experiments have been made upon animals other than man. Vivisection is here, as in other instances, a great aid to scientific inquiry.

A matter which will strike the ordinary reader most singularly is that the brain, while being the home of mind and the final depository of sensations

¹ "The Law of the Road; or, Wrongs and Rights of a Traveler." By R. Vashon Rogers, Jr. San Francisco: Sumner Whitney & Co.; New York: Hurd & Houghton.

² "The Functions of the Brain." By David Ferrier, M.D., F.R.S. With numerous illustrations. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1876.

produced in other parts of the body, is not itself sensitive to direct injury. "Human beings who have had their brain lacerated or cut likewise testify to the entire absence of pain or suffering therefrom." "The cerebral hemispheres are everywhere insensible to mechanical imitation." Dr. Ferrier is of the opinion that consciousness resides only in the cerebral hemispheres, and is absent from all portions of the cerebral system below these—such as the cerebellum, the mesencephalic centres, the medulla oblongata. Wonderful exhibitions of activity have been seen in animals with the cerebral hemispheres detached. It would seem that if, in the absence of the cerebral hemispheres, animals may adjust their movements to circumstances which are unusual, or by which they have not, in all probability, ever before been surrounded, there is something like mental action, if not consciousness, left after the severance of the hemispheres. Goltz has demonstrated that "even when the limbs of a frog are so fixed or placed in positions which could never have occurred in its past experience, the animal, without its hemispheres, retained the power of adapting its movements in accordance with these unusual and abnormal conditions." But Dr. Ferrier argues that "the mere faculty of adaptation is not necessarily proof of consciousness." In a cursory examination of this generally able and exhaustive work, we nowhere find the distinction made between conscious, self-conscious, and unconscious mental action. In our own view, the cerebral hemispheres may be the organ of all three forms of mental action, the cerebellum and basal ganglia may be the organ of unconscious if not of conscious mental action, while it is by no means certain that the lower extremities of the cerebral system may not be also the organ of unconscious psychical action. It is, without doubt, the tendency of very recent science to enlarge the portion of the organism upon which it is deemed the human mind acts directly, or in which it resides, either consciously or unconsciously. But of course we shall have to learn much more of the structure and functions of the nervous system and of the mind itself, before we can determine with certainty the location and physiological connections of the latter.

The diagrammatic summary near the close of the volume is especially valuable. We are glad to know that the present volume is to be followed by another, explaining, among other things, more fully the physiological conditions of consciousness; although we should be sorry to see the author hold that where there is no consciousness there is no mind or soul, or that the suspension of consciousness implies that the mind or soul no longer exists.

THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.¹—There is no portion of human history more interesting than that of the Greeks. The story of their life and thought, although oft-told, is still attractive and instructive. But it is to the productions of Greek philosophers, poets, and artists that the world now looks, rather than to the results of the efforts of Greek politicians and warriors.

¹ "Epochs of Ancient History: The Athenian Empire." By George W. Cox, M.A., Joint Editor of the Series. With five Maps. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

Modern civilization has more to gain from the study of Athenian culture than from the study of Athenian policy and government. In the three quarters of a century through which the little volume lying before us carries the reader there is little to admire except the courage and persistence of the two political centres of Greece—Athens and Sparta—in sustaining their peculiar ideas of government. The plots, the betrayals, the dissensions, the animosities between the oligarchic and democratic elements of society, are portrayed in detail and with fidelity. The narrative is founded principally upon that of Thucydides, the great reliance of modern historians, who has well-nigh demonstrated the truth of his own assertion, that in writing his history he was to give to the world a “possession unto eternity.” The duration of the Athenian Empire was indeed short; but it was as eventful as it was brief. About one half of its existence was occupied with the Peloponnesian War, which ended in the destruction of the empire. The rise and fall of the empire and the causes and concomitants thereof are described by the author with the average ability, but with no very great exhibition of a deep insight into the philosophy of history or of events. What is lacking in breadth is made up in minuteness and attractiveness; and the volume will serve as a good hand-book of the portion of Grecian history which it comprises.

THE BATTLE OF HARLEM PLAINS.¹—For many months the people of the United States have been repeatedly called upon to celebrate events which transpired a hundred years ago. The hundredth anniversaries of the first battles and minor engagements of the Revolutionary War have been commemorated with all the ardor and devotion of a grateful and patriotic people. We have fairly embarked upon a sea of centennial celebrations; for during several years to come the triumphs of that contest which ended in the permanent establishment of the North American Republic will be brought vividly before the public mind. It is well to say that the events of the Revolutionary War are not looked upon as victories over the English people as such, but as prime facts in American history, and as the means of our entrance into the great family of nations with institutions of which we are proud, and with a prosperity which we can only hope may be as great in the future as it has been in the past. The commemoration of the Battle of Harlem Plains was unquestionably one of the most appropriate, if not one of the most splendid, celebrations of the centennial events of which we speak. The ceremonies took place upon the ground where the battle was fought: the exercises were under the auspices of that learned and cultured body, the New York Historical Society; the oration was delivered by the Hon. John Jay, a grandson of John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States. The oration and the supplementary remarks of Mr. de Peyster, Dr. Storrs, and Mr. Beekman were in excellent taste and quite free from the chronic defects of American orators when speaking on patriotic themes.

¹ “Commemoration of the Battle of Harlem Plains” on its Hundredth Anniversary, by the New York Historical Society. New York: Published by the Society.

HISTORY OF THE JEWISH CHURCH.¹—This third volume of this history has, in certain features, more interest for biblical scholars than even the two earlier. We find the same charm of style, wealth of illustration, and that power of grouping the events of the time with the Hebrew figures in the foreground, which marks the historic painter. But the chief value of the work is in the light which it throws on the period between the close of the Old Testament and the Gospel of the New, where modern criticism has its battleground. It has been the aim of this school, of which Renan is the most brilliant representative, to trace the origin of Christianity to the ideas of theology and ethics borrowed from later Jewish sources, and yet more in its social growth to the Messianic faith, which passed from its national form into the conception of a universal kingdom. To write a history which shall fairly admit all these elements, yet show that they prove Christianity to be more truly a revelation for mankind, is the purpose of Dean Stanley. We do not claim that he has given us a perfect work. Many will find fault with his concessions in regard to some of the canonical books; but his honest statement of fact, his courtesy toward adverse opinions, and his grasp of historic principles are rare virtues. With less original genius than Ewald—indeed a frank borrower from that mine of Hebrew learning—he has opened anew a rich vein, which hardly any since Prideaux has begun to explore.

We can only glance at the varied points of the volume. Nothing could be better told than the sketch of the new Hebrew state after the fall of Babylon; its structural change from the nation of Moses and David to a sacerdotal type; the prominence of the written law; the rise of scribe and rabbi to their supremacy over the popular mind, and its result in a new captivity under the yoke of school tradition. We are surprised, however, that the author should retain the name of "the Jewish Church." It certainly does not express the character of a state which was political in its essential idea as well as religious. Much light is thrown on the gradual formation of the doctrinal system. We should notice especially the correction of the view of the Old Testament canon, natural enough in the less critical day of Prideaux, but which has largely affected biblical literature. It is clear, according to Stanley, that neither Nehemiah nor Ezra was the collector of the whole sacred volume. The Pentateuch was revived as the central authority; but a large part of the Psalms and prophetic books, the Chronicles and other writings, were revived in later times. This fact throws a striking light on the doctrinal side of the Samaritan sect, as well as on the strifes of the Sadducaic and Pharisaic schools, which hinged on the question of the written law. In regard to the much-debated point of the influence of Persian ideas on the Hebrew religion, we have a careful though brief criticism. There are unquestionable traces of the doctrine of good and evil angels, as in the seven watchers resembling the seven Amshaspands, the "unsleeping ones," around the throne of Ormuzd; and in the Asmodeus in the book of Tobit, who is the

¹ "Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church." By A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster. Third Series. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1876.

Æshma-Deva, or spirit of concupiscence. But the likeness in the fundamental truth of the divine unity is, in the view of our author, due only to the partial affinity of the two religions. Indeed, the Hebrew conception is essentially distinct in its rejection of the Persian dualism, as he clearly shows in the stately utterance of the Eternal, when he announces the mission of Cyrus, yet says, "I form the light and create darkness." This judgment of Stanley we regard as of great moment. We can only touch the still more interesting period when the Hebrew history comes into contact with Greek culture. The influence of this on the growth of the literature, both of the later books of the Old Testament and the deuterocanonical, opens a large field; and while the opinion of our author as to the date of Daniel, the Chronicles, and Esther will not satisfy many, few will deny the strength or the fairness of his arguments. There will probably be still more question as to his chapter on Socrates, and the result of his movement on Christian thought. We can only say that he has given some ideas of the likeness between the apostolic doctrine and the ethics of the sage whom Justin Martyr called *Christianus ante Christum*, worthy to be studied in their bearing on the subject of comparative religion. If the criticism of the ethnic literature and faith lead to the denial of a divine revelation, it will be an empty learning; but if, as we believe, it shows us in their partial truths the witness of that perfect truth which is in Him who is the "fullness of times," it is the noblest aim of our modern Christian scholarship. We trust that view will be confirmed in the next promised volume of this work, which will carry us to the time when Judaism passes into the religion of the redeemed world.

MILL'S DISSERTATIONS AND DISCOURSES.¹—This supplementary volume of Mr. Mill's essays contains some of the most mature productions of his versatile intellect. Each of the papers in it is brief; no part of them is abstruse or difficult in style; yet no single volume containing so much ripe wisdom, so many fertile suggestions, such stimulus for the mind in the direction of its healthiest growth, can easily be found among recent publications. The longest essay, the review of Thornton on "Labor and its Claims," has long been familiar to all earnest students of modern society, as a contribution to economical science equal in importance to the remarkable book of which it treats; but it was buried in the pages of a monthly review, and lost to the general reader. Now that it appears in an appropriate and permanent form, it will be recognized as valuable, not merely for the light which it throws upon the nature of the "wages-fund," and some other difficult economical problems, but still more as the best model, perhaps, in literature, for the conduct of a social or political controversy. Its style is strictly impersonal. To be able without prejudice to weigh objections to one's own long-cherished views, to hold in impartial suspense the very doctrines, by the discovery and advocacy of which one has made himself famous, and to award

¹ "Dissertations and Discourses: Political, Philosophical, and Historical." By John Stuart Mill. Vol. V. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

full weight to new arguments against them, is surely the perfection of intellectual morality. In this virtue Mr. Mill was eminent from the first among the writers of his day, and we regard the article in question as his best illustration of it.

The volume contains also reviews of other remarkable works: of Professor Cliffe Leslie's "Land Systems," of Taine's "De l'Intelligence," of H. Sumner Maine's "Village Communities," and of Grote's posthumous book on "Aristotle." It is hardly necessary to remark that Mr. Mill was one of the most complete and admirable reviewers of books ever known. For readers whose days or lives are not long enough to peruse every important literary production, as it appears, there is no greater privilege than to have a selection of its leading thoughts, and a careful judgment of the whole, made for them by a mind so broad and so well-furnished that it in the full sense comprehends the author's. This is precisely what such reviewers as Mr. Mill do for us; and it is safe to assert that, if the notices of new books, even in our most influential periodicals, were habitually prepared with something of the ability and candor apparent in the essays before us, the power of literature for good would soon be multiplied.

ATLAS ESSAYS.¹—This volume embraces an excellent collection of articles which originally appeared in this REVIEW, it being the design of the compiler to place before the public, in a convenient form, a graphic and reliable summary of the literary and intellectual achievements of remarkable men of modern times. Among the men whose lives and works are treated in this volume we find a delightful combination of Europeans and Americans, including Lord Macaulay, Ernst Curtius, Philip Gilbert Hamerton, Edward A. Freeman, John Stuart Mill, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, Edgar Allan Poe, Charles Sumner. These essays are written by some of the most eminent contributors to this REVIEW, and contain many interesting and valuable observations and facts not elsewhere to be found. The publishers would do well to issue a more elegant and costly edition of these essays. The present edition is not quite equal in quality of material to the other publications of this house.

FREEMAN'S NORMAN CONQUEST.²—More than two years ago we reviewed at some length the first four volumes of this very valuable and interesting work. The fifth volume, which is now before us, completes the author's design. If we take, as the immediate limits of the Conquest, the period between the last days of Eadward the Confessor and the death of William the Conqueror, we may say that the three volumes which treat of that period contain a complete history of England during that time, at once detailed and philosophic. The first and the last volumes of the five may

¹ "Atlas Essays No. 2. Biographical and Critical." New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1877.

² "The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and Results." By Edward A. Freeman. Vol. V. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

be considered in some sort provisional; in the first we have an outline of the earlier history, and in the last we have in epitome the results of the Conquest, with an able *croquis*—no more is intended—of the subsequent reigns down to that of Edward I. If then, at some future day, the historian could rewrite and expand the first and last volumes, we should have—instead of the history of one great event in English annals—a complete history of England from the earliest times until the conclusion of the reign of Edward, who stands in the author's estimation as “the last of her royal law-givers, the noblest of her royal conquerors,” “the king who wrought the good of his kingdom, not as the instrument of a blind chance, not as a puppet in the hands of others, but as a king who, on the throne of England, made the welfare of England the conscious object of his life.” Edward appears in this history, like Æneas beside his celestial armor :

“Attollens humero famamque et fata nepotum.”

We may hope that the author will be able to carry out this design.

A glance at the titles and sub-titles of the chapters will indicate the scope of the author's inquiries; more than this our limited space will preclude. He begins with the Domesday record of the careful and exhaustive Survey of England, made by direction of the Conqueror—a survey which it was of great importance to have exact, since it defined the king's authority in bestowing and the titles of the estates which he gave or insured to his subjects. It is very interesting as the first statistical document in European history, and it is of great historical value in that it sets forth in detail the extent and value of all the estates. “It sets things before us as they stood in the days of King William, but it also takes care to set them before us as they had stood in the days of King Eadward.” It contains personal history and even gossip, which are not to be found in the chroniclers; the law, the facts, and the controversies of confiscation and outlawry; the justice and the injustice, both legally practiced and established by William. The original Domesday is yet preserved in England, as fresh as any deed written fifty years ago, and the historian has no difficulty in deciphering the record. Mr. Freeman's masterly summary will aid the student in its study. In the next chapter we have a sketch of the reigns of William Rufus, Henry I. (Beauclerc), and Stephen the Usurper, down to the accession of the house of Anjou. The author thus reaches the proper period for considering the more immediate results of the Conquest, which constitute the principal subject of the volume. Here we have a consideration of the political results, as they are seen in foreign relations, in the development of kingly power, legislative and administrative, and in the effects of the Conquest upon social and ecclesiastical questions and conditions. In a later chapter we find a delineation of the Angevin monarchs, down to Edward I., with whom the author leaves England “in all the strength and freshness of her second birth.” The chapters on the effects of the Conquest on language, literature, and art are the most interesting in the volume, and we wish, as we read, that they could have been longer and fuller.

He concedes, at the outset, that, however great the advantages of the Conquest to England in other respects, its effect on the language was *purely evil*. He combats the commonly-received notion that the Conqueror deliberately set to work to root out the English tongue; that he intended to do in that day what Russia has tried in Poland in the present age—but claims that the predominance of Norman French was a necessary incident of the Conquest. He even shows that the greatest growth of Norman French in England marks the resuscitated strength of the Saxon or English race; that when, in the fourteenth century—the age of Chaucer, Gower, and Wickliffe—the English gentleman who spoke English by inheritance, was also taught French as a fashionable and polite thing, he was beginning to control the situation—as Americans say—and that the victory of English was certain. The date of this victory of the English language, sadly metamorphosed, it is true, may be placed in the reign of Edward III., when English displaced French as the language of pleading in the higher courts of law.

The crowning chapter of the volume is that on English art—and art in that day meant only architecture. On this Mr. Freeman is able to speak with authority. He says in a note that his knowledge is the result of traveling rather than reading—the best knowledge, we may say in passing, if both can not be had. But the truth is, that he has always been an enthusiastic student of architecture since his residence as a student at Oxford. His first published volume (1859) was a History of Architecture, and he afterwards wrote the History and Antiquities of St. David's, in conjunction with the Reverend William Basil Jones, since Bishop of St. David's. The synopsis in this volume is admirable, as he proceeds from the earlier Saxon—the primitive Romanesque—to the Norman styles, with the Gothic infusion, and including in his inquiry the *castles*, or warlike buildings, the buildings for *civil purposes*, and the *churches* and *cathedrals*. The appendix contains many titles, treated with great skill and learning. The author expands special topics referred to in the text, and thus displays the profoundness of his research. The volume thus briefly mentioned deserves careful study, and will repay the historical student not only by what it contains, but for the directions and methods of further study which it suggests.

NEW YORK.

RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF MIND.¹—Mr. Lewes here gives us the second series of his "Problems of Life and Mind." If it be high it is only just praise to say that no other writer appears to have the same insight and sub-

¹ "The Physical Basis of Mind." With Illustrations. By George Henry Lewes. London: Trübner & Co. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1877.

tlety in dealing with psychological problems which this author displays. He has, in fact, virtually instituted a new science of the human mind. To him belongs the discovery of demonstrating in what manner the specially human faculties of intellect and conscience are products of social factors co-operating with the animal factors. The present volume is concerned with four great questions—namely, 1, the Nature of Life; 2, the Nervous Mechanism; 3, Animal Automatism; and 4, the Reflex Theory. To do ample justice to this work would demand an entire number of the *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW*, and I can only refer to one or two leading points in connection with the subject. Mr. Lewes carries the reader along a chain of reasoning apparently irrefragable; his facts are marshaled with exceeding care, and, once these are admitted, his conclusions follow of necessity. One of his leading objects, as stated in the preface, “has been everywhere to substitute the biological point of view for the metaphysical and mechanical points of view, which too often obstruct research—the one finding its expression in spiritualist theories, the other in materialist theories; both disregarding the plain principle that the first requisite in a theory of biological phenomena must be to view them in the light of biological conditions: in other words, to fix our gaze upon what passes in the organism, and not on what may pass in the laboratory, where the conditions are different.” In the production of a sensation, for example, it is obvious that something more is concerned than the mere material of which the organ with which it is associated is composed; yet, as Mr. Lewes points out, it is the tendency of anatomists and physiologists to assign to *one* element, in a complex cluster of co-operants, the significance which properly belongs to that cluster. The author, therefore, takes us over the whole causes and effects of human sensation and volition. In the first division of his work, on *The Nature of Life*, which deals with the specialty of organic phenomena, Mr. Lewes has “suggested a modification of the hypothesis of natural selection, by extending to the *tissues and organs* that principle of competition which Mr. Darwin has so luminously applied to *organisms*. Should this generalisation of the ‘struggle for existence’ be accepted, it will answer many of the hitherto unanswerable objections.” The second essay, on the *Nervous Mechanism*, sets forth what is known and what is inferred respecting the structure and properties of that all-important system. The third, *Animal Automatism*, deals with the relations between body and mind. To give the writer’s own words, his psychological solution of this important question “explains why physical and mental phenomena must necessarily present to our apprehension such profoundly diverse characters, and shows that materialism, in attempting to deduce the mental from the physical, puts into the conclusion what the very terms have excluded from the premisses; whereas, on the hypothesis of a physical process being only the objective aspect of a mental process, the attempt to interpret the one by the other is as legitimate as the solution of a geometrical problem by algebra.” Lastly, it will be found, in the fourth division, upon the *Reflex Theory*, how “the biological point of view rectifies the error of an analysis which has led to the denial of sensi-

bility in reflex actions, because that analysis has overlooked the necessary presence of the conditions which determine sensibility." Such are the elements of which this bulky volume is composed. To those already acquainted with Mr. Lewes's works, it needs no recommendation—others who do not, and who wish to see what depths there are in the science of psychology, can not do better than give a thorough study to the whole of these problems of life and mind. Alike in details and in generalities Mr. Lewes is successful, and if some of his investigations make short work of certain theories which we have hitherto held, we should be ready to confess our still greater indebtedness to him.

PROF. HUXLEY'S ADDRESSES.¹—I need do little more than chronicle the appearance of this work, inasmuch as the addresses of which it is chiefly composed were delivered in the United States. Mr. Huxley is not the ideal of a public lecturer: his matter is too serious and weighty for the reading-desk; and his style, admirable as it is to read, is not so admirable to listen to. The one predominant feeling after a study of the opinions of this writer is, that if his constructive ability were equal to his critical and destructive, he would have been a real addition to the original spirits of the time. But when a man has all his cherished convictions knocked over like so many nine-pins, and nothing new given to supply their place, he can not derive from the theories of this new race of scientists that repose in some Being or Force which human nature finds to be a necessity. Mr. Huxley is our first exponent of Biology, and the reader will find at the close of the present volume an interesting lecture upon the study of it, delivered last year at the South Kensington Museum.

THE THIRD NAPOLEON.²—Mr. Blanchard Jerrold carries forward his work with considerable ability; but it is an up-hill task to replace a shattered idol upon the pinnacle of Fame. Whether always justly or unjustly, the late Emperor was credited with the blame of most of the disasters which for a quarter of a century fell upon France. In this volume, which is the third installment of his work, Mr. Jerrold, for instance, is called upon to deal with two events for which Napoleon's name has been execrated by thousands of Frenchmen—the Expedition to Rome, and the memorable *coup d'état* of December 2d, 1851. Speaking of the latter event, the biographer says: "The breaking of an oath is unjustifiable; but the measure of condemnation must be regulated by the conditions under which the perjury is committed." It is a new code in morals to declare that perjury is justifiable in any circumstances. The worst of it is with regard to Louis Napoleon that he seems to have spent much of his time in breaking his oaths and coercing the French people. Mr.

¹ "American Addresses, with a Lecture on the Study of Biology." By Thomas H. Huxley. London: Macmillan & Co.

² "The Life of Napoleon III." Derived from State Records, from Unpublished Family Correspondence, and from Personal Testimony. By Blanchard Jerrold. Vol. III. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Jerrold says he did all this with the highest possible motives; but, unfortunately, nations have to deal with and suffer for the acts of their rulers, and not their motives. Napoleon believed in "his destiny or his star." Impelled by that, "I broke the law," he said, "to enter the domain of right." Posterity must be left to judge between him and duty. With regard to the personal character of the Emperor and Empress, all Mr. Jerrold's eulogies are deserved. The third Napoleon was by no means destitute of intellect, and his disposition was frank, honorable, and courageous. Many will not subscribe to Mr. Jerrold's estimate of him politically, but all will agree that the present record of his career is most interesting and attractive.

TURKEY IN EUROPE.¹—Colonel Baker writes from the fullness of experience, and disposes of many fallacies concerning the position and resources of Turkey. Having lived in the country for some years, and studied its people, his opinions are entitled to considerable weight. Though he admits there is much about the Turk of a very objectionable character, he by no means agrees with Mr. Carlyle that he is "unspeakable." In fact, if he had better rulers, Colonel Baker believes that the Turk might become a respectable member of European society. The statistics which the writer has collected concerning the Ottoman army and navy are most valuable. Events have since proved that Colonel Baker was right when he said that Turkey would not be so easily crushed by Russia as people were ready to imagine. He charges Russia with fomenting discord in Bulgaria for many years past—in fact, a great deal of the discontent in the Slavonic provinces he attributes to the agency of the Northern Power. This work is certainly very valuable in its informational aspects.

CHARLOTTE BRONTË.²—This is a writer who is always fresh and interesting to English readers. Mr. Wemyss Reid has not discovered much that is new concerning her, though he does attempt to place her character in rather a different light than that in which Mrs. Gaskell presented her to us in her well-remembered *Life*. It is the latter work, however, which will always be turned to as giving us the fullest, and generally the most accurate, sketch of this remarkable woman. Mr. Reid makes some excellent observations upon Charlotte Brontë's genius, though he does not professedly write from the critical stand-point. There is more connection between the life and works of Charlotte Brontë than appears upon a mere surface reading of her novels and of Mrs. Gaskell's memoir.

MESMERISM v. SPIRITUALISM.³—Dr. Carpenter, in this little volume, discusses Spiritualism historically and scientifically. On closing the work, the

¹ "Turkey in Europe." By Lieut.-Col. James Baker. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

² "Charlotte Brontë: a Monograph." By T. Wemyss Reid. London: Macmillan & Co.

³ "Mesmerism, Spiritualism," etc. By W. B. Carpenter, C.B., F.R.S. London: Longmans & Co.

reader must feel that the supernatural element in Spiritualism has been thoroughly disposed of. In fact, it would be impossible to conceive a more complete *exposé* of the alleged spiritual manifestations. The arguments are crushing, and, to a reasonable mind and one open to conviction, thoroughly conclusive. Kate Fox (Mrs. Jencken) has replied to some of the statements concerning herself, but to Dr. Carpenter's treatment of the whole subject no answer has been forthcoming, for the simple reason that there is none to give. All the effects which can be scientifically produced Dr. Carpenter admits, but the reputed element of the supernatural he shows to be a gross delusion. If this book could get into wide circulation, it would be productive of immense good.

PROVERBS IN PORCELAIN.¹—Mr. Dobson is a charming writer of *vers de société*, with an infusion of the real poetic element which will give his stanzas a lasting place in this kind of literature. He often reminds us of Præd and Locker, though he is not so witty as either of those authors. He has, however, an easy and graceful style, and exhibits genuine fancy.

BOWRING'S RECOLLECTIONS.²—Sir John Bowring had a remarkable career, which we wish could have been told with greater fullness than by these rough and brief notes. He was a great linguist, and traveled over the whole of Europe and a great part of Asia. On one occasion, as will be remembered, he led the British Government into difficulties with the Chinese on the question of the lorcha "Arrow." His sketches of the countries he visited, though interesting enough, are not sufficiently full, and perhaps the best portion of this volume is that devoted to his recollections of famous men—Louis Philippe, Humboldt, Talleyrand, Brougham, Jeremy Bentham, Hazlitt, Thomas Hood, and others. Bowring rendered many services to his country, and these recollections, notwithstanding that they are somewhat meagre, will be warmly received and read.

SUPERNATURAL RELIGION.³—This anonymous work is now completed. It is unquestionably full of learning and research, but calm consideration of the author's arguments leads to the conclusion that he is no more successful in his attack upon the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles than he was upon the supernatural element in the Gospels. He is a fair opponent, however, but his restatement of the case of Baur, Paulus, Strauss, and other skeptics—though very elaborate—is no more destructive than theirs; and the arguments of those men have been more than once successfully met. We part from the author with admiration for his learning, but unshaken faith in the positions he assails.

G. B. S.

LONDON.

¹ "Proverbs in Porcelain, and other Verses." By Austin Dobson. London: King & Co.

² "Recollections of Sir John Bowring, with a brief Memoir." By Lewis B. Bowring. London: H. S. King & Co.

³ "Supernatural Religion: an Enquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation." London: Longmans & Co.

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS.

WE have here nominally a new edition of Rau's *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie*,¹ as revised by Professor Wagner; really, however, a completely new and different work on the subject. Professor Wagner's position theoretically, and consequently his scientific stand-point, is one so entirely different from that of Rau, that a partial revision of such a work would be an impossibility for him, and a complete revision could result in nothing else than a totally new book. Certain personal and formal considerations, which are explained in the preface, have, however, caused the retention of the old title. Rau, with most of his contemporaries, belonged to the older English school of political economy, and stood upon the theories and doctrines laid down by Adam Smith. The present generation of German economists has taken a new direction which becomes more widely separated from the old school, and more sharply in antagonism with it the farther it advances.

For a century before Adam Smith, these reformers or innovators explain, philosophy had been busily engaged with the assertion and justification of the rights of the individual over against the limitations of the old feudal state and society. The idea of the natural rights of man had been gradually becoming a part of the popular consciousness. Adam Smith simply reflected the philosophical ideas of his time, and interpreted them in making the economical relations of the individual as an individual the object of his investigations in the field of practical life; and his disciples, in developing his teachings, have merely marched along in his footsteps. The English school has exhausted itself, as to theory, in the investigation of the economical relations of the individual as conditioned only by himself, and has built up a system most rigorously developed. The ground principle, however, is an "egoistical" one, and the system is therefore but a logically consequent "egoism," which its opponents have been pleased to name the "Individual system of political economy."

Within the last half-century or so, in Germany, another idea has been gradually working its way forward in the field of economical philosophy. It has come up partly in the way of independent thought, partly in the way of a reaction against the extreme consequences of the old theory. It is accordingly characterized by a double position—a negative, which claims that this egoistic-individualistic principle is a false one to put at the base, as the underlying principle of society and economical activity, and from which to deduce a system of political and social economy; and a positive, which places society as a whole—*i. e.*, the family, community, state, etc., over against the individual, and claims that the social principle, of the greatest good for the greatest

¹ "RAU-WAGNER, *Lehrbuch der politischen Oekonomie*." Erster Band. Allgemeine oder theoretische Volkswirtschaftslehre von Adolph Wagner, Professor der Staatswissenschaften zu Berlin. Erster Theil, Grundlegung. Leipzig, 1876. Verlag von C. T. Winter.

number, represents more truly the consciousness of the century, and is the only one from which to deduce a national or folks-economical system. This social principle characterizes the new German, as contrasted with the English, school. The book before us by Professor Wagner is a very successful attempt, and the first one of its kind, to give expression to the theories and doctrines of the new school, and to develop them into a comprehensive system. The entire work, when completed, will consist of three parts, of two volumes each, corresponding to the departments into which the modern science of political economy is generally considered logically to divide itself and which is in contrast with the lack of system in the English school. These are :

Part I. "*Allgemeine oder theoretische Volkswirtschaftslehre*," i. e., General or theoretical folks-economy. Part II. "*Specielle oder practische Volkswirtschaftslehre*," i. e., Special or practical folks-economy, which treats of all that has to do with intercommunication and traffic in general, such as banks and banking, railroads, money as currency, etc., etc., of various agricultural questions, of industry, etc., etc. Part III. "*Finanzwissenschaft*," i. e., The science of finance, treating of the revenues and expenses of the state (taxation in theory and in practice, etc., etc.), and of state debts.

The first volume of the "*Finanzwissenschaft*" (Vol. V. in the whole series) has very recently appeared, and is principally devoted to the discussion of the outlays or expenses of the state. Part I. is the one of interest to us here, and space and time forbid more than the mere mention of Parts II. and III. Of Part I. only the first volume, "*Die Grundlegung*," has as yet appeared. That includes, however, the elementary and theoretical portion, and embraces essentially all that is new and characteristic in this direction. The volume is divided into five chapters. The fifth and last contains really the fundamental thoughts and basis for the others, and would, perhaps, have better preceded. It occupies nearly two thirds of the volume, and is devoted to an investigation of the foundations upon which society and "folks-economy" rest, and a clearing away and preparing of the ground for the system which is to follow. The principles which lie at the base of, and which condition the present "organization of society," are, personal freedom, property, with the rights of inheritance and contract.

These are considered in their historical development and present condition, with criticism and discussion of aims and probabilities for the future. And it distinguishes the book, that this is the first attempt to draw a discussion of the jural principles on which society as an economical factor rests, "*Die Rechts-institute des wirtschaftlichen Verkehrsrechts*," and especially the rights of property, into a work of this kind. The four remaining chapters contain the system or "ekonomik" as existing in theory.

The entire book is certainly a bold attempt in a new direction, and undoubtedly marks, however one may disagree with the ideas and theories advanced, at least the beginning of a new departure in the science of political economy.

THE three-volume work of Dr. Fröbel is written from the "stand-point of the unity of ideal and real interests"—a postulate which does not suggest an unusual degree of audacity.¹ It is now in fact generally accepted, except by thinkers of the school and of the quality of the late Mr. Greeley. The ideal means with them free-trade, a state of things which some of them are good enough to admit for Arcadia or the millennium, but humanly impossible. The real, on the other hand, is protection. A system of political economy which should try to reconcile such contraries would, accordingly, be like a theory of morals which should start from the identity of good and bad, of vice and virtue. In the currency discussions the same difficulty often arises. To a certain order of minds a uniform currency, and that gold, for the whole civilized world is a beautiful "idea," but unreal. The reality of things is found in the unredeemable American greenback. It is this artificial and pernicious distinction which Dr. Fröbel wholly rejects, at the very outset of his work. But in so doing he falls into a method of treatment which will be hailed by Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Logan with loud and sinister shouts of satisfaction. He assigns to the economical development of society the process or law of selection. He is in short a Darwinian. Even in the preface, where he says that industrial or productive superiority is only the "survival of the fittest," he lays a speculative ax, as it were, at the very roots of Christian faith, and invites the retort which must crush him forever. The school above referred to is not too familiar with logic, and has little respect for the syllogism. It will, nevertheless, be grateful to us if we suggest an easy formula by which Dr. Fröbel's position can be overthrown, and thus a dangerous "idealist" rendered tolerably harmless: Free-trade, according to him, is deduced from the Darwinian principle of natural selection applied to social economy; But Mr. Darwin is an infidel, and his "natural selection" false; Therefore free-trade is impossible in a Christian state. By some such syllogism as this, which in the heat of controversy would pass unchallenged, the cause of truth and of American industry could be served at the same time.

THE literature of those memorable years after Jena, when Prussia lay helpless at the feet of Napoleon, with disordered finances, lost prestige, a disheartened army, and a fugitive court, and of the efforts at rescue and reform made by a group of patriotic statesmen, seems to be practically inexhaustible. Stein has been vindicated in the noble biography of Perty. The papers, or some of them, of Schön have lately seen the light. Niebuhr lives in his own immortal Roman History. The fame of Alexander von Humboldt has overshadowed that of a greater genius and a broader patriot, William von Humboldt, the political and educational reformer, but Scharnhorst is a familiar name with every student of military history. Altenstein, too, was a statesman of no mean order, and when Hardenberg is added, the list is pretty complete. These are the men between whom the favor and the support of Frederick William III.

¹ "Die Wirthschaft des Menschengeschlechtes," von Julius Fröbel. Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1876.

vacillated with all the inconstancy of that fickle, weak, and contemptible prince. Of all these, two, Stein and Hardenberg, are most often mentioned, and mentioned together. It has pleased history and criticism to set them up as rivals; for though they were never such personally, nor even politically, the circumstances in which the latter came to power on the second retirement of the former, had the appearance of a party triumph. Because, too, Hardenberg modified so greatly his convictions in later years, and played such a suspicious part at the Congress of Vienna, while Stein was living like a Roman patriot in honorable retirement, the liberal affections of the people have not been altogether keen for the Chancellor. In the presence of the writer, however, a sagacious German politician remarked that in his opinion the present issue of Hardenberg's memoirs would reverse this opinion. That expectation may not be wholly fulfilled, but it is exceedingly interesting to learn the opinion of Professor Ranke.¹ In a felicitous contrast between the characters of the two men, the venerable historian says Stein had the greater wealth of original thoughts and feelings; Hardenberg, better judgment in interpreting the tendencies of the times. The first idea of a representative constitution came from Stein, but Hardenberg first perceived the moment when it became practically possible. So in regard to universal armament against Napoleon, Stein first seized the idea, and Hardenberg carried it out. Stein was an orthodox Christian, Hardenberg was a philosophical thinker; Stein thought first of the church, Hardenberg of the university. Stein had aristocratic sympathies, Hardenberg, democratic. Stein was impulsive and impatient; Hardenberg was reflective and prudent.

The "Denkwürdigkeiten" form four stout volumes, and suffer under what can not be described as a happy arrangement. In the first and the fourth volumes the editor supplies a running narrative of Hardenberg's life and career down to the time of his final entry into the Prussian service. This covers the period of his residence at Riga, where he composed the famous plan for a reorganization and reconstruction of the Prussian state. This is given in full at the end. The other two intermediate volumes are made up of the "Denkwürdigkeiten" proper—that is to say, of the documents which Dr. Ranke selected from among Hardenberg's papers. They comprise memoirs and memoranda by the Chancellor himself, private and official correspondence, protocols, drafts, and so forth. Especially in regard to the negotiations at Vienna the documentary matter is full and valuable. Some of the single papers had already become known in a more or less correct form; but the greater part are now published for the first time by the historian whom Hardenberg's heirs selected for the responsible and delicate task.

One of the finest traits in Hardenberg's character, as revealed in this work, was his generosity toward his colleagues and rivals. While living at

¹ "Denkwürdigkeiten des Staatskanzlers, Fürsten von Hardenberg." Herausgegeben von Leopold von Ranke. Leipzig, 1877. Duncker und Humboldt.

Riga, an observer, and yet an influential observer, of the hopeless efforts of the poor king to patch up a cabinet out of the wrecks that survived Jena, Hardenberg steadily advised the calling of Stein; and when finally this advice was unwillingly taken by the king, who hated Stein, the same councilor wrote a noble appeal to his royal master to give the new minister his full confidence and his unreserved support. After Stein's dismissal at the demand of Napoleon, and while Hardenberg was at the height of power, he constantly consulted his predecessor on the most delicate points of internal policy. Toward Altenstein, too, his relations were those of friendship and admiration. Throughout the report above mentioned on the reorganization of Prussia, he alludes to the views of that useful and judicious minister with the greatest respect, and is always best satisfied when he can present those views as coinciding with his own. Hardenberg was not a radical reformer. He may not have been governed so much by love of abstract justice as by consideration for the interests of the state in the blows which he leveled at oppressive feudal privileges. It was because they weakened the state that they were condemned by statesmanship. Accordingly he was willing to let the nobles retain all such distinctions as were merely titular and social, and even some which to-day are regarded as very real grievances. One of them, for instance, was judicial exemption or privilege, which Hardenberg suffered to remain because it had nothing to do with the physical power of the state. Fiscal exemptions, however, were sacrifices of pecuniary means wrongly made by the state, and the system of manorial servitude crippled in the same way the resources of the people.

THE title of Herr Mehring's stout volume¹ is fairly descriptive not only of the subject, but also of the stand-point from which he treats the subject. The "philosophico-critical principles of self-perfection" hint at the ordinary Christian interpretation of history, as expressed in the three steps or stages of the creation of man, his fall, and his redemption; and the author's elucidation corresponds in the main to this scheme. He regrets the pessimistic theory that the original man was perfect but has since been regularly declining, as well as the Darwinian theory that the progress of the race has been one of steady development from a lower to a higher order. The first man was simply normal, not perfect. The spirit of evil entering the world was at first triumphant and the race declined, until the Christ appeared and reversed this order. From thence there was a slow but, on the whole, regular progress upward. But this is substantially the key to Herder's philosophy of history; and if Dr. Mehring has simply revived the theories of that poet-preacher, the plagiarism will not be excused by giving it a scholastic disguise. On the other hand, while his principles are those of Herder, his method is that of Hegel. That which in history is called the progress of the race

¹ "Die philosophisch-kritischen Grundsätze der Selbst-Vollendung, oder die Geschichts-philosophie." By G. Mehring. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1877.

toward perfection, in theology the redemption or restoration of man, and by the author in philosophy "self-fulfillment," is in Hegel's nomenclature the realization of the "idea." Nevertheless Dr. Mehring does not fall into Hegel's faults of terminology, nor his obstinate misuse of common words. His style is unexceptionably good for a German philosophical treatise, and the reader's interest is pretty well maintained during five hundred pages of close speculation. Although he calls the work only an "essay," and in the preface expresses a becoming modesty, the calmness with which he dismisses as of no account all former contributions to the subject gives one the right to expect from him the key which shall finally unlock the mysterious secret of history. It can not be said that he has done this. But he has produced a suggestive work, well thought out, systematically arranged, and complete as the exposition of a system which he did not discover or invent.

There is no objection whatever to Dr. Oncken's believing that there was a close intellectual sympathy and a close harmony of opinions between Kant and Adam Smith.¹ It is open to him also to prove, if he can, that the world has all along been in error about those opinions. The common understanding of Adam Smith as a writer who extended into all departments of civil and political government the principles of non-interference, which in the "Wealth of Nations" he claimed for productive industry—in other words, that he was an advocate of the *laissez faire* policy in all its extent—which the author assumes to exist, is in his opinion a mere inference from his one great work, not ascertained from a systematic study of all his works. "The Theory of Moral Sentiments" is now little read. If it be true that it is not an independent treatise, but rather part of a general philosophical scheme, Dr. Oncken has done well to call attention to it even at this late day. But the further complaint that the fifth book in the "Wealth of Nations" is neglected, or at least that its character as a general political rather than a technically economical treatise is not understood, will be a disagreeable surprise to the readers and admirers of Adam Smith. Our own experience is quite different. In the very first book that we happen to take up, Mill's "Political Economy," the author speaks in the preface of "the philosophy of society, from which that eminent thinker (Smith) never separated his more peculiar theme," etc., and in the same way all critics and commentators have lamented the unsystematic confusion of two distinct subjects in the "Wealth of Nations." This confusion is, however, altogether acceptable to Dr. Oncken. By reducing the strictly economical part to its proper rank, placing the fifth book at the head of the treatise, and then bringing in the "Moral Sentiments" for ethics, he fits the Scotch philosopher out in a complete system of social science. The object is to show that this system as a

¹ "Adam Smith und Immanuel Kant: Der Einklang und das Wechselverhältniss ihrer Lehren ueber Sitte, Staat und Wirthschaft." Von Dr. Aug. Oncken. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. 1877.

whole is far from supporting latitudinarian views of state action and authority. The name of Smith can not be invoked by radicals and philanthropists, whose schemes tend to loosen and then dissolve the bonds of social order; and it follows that even freedom of trade may be sacrificed to the political interests of the state. The set of parallels drawn between Smith and Kant are interesting enough, as any parallels of the sort would be, but they add no strength to the author's main purpose. Not even in Germany is it necessary to fortify Adam Smith behind the sage of Königsberg.

IT speaks well for the scholarly tastes, or wants, of the German people that after an interval of thirty years a new edition of Professor Becker's *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer* has become necessary. The present edition is indeed little less than a new work, since it is enriched by three volumes on Roman public law by Dr. Mommsen; and Dr. Marquardt's two volumes on the Roman administrative system (*Römische Staatsverwaltung*, by J. Marquardt; Leipzig, S. Hirzel) have been thoroughly revised, and have adopted a new title. Of these the second, which treats of the financial and the military institutions of Rome, has a more particular interest, for the antiquarian or the specialist, than the first, which describes the system of municipal and provincial administration. The spirit and even the form of the Roman municipalities survived in Europe long after the legion had laid aside its arms, and the Denar had ceased to facilitate the operations of commerce. Dr. Marquardt has of course not neglected the senate, the consuls, the proconsuls, and the other organs of the state. But he begins as he ends, with what in every civilized and progressive state is at once the original source and final depository of intelligence, culture, wealth, and of political power—the towns or cities. Accordingly, as Niebuhr and Mommsen ignore the ancient myths and legends, he ignores the two earlier stages—the nomadic and the agricultural—through which the Italians, like every other known people, must have passed before reaching that of municipal life. In the case of the Germans we have some considerable knowledge of their agricultural, and vague general hints of their pastoral careers. The point at which Dr. Marquardt takes up the Romans is that transition period when little villages, protected by a fort or burg, inclose themselves with walls, and become towns, when barter develops into trade, and the simpler mechanic arts begin to thrive. Tacitus mentioned as a novelty, that the Germans lived in separate houses, each surrounded by land; but Herr Marquardt regards the Latin Pagus as equivalent to the Teutonic Gau. There is indeed much dispute among scholars as to what the Gau was; but if the author simply means that the primitive habits of the Latins were not unlike those of the Germans, the theory itself is irresistible, whatever may be the meaning given to specific terms. Having seen the Italian "Pagus" become a "municipium," the learned author is supplied with the first, and for a long time the chief, factor in civil administration as in social life.

H. T.

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RECENT ITALIAN BOOKS.

SYSTEMS OF NUMERATION.—Professor Bombelli,¹ of Rome, has, with much patience, gathered and set in order all the information to be found, especially in ancient writers, respecting the numbers and the many systems of numeration in vogue in ancient Italy. The dissertation is of undeniable utility and importance, though the writer of it is no critical scholar. All sources serve him. He searches and despoils them all alike, but without seriously discussing any one. Hence he has simply achieved a labor of erudition. His industry will not be utterly useless to the learned, who, by using his abundant citations, will save themselves precious time, however much they may and ought to question divers opinions emitted by the author.

EXCAVATIONS AT PALESTRINA.—In the excavations made at Palestrina,² near the ruins of the ancient Præneste, the brothers Bernardini discovered a precious series of antique objects, which are now owned by them and the Frollano heirs. In the middle of last July, pursuant to an order issued by the Minister of Public Instruction, a commission, made up of the archæologists Giuseppe Fiorelli and Giancarlo Conestabile, the orientalist Canon Enrico Fabiani, and of Signor Martinetti, dealer in antiques, visited the new collection at Palestrina, examined its authenticity, and appraised it. At the end of the visit, Count Conestabile sent a memoir to the Minister, and proposed the purchase of the antiques by the state. This learned memoir, first read before the Accademia dei Lincei, has now seen the light. In the southern part of the city of Palestrina, writes the Count, near the Church of San Rocco, in a belt of earth, which conceals the most ancient Prænestine necropolis, an exploration, more than twenty years ago, led Prince Barberini to the discovery of the chief portion of the magnificent collection of gold ornaments, bronzes, ivories, and the variety of objects, now exhibited in his library. The Signor Bernardini and the Frollano heirs began fresh diggings, and, February 29, came upon a tomb made and arranged as follows. The chamber within which the antiques were recovered was excavated in a rich soil, about two metres deep, and was of a nearly rectangular shape. It was adjusted in a manner to correspond exactly to the four quarters of the heavens. The two larger sides were five m. forty-nine cm. long, and were turned toward the north and the south. The two smaller sides, one three m. ninety-two cm. long, and the other three m. eighty cm. long, were disposed towards the east and the west. The walls were faced with rectangular blocks of tufa, placed at unequal intervals one upon another. The precious objects surrounding the ashes of the dead were overlaid with earth, and the tomb closed above by means of slabs of limestone and traver-

¹ "L'Antica Numerazione Italica ed i Relativi Numeri Simbolici ; Studii Archeologico-critici di Rocco Bombelli." Parte prima. Roma : Tipo. delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche.

² "Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità comunicati alla Accademia dei Lincei per ordine di S. E. il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione." Roma : Tip. Salvignoni.

tine. Another layer of earth spread over these stones completely hid the tomb from the eyes of the passer-by. Here then we have a tomb, which, by its mode of construction and internal arrangement, should be referred to the series of Italic sepulchres of the primitive type and of a remote age. A peculiarity in the floor of the chamber, as soon as it could be cleared of the earth encumbering it, fully confirmed this. A rectangular ditch about two m. long was dug in the pavement, not at the centre, but a little nearer the south side, and in a line parallel to the longer walls. This depression, judging from the bones discovered in it, as the finders assert, and from the ornaments gathered within or at the least on its eastern edge, but not from a comparison with the most ancient tombs of Felsina, indicates to us the point where the corpse was laid. Indeed, it was not the good fortune of the antiquarians who hastened to the spot before ourselves to get hold of a single fragment of the bodies, and the discovery of bones within the tomb rests solely on the word of the finders. Nevertheless, that the chamber was meant to be used as a sepulchre and not as a secret depository ought to be considered as established by the mere comparison, as we have just pointed out, with other discoveries of Italic and Etruscan tombs built and fitted up very nearly after the same system. Among those objects which were in or near the depression where the corpse must have lain, we have precious remains in gold and silver belonging to a costly garment, and near by, on the left side, a little series of offensive arms. Next, between the depression and eastern wall of the chamber, were found tripods, vases of gold, of bronze, and of wood, silver and glass pitchers, remnants of ivory articles and utensils of various kinds, used by the dead or valued by him in his lifetime, either from a fondness for luxury or from a predilection for the finer products of art and of industry. Finally, four bronze shields found fastened to the walls lead us, when we remember what was discovered in or near the depression, to assign to the occupant of the tomb a character either warlike or perhaps sacerdotal.

ITALIAN COMMUNES.¹—Italian history is to a great extent the history of Italian communes. The historian aware of the high importance of municipal records will know where to procure materials for his work. Fusignano¹ is a borough of the Romagna, and has, according to the last census, barely 1239 inhabitants. Yet so great is the productive force of Italian communes, that this one can boast of several men of great merit. Signor Leone Vicchi, himself a native of Fusignano, loves his home, and his book is written to gratify his fellow-townsmen. It is, indeed, neither artistic nor critical, but, though it also fails to discriminate between weighty and trivial matters, it will add some useful local details to the general history of the country. It therefore deserves to be read outside of Fusignano.

A. DEG.

FLORENCE.

¹ "Della Storia di Fusignano dalla Origine ai Giorni Nostri." Sommario del Dott. Leone Vicchi; seconda ed. con tri app.

ART IN EUROPE.

SOME of your readers may know the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London, which is composed chiefly of wealthy lovers of art, and has already rendered considerable public services. The object of the club is to promote the interchange of knowledge on artistic subjects, and its rooms are always adorned with works of art lent by the members, and frequently changed; but besides this permanent private exhibition, the club arranges from time to time a public exhibition to illustrate some special subject in the history of art. In this way it exhibited the etchings of Rembrandt in 1867, certainly the finest collection of impressions which at that time had ever been seen together in the world. The present year has been signalized by another show of Rembrandt's etched work, but on this occasion the collection has a peculiar character, and a special, quite unprecedented purpose. I quote the following explanation from the Preface to the Catalogue:

"On the occasion of a former exhibition of the etchings of Rembrandt, in the old Club House, in 1867, it was suggested to the Committee that the arrangement according to *subject*, then universally adopted, was fatal to the comprehensive study of such works, and that it might with advantage be discarded for the more rational order of *date of production*; that an arbitrary method, by which works of the latest were mixed up with works of the earliest period, confused the sense, perverted the judgment, and rendered critical examination and comparison impossible; and generally, that such a system, though it might satisfy the cataloguer, was unworthy of the biographer and useless to the student. The art work of a lifetime, it was contended, should not be looked at as a series of hap-hazard, disjointed efforts, but as the continuous expression of a prolonged chain of logical sequences depending for their coherence on the due maintenance of the order of their production, and only to be properly understood when studied in that order; and finally it was hinted—and that with tolerable confidence—that if this unintelligent and incoherent classification were reversed, and a more consecutive method of arrangement substituted for it, new matter yet unsuspected in regard to the etched work of Rembrandt might be brought to light, and grave errors of attribution as to some of his larger published plates be both proved and rectified."

Such is the purpose of the Burlington Club's exhibition in 1877, and it has thrown light upon important facts connected with Rembrandt's work, of which I will say more presently; but I can not think that it has entirely superseded the old method of cataloguing, for several reasons. In the first place, as Mr. Atkinson has justly remarked in the Portfolio, we have the obvious objection that the dates are doubtful, so that "in this catalogue, prepared by the Rev. C. H. Middleton, the words *date assumed* are affixed to no less than seventy-nine etchings." Critics differ widely as to the dates of some of Rembrandt's works, the difference in one instance extending to eight years.

Again, there is such a wide diversity of character in the etchings of Rembrandt that the chronological arrangement presents a tangled skein of many threads, whereas the arrangement according to subject follows each thread separately. Nothing can be more incongruous than the art production of Rembrandt. He passed from religious subjects to what M. Charles Blanc calls "*sujets libres*"—which American modesty would not allow me to specify—with a versatility like Shakespeare's. It is evident, therefore, that there is a distinct advantage to the student in following Rembrandt's different trains of thought as independently of each other as he can. The old catalogues by subject, such as that of M. Charles Blanc, do this for the student and spare him an infinity of trouble. On the other hand, the new system advocated by Mr. Seymour Haden is instructive in its own way, and throws a new light of its own on the life of the artist. I should say, then, that a great public collection ought to have *both* classifications, which might be quite easily accomplished by having the originals arranged on one plan and photographs from them on the other.

Mr. Seymour Haden, himself one of the best etchers who ever lived, is the author of the catalogue privately printed by the club for its recent Rembrandt exhibition, and he has a theory, now for the first time publicly announced, that the etchings attributed to Rembrandt are not all of them from his hand, but that he was greatly aided by his pupils. Every art student who has given attention to the etched work of this famous master must have felt surprised, and often greatly embarrassed, by the extraordinary differences in executive quality which it exhibits. My own way of getting over this difficulty had the advantage of great practical simplicity. I never paid any attention to what I used to consider the commercial plates of Rembrandt, and only studied what I considered his really artistic performances, however elaborate the commercial work might be, and whatever might be the apparent slightness of the artistic. Life is not long enough for any portion of it to be thrown away in the study of bad work. Now comes the explanation of what seemed to me bad and Philistine in some etchings which bear Rembrandt's name. He hired a large house, when quite a young man, on the Breedstraat of Amsterdam, divided the whole of the upper part of this house into cells, or small studios, for the reception of pupils, and succeeded in getting the pupils, of whom Sandrart says that his house was always full. The next question is, were these pupils exclusively painters, or did they etch as well? Mr. Haden has investigated this matter with the care which it deserves, and has arrived at the interesting conclusion that many of Rembrandt's pupils were practical etchers, more or less gifted and intelligent, and that they worked upon his plates—that is, upon what I have called the commercial plates.

"The first pupil that joined Rembrandt in the Breedstraat was Jan Van Vliet—that went with him there, rather, since he was already with him at Leyden—an etcher. Then Ferdinand Bol, an etcher; then Jan Lievens, an etcher; then Goevart Flink; then Jacob Backer, Gerard Dow, and De Wedt; then De Poorter, an etcher; Savry, an etcher; and Victor; then Philip

Koninck, an etcher; then Gerbrandt Van den Eckhout, an etcher; and probably about the same time, P. C. E. Rodermont and J. Verbeeck, both etchers. . . . Well, what do we know of the etched works of these men? Does it in any way resemble in style and manner what we now see on the walls of our gallery? We answer, with considerable confidence, that it does; that we have there, in one and the same year, the work of Rembrandt, the work of Lievens, and the work of Bol, and the work of all three of them together."

The next thing Mr. Haden does is to examine the special characteristics of Van Vliet, Bol, Lievens, Koninck, Rottermondt, Verbeeck, and Savry, in order to detect their work in what is nominally Rembrandt's, but there is a difficulty, a triple difficulty, which he recognizes.

"In all these cases the difficulty of ascription is enhanced by three things. Firstly, by the *acte constitutif* of the Guild of Painters at the Hague, which forbade pupils during their apprenticeship to sign their own works. Secondly, by the fact that all the etchings these pupils were employed upon were, after all, from Rembrandt's design, and therefore imbued with his manner. Thirdly, by the circumstance that these etchings are rendered all the more *trompeuses* by having received his corrections and by being published with his imprimatur."

It is not possible, in the course of this letter, to go thoroughly into the whole question raised by Mr. Haden, for he himself requires fifty pages of print for the statement of it; but I have said enough to give some idea of the drift of his argument. I may add one very convincing proof that Rembrandt did not etch all the plates ascribed to him—a proof which every reader will be able to appreciate. In the year 1633 the production of etchings in Rembrandt's studio was so considerable that a professional etcher, doing nothing whatever else, could not have got through such a task in twelve months. *Yet in this same year, 1633, Rembrandt contrived to execute thirty-three pictures that are known to us, and a number of signed drawings besides.*

The simple facts appear to be that Rembrandt, besides doing etchings himself as a relief from painting and from purely artistic motives, also kept a sort of manufactory of commercial plates, executed under his superintendence, by more or less clever men, and that besides these commercial plates there was an intermediate class of which Rembrandt did the most difficult bits with his own hand, leaving what was comparatively easy, though tiresome, to his assistants, exactly as a first-rate wood-engraver does at the present day. It is probable, too, that all the laboratory work, such as that of laying the ground on plates, was done by the pupils, to the more intelligent of whom the master may even have intrusted the biting of his own subjects. Thus it appears probable that he acted on the great economic principle enunciated by Sir G. Lewis, "Never do any thing yourself that another can do for you."

To your readers who take an interest in art and artists and at the same time enjoy the better sort of French literature, I may recommend two volumes that have appeared lately in Paris, "Les Souvenirs d'un Artiste par Antoine

Étex," published by Dentu, and "Maîtres et Petits-Maîtres," by M. Philippe Burty, published by Charpentier. The first is a lively and amusing account of a sculptor's experiences during his passage through life. M. Étex, who is now nearly seventy years old, has experienced very various turns of fortune, and seen a great deal of life in all classes of society, from royalty down to the poorest denizens of Bohemia. His book is full of interest, and he never tires the reader by dwelling too long on one topic, yet one closes the volume with a painful impression. The author's theory is, that the life of an artist is a perpetual martyrdom, and there is much in his own experience to justify this view. After being a successful sculptor, admitted to the intimacy of the most distinguished people, and liberally employed, at one time, by the Government, he is now obliged, in his old age, to turn to painting for such chances of subsistence as it may have to offer. Nobody knows what an anxious life that of a sculptor usually is. Hardly any private people buy statues, and it is utterly impossible for sculpture of any importance to flourish without state patronage. In France, this patronage has been very regularly given under successive Governments, the consequence being that the French school does great things in sculpture; but although the school flourishes from the artistic point of view, most of the men composing it are very poor, and they have a peculiarly anxious life. Thus, in the case of Étex, we find him one year executing very important works for the Government, such as the two great groups on the triumphal arch, and another year working on speculation in his own studio, producing works without the faintest probability that he would sell them. One year, like many anxious French artists, he goes to England, but has no luck there, selling absolutely nothing. His career as an artist, in France, seems to have been hampered and interrupted by politics, with which no artist can meddle prudently. As an extreme Republican, he could scarcely be very pleasing to Napoleon III., yet the Emperor asked him to go to St. Cloud, and received him with perfect grace and affability. The audience took place on the 6th of June, 1852, and there is a long account of it in the autobiography, including a very curious incident. Étex was showing some drawings, when the Emperor came so near to the artist as to touch his coat, in the pocket of which was something hard, perhaps an architectural pocket-book. Louis Napoleon probably thought it was a pistol, for he "took three great steps backwards," and from that moment the conversation, which had been pleasant and animated, became constrained. It is possible, as Étex suggests, that the Emperor may have remembered a former incident, since from that day he never again pronounced the sculptor's name nor did he mention the interview to any one. The former incident was this. On the morning of the famous Second of December, Étex happened to be on the Pont Royal when Louis Napoleon came riding across the bridge with an escort of forty officers. Étex went and put himself before Napoleon's horse, and called out with all his might, "Long live the Republic! Down with traitors!" Louis Napoleon must have heard this, for he answered, "Down with traitors! Yes, the Republic." One can not blame Étex for his strong feelings as a French

citizen ; but when we reflect that a sculptor is mainly dependent upon the Government of the day, we must admit that the spirit of the citizen was too zealous if considered with reference to the interests of the artist.

Want of space prevents me from saying more, for the present, of M. Burty's volume about French painters. It is an endeavor to preserve from oblivion a certain number of contributions to the daily papers and other periodicals, and the matter in it is well worth preserving. I hope to return to it on a future occasion. Meanwhile permit me to record a gentle protest against the expression, " Little Masters," which now seems to be adopted for its convenience, and from the love of classification. Which of us is competent to decide, amongst good painters, who are the great masters and who are the little ones ? Such decisions, when made by critics, are always likely to be reversed by their successors. Our own age has been fertile in such reversals. I could give a list of at least a dozen artists whom we class amongst great masters with the most perfect confidence, who nevertheless were little masters in critical estimation some time ago, and may become little masters again in the next century. Reputations are constantly fluctuating, and criticism is always altering its estimates, and seeing things from other stand-points.

P. G. H.

AUTUN, PRÉ CHARMOY.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

THE JULY "STRIKES" will be memorable as the most formidable and extensive uprising of labor against capital thus far experienced in the United States, if not in the civilized world. The scenes attending this combined labor revolt were such as to bring disgrace upon us at home and abroad, and to demonstrate that our greatest dangers are internal rather than external. The merits of the claims of the workingmen in this crisis are elsewhere discussed in this REVIEW ; and we propose here to consider only a few of the more important lessons to be learned from the recent industrial and social disturbances. The first and most obvious deduction is, that the preservation of order and the protection of life and property must in extreme cases depend upon the force of arms. As a rule, good order and government rest upon the peaceful and orderly disposition of the masses—upon the good sense and judgment of the people at large ; but in times of excitement and revolution, from whatever causes arising, the strong arm of the military power can alone prevent the spread of disorder and destruction. In the late troubles, the well-organized militia and police of New York State and city were the necessary complement of the determination of the authorities to maintain order and protect life and property. In States and cities where the militia and the police

were inefficient or inadequate in number to a great emergency, riotous proceedings invariably accompanied the "strikes."

THE USE of the military power by republican governments against their own citizens is anomalous and always to be deplored; it can only be justified when men rise against their fellows, when the civil authorities are powerless to protect and procure private rights, as recognized by law, when the mob triumphs over society, or when the political institutions of the land are assailed by force. But the bitter experience of the last month has shown that in times of great financial and industrial depression, when large numbers of men are idle, when the rewards of labor as well as of capital are reduced, and a feeling of dissatisfaction and unrest pervades all classes, the laboring classes, being the more numerous, will combine in such a way as to render their organization dangerous to themselves and to the whole community. It is as much for the advantage of the laboring men themselves as for other members of society that they should be saved from riot and bloodshed. In a period of depression, such as that through which we are passing, the federal army, as at present constituted, is inadequate to the duties which it may be called upon to discharge. It should be enlarged and strengthened to such an extent as the wisdom and prudence of the country may dictate. If the several States can be relied upon to place their militia upon a sound footing and to provide for a reserve police force in every city and town, the federal army need not be very materially enlarged. A standing army has its disadvantages and is a burden, at times, useless and grievous to be borne. It is also liable to abuse. But an army for the preservation of internal order need not be so large as to annoy our people by the burden of its maintenance.

THERE IS NO POSSIBLE need or excuse with us for an army such as that which is described elsewhere in the article relating to European armaments. But it ought not to be a source of danger or dissatisfaction for the United States to maintain an army of 50,000 men, if France can make preparations for an active and reserve force, more than forty times as great, or embracing more than 2,000,000 men. Although the force of such a comparison is greatly impaired by the fact that the army of France is for protection and aggression with reference to outside influences, while the army of the United States should be only large enough to maintain internal order and peace; and although we advocate the general reduction of European armaments; still there is some limit at which it is safe to fix our permanent military establishment, and below which we shall allow it to fall at a cost greater than the expense of maintaining the requisite army. Nothing could be more desirable than that the laboring classes and their employers should submit their differences to arbitration. It is probably the duty of the railway companies to submit to such arbitration more than any other capital interest, because the railways are all great highways established with the public consent, and very largely for the public good. The general public interests may require that the railways should not be controlled so independently and selfishly as

branches of more strictly private business. It is quite possible that the strict relations of labor and capital ought not always to be maintained in the case of railways. Whether this be true or not, we should advocate a governmental or public supervision of those relations, rendering it plain to the employés and patrons how far they are receiving justice and equity in their treatment by the companies. Nevertheless, so long as arbitration is impracticable or neglected, and so long as we have an inefficient governmental supervision of railway concerns, we are of the opinion that the safety of the country demands increased vigilance and increased reliance upon the military and the police. And this should be done not with a view of oppressing one class and elevating another, or disturbing the normal relations of the members of society, but simply for the preservation of life, property, and order. When this is done, the duty of armed force is at an end.

THE ATTITUDE of the Southern States during the labor troubles has been eminently satisfactory. It is remarkable that, while the Northern States were convulsed with excitement and riotous proceedings, the Southern States were absolutely quiet. There is, in fact, little apprehension to be entertained of any great social or industrial commotion in the South. There is no evidence that there will be a "war of races," or any rising of the colored masses. General harmony seems to have been restored in the South, except in partisan political circles. It is a humiliating circumstance that the elements of social and industrial disorder should have been found, at any time, more powerful and dangerous in the North than in the South, when we consider the fact that the masses of the former are in a far better condition than those of the latter in point of educational, social, and pecuniary advantages. All things thus far seem to indicate the wisdom and propriety of the so-called "Southern Policy" of President Hayes.

THE MEXICAN QUESTION dwindled into comparative insignificance during the prevalence of the "Strikes," but the difficulty and gravity of the situation on our Mexican border can not long remain unnoticed. The course of the United States Government in reference to the procurement of redress for the depredations committed in Texas by Mexican subjects, has been sharply defined in the order to the general commanding in that district. The several persons claiming to rightfully represent or constitute the Mexican Administration assert that frequent attempts have been made to prevent the wrongs complained of; but they deny the right of the United States military forces to pass into the Mexican Territory in pursuit of the marauders. Ordinarily the unauthorized entrance of the army of one nation upon the territory of another is equivalent to a declaration of war by the former against the latter. By the strict rules of international law, such an act would necessarily be regarded as the commencement of hostilities. And the United States Government is now practically at war with Mexico, because it is taking forcible redress for wrongs for which Mexico is responsible, but for which she either can not or will not voluntarily furnish redress. In this state of things, the United States Government should act as reservedly and cautiously as

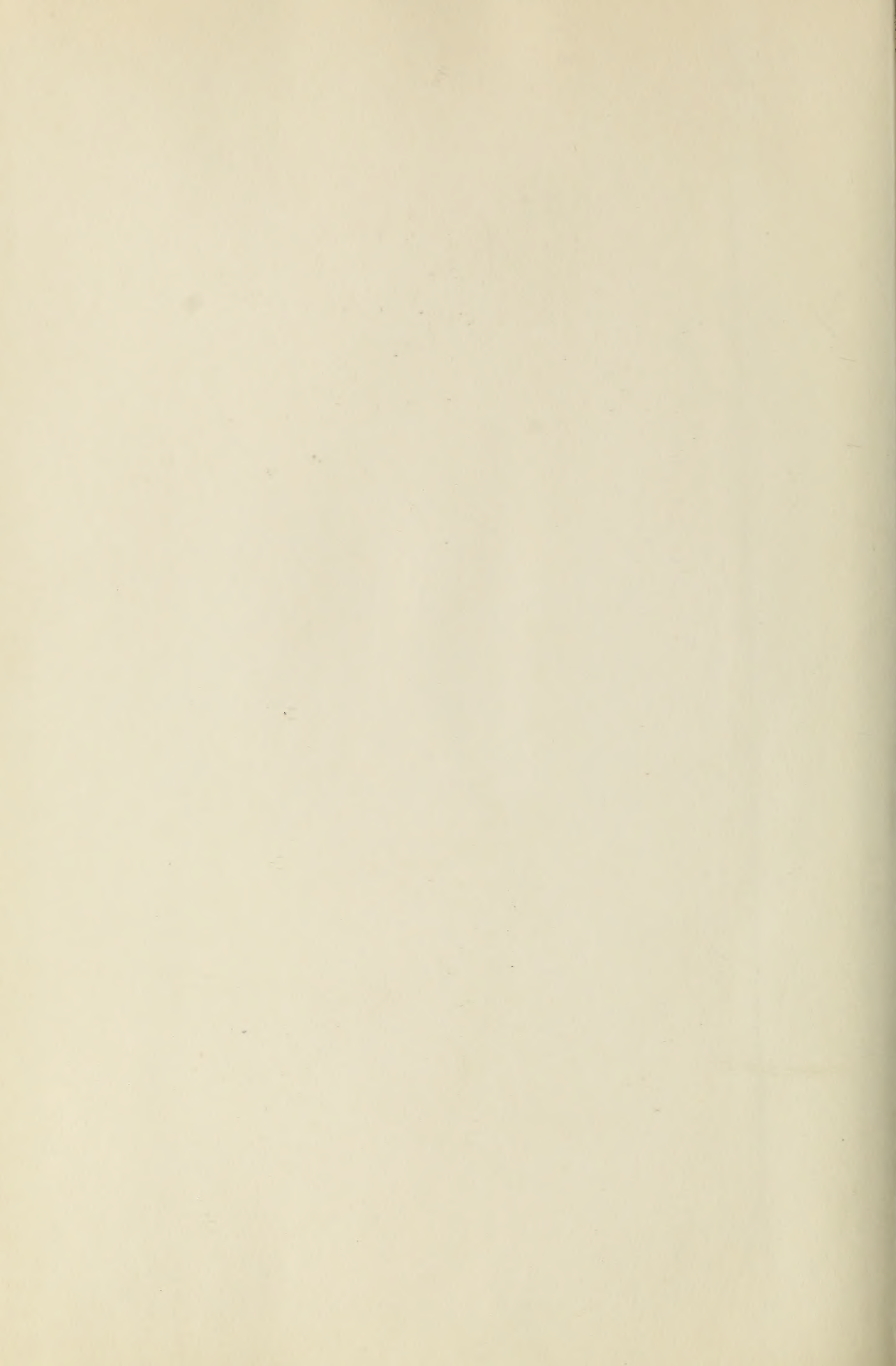
possible; especially in view of the sinister interpretations which may be put upon its movements when directed toward a people so weak and distracted as those of Mexico. "Annexation," "Conquest," and "readjustment of boundaries" are not cries that ought to be popular in this country.

THE PROGRESS of the Russian invasion of Turkey was such at one time as to indicate the speedy close of the great eastern war by the subjugation of Turkey, unless such an event should be prevented by outside influences. Of late, however, the Russian forces have received such severe checks both in Armenia and in Turkey proper, as to lead to the opinion that the war may be prolonged throughout the present and into another year. The attitude of the neutral powers remains the same as for several months past. There is no prospect of intervention unless Turkey is likely to be utterly crushed. We are confirmed in the belief, however, that the final result of the conflict will be a general conference of the European powers; and that little will have been done, through the fearful sacrifices and losses of war, to settle the troublesome Eastern Question.

THE ASSEMBLING of the Pan-Presbyterian Council at Edinburgh was an event of no ordinary importance in the religious world. Although the design of the Conference was not so ambitious or comprehensive as that of the Evangelical Alliance in New York a few years ago, yet the results, as far as they bore upon Christian unity, were almost as satisfactory. The discussions indicated a remarkable catholicity of view, existing in the representatives of a general denomination of Christians always characterized by the strictness with which they held their creeds. The unity of Christian people upon general doctrinal points, and upon the conduct of practical Christian work, ought not to be difficult; but upon minor points of doctrine, and upon the methods of church organization and administration, we do not expect to see uniformity. The utility and desirableness of international conferences of persons representing the different interests of mankind, religious, social, commercial, scientific, etc., can not be denied. And we notice with great satisfaction the announcement that the annual Conference of the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations will be held at Antwerp, August 30th, and that no intention of postponing the Conference has been entertained on account of the troubled condition of Europe. An association engaged in a work so beneficent and universally to be commended, ought not to allow a localized war, at least, to effect a suspension of its labors. The Association now embraces members from more than twenty countries, including the United States; and the objects to be accomplished are the reform and codification of the law of nations, with the view of facilitating intercourse between the different nations of the world, rendering their relations more friendly, and providing peaceful means of settling disputes. This is a task the magnitude and importance of which can not be easily over-estimated. It can only be accomplished by the associated and persistent effort of right-thinking people in all nations.

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